

**Netherlands, 1970-2012**  
**Last Updated: 15 May 2020**

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T1179	MLKP-FESK		0	0
T179	FREE SOUTH MOLUCCAN YOUTH'S		0	0
T803	SOUTH MOLUCCAN SUICIDE COMMANDO		0	0
T224	IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA)		1922	2011
T102	ETA		1959	2011
T481	TAKFIR WA'L HIJRA		1966	2011
T378	MARTYR ABU-ALI MUSTAFA BRIGADES		1967	2012
T241	ANTI-IMPERIALIST INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE (AIIB)		1970	1988
T108	MUNAZZAMAT AYLUL AL-ASWAD		1971	1976
T219	INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ACTION GROUP (GARI)		1973	1977
T799	REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (RZ)		1973	1992
T263	KURDISTAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE		1974	2012
T3	FATAH AL-MAJLIS AL-THAWRI		1974	1998
T248	JUSTICE COMMANDOS FOR THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE		1975	1986
T87	HAYASTANI AZATAGRUTYAN HAY GAGHTNI BANAK		1975	1997
T1338	UNIVERSAL LIBERATION FRONT		1977	1977
T151	DEVIRIMCI SOL		1979	1996
T50	ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT (ALF)		1982	2011
T882	ARMENIAN RED ARMY		1982	1982
T1154	KOETOH REH		1984	1984
T1260	RED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT		1985	1986
T1440	PAN-TURKISH ORGANIZATION		1985	1985

T1063	DOWN WITH LUBBERS		1986	1986
T28	AL-QAIDA		1989	2012
T1264	REVOLUTIONAIRE ANTI-RACISTISCHE ACTIE		1990	1991
T1593	ACTION FRONT NATIONALIST LIBRIUM		1992	1992
T867	ACTIEFRONT NATIONISTISCH NEDERLAND		1992	1992
T469	REPUBLIK MALUKU SELATAN		1998	0
T136	COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES IN EUROPE		1999	0
T975	STOP HUNTINGDON ANIMAL CRUELTY (SHAC)		1999	0
T1101	HOFSTADGROEP		2004	2004

**Netherlands Part 1, 1970-1980**  
**Last Updated: 15 May 2020**

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T1179	MLKP-FESK		0	0
T179	FREE SOUTH MOLUCCAN YOUTH'S		0	0
T803	SOUTH MOLUCCAN SUICIDE COMMANDO		0	0
T224	IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA)		1922	2011
T102	ETA		1959	2011
T481	TAKFIR WA'L HIJRA		1966	2011
T378	MARTYR ABU-ALI MUSTAFA BRIGADES		1967	2012
T241	ANTI-IMPERIALIST INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE (AIIB)		1970	1988
T108	MUNAZZAMAT AYLUL AL-ASWAD		1971	1976
T219	INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ACTION GROUP (GARI)		1973	1977
T799	REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (RZ)		1973	1992
T263	KURDISTAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE		1974	2012

T3	FATAH AL-MAJLIS AL-THAWRI		1974	1998
T248	JUSTICE COMMANDOS FOR THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE		1975	1986
T87	HAYASTANI AZATAGRUTYAN HAY GAGHTNI BANAK		1975	1997
T1338	UNIVERSAL LIBERATION FRONT		1977	1977
T151	DEVIRIMCI SOL		1979	1996

- I. MLKP-FESK  
Torg ID: 1179  
Min. Group Date: 0  
Max. Group Date: 0  
Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

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<https://books.google.com/books?id=NPgAa9fEQqoC&pg=PA66&lpg=PA66&dq=MLKP-FESK+netherlands&source=bl&ots=233xIZELse&sig=ACfU3U3ovCE1LcE6rldYS5iF9pAsGKL1FA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj2wpnstNLpAhWBizQIHeWrCUUQ6AEwAHoECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=MLKP-FESK%20netherlands&f=false>

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

Group Formation: This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

Group End: This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

### Part 3. Narrative

#### Group Formation

This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

#### Geography

This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

## **Organizational Structure**

This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

## **External Ties**

This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

## **Group Outcome**

This is the armed wing of the Turkish MLKP (Haberfeld et al. 2009).

## II. FREE SOUTH MOLUCCAN YOUTH'S

Torg ID: 179

Min. Group Date: 0

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Free South Moluccan Youth's, Free South Moluccan Youths

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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- "South Moluccan Suicide Commando." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4272. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. [https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcw11JF6m\\_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcw11JF6m_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit)
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- Martijn Rasser (2005) The Dutch Response to Moluccan Terrorism, 1970–1978, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 28:6, 481-492. PDF. gDrive.
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<https://books.google.com/books?id=NF6wCQAAQBAJ&pg=PA183&lpg=PA183&dq=south+moluccan+suicide+commando&source=bl&ots=mfaq5MyADF&sig=ACfU3U08 tkWq MxUDlqvVC6 4oIUfiHb1w&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjYjsruudLpAhVPMawKHS9wD4IQ6AEwA3oECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=south%20moluccan%20suicide%20commando&f=false>

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<https://books.google.com/books?id=ynNsBgAAQBAJ&pg=PA147&lpg=PA147&dq=south+moluccan+suicide+commando&source=bl&ots=MDWVRBmn52&sig=ACfU3U2BVX0eqneVixh1YR2UZ7Xfw-DVGg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjYjsruudLpAhVPMawKHS9wD4IQ6AEwBHoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=south%20moluccan%20suicide%20commando&f=false>
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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: South Moluccan Suicide Commando, Vrije Zuid Molukse Jongeren, Pemuda Masyarakat, VZJ (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623)

Group Formation: 1975

Group End: 1977

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

When Indonesia gained independence, the Maluku islands -- a Christian enclave in the country -- sought to declare independence from the Muslim country. South Moluccans provided the Netherlands with aid during Indonesia's war for independence with the idea that they would become their own independent state (MIPT 2008). However, the Indonesian victory prevented the Netherlands from following through with this promise. A small uprising in 1950 led by the Republic of South Maluku failed to give the community the independence it desired, forcing thousands of South Moluccans to flee to the Netherlands in 1951 (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623; Janke 1992; Global Security n.d.; UNPO n.d.). The execution of the leader of the RMS pushed South Moluccans in the Netherlands to use violence as an attempt to restore the RMS (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623). Many South Moluccans fled Indonesia and moved to the Netherlands where they formed their own separatist organizations (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 200; Global Security n.d.; UNPO n.d. ).

The Free South Moluccan Youth was an organization of young second-generation Moluccans living in the Netherlands (MIPT 2008). They were an ethnonationalist autonomy-seeking group that used violence to pressure the Dutch government to grant the Moluccan islands their independence (MIPT 2008; Anderson and Sloan 2009, 200).

The group's first attack was in August 1970 and involved a hostage situation at the Indonesian ambassador's home (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623; Rasser 2005, 483; Janke 1992). This took place in the Hague suburb of Wassenaar (Rasser 2005, 483). In 1974, the group claimed responsibility for another attack when the group hijacked a train in Beilin (MIPT 2008; Sloan and Anderson 2009, 200). Five members of the group had 36 hostages and killed two. They demanded independence for their island and would kill to get it (New York Times 1975). There were many Moluccan secessionist groups in the Netherlands. The South Moluccan Suicide Commando is considered an alias for the Free South Moluccan Youth (MIPT 2008).

### **Geography**

The group's only confirmed attacks took place in the Netherlands. One of them was on a train going towards Amsterdam near the town of Beilin and the other was at the Indonesian ambassador's home in The Hague suburb of Wassenaar (MIPT 2008; Rasser 2005, 483). There is only one confirmed attack by the South Moluccan Suicide Commando, which took place in a Dutch government building in Assen (MIPT 2008).

### **Organizational Structure**

The leader of the Free South Moluccan Youth was Frieda Tomaso (Rasser 2005, 483). Members of the group were primarily children of Indonesian immigrants (MIPT 2008). Some members were also younger South Moluccan refugees (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 200). There were at least seven members in the Free South Moluccan Youth in 1975 when the group hijacked a train (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 200). Members of the group are young and are of Indonesian descent, yet have never lived in Indonesia or South Molucca (MIPT 2008).

### **External Ties**

South Moluccans came to the Netherlands in 1950 after the Republic of the South Moluccas collapsed (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623). The execution of the leader of the RMS is what pushed South Moluccans in the Netherlands to use violence as an attempt to restore the RMS (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623). Nothing is known about the Free South Moluccan Youth's external ties.

### **Group Outcome**

The 1970 attack on the Indonesian ambassador caught the Dutch authorities very off guard (Rasser 2005, 484). There were no specific protocols and no one was prepared to handle the situation (Rasser 2005, 484). The government's failure to deal with the attack in an effective way allegedly emboldened other South Moluccan extremists to conduct their own attacks (Rasser 2005, 484). During the train attack in 1975, the South Moluccan Youth made many demands, but were turned down by the Dutch authorities (New York Times 1975). They wanted independence for their islands, the release of other South Moluccans in Dutch prisons, as well as a means to flee the Netherlands (New York Times 1975). The Dutch authorities were not well prepared for this attack either and were unable to negotiate with the attackers, which resulted in fatalities (Rasser 2005, 485). Other South Moluccan attackers not under the name of the South Moluccan Youth seized and held hostages at a school and the Amsterdam Consulate (New York Times 1975). All of the attackers either surrendered or were killed during operations to free the hostages (MIPT 2008). In 1977 they were sentenced six to nine years in prison. The group has been inactive since then and there have not been any Moluccan attacks since 1978 (MIPT 2008).

During the 1977 attack, the group took 70 hostages and there was one fatality and four injuries, but the Dutch army was able to rescue the rest of the hostages (MIPT 2008; Rubin 2015, 147). Dutch authorities infiltrated the building the group was holding hostages in, and captured all three of them alive (MIPT 2008). The South Moluccan Suicide Commando, a believed alias for the Free South Moluccan Commando, had its last attack 1978 (MIPT 2008). In 1986, the Dutch government made an agreement with the South Moluccan community to keep peace between the two (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623). RMS leaders no longer pushed to be recognized and eventually South Moluccans in the Netherlands were successfully integrated (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 623).

### III. SOUTH MOLUCCAN SUICIDE COMMANDO

Torg ID: 803

Min. Group Date: 0

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

#### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcw11JF6m\\_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcw11JF6m_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit)
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[https://books.google.com/books?id=aVcG7EkuPgAC&pg=PA200&lpg=PA200&dq=Free+South+Moluccan+Youths&source=bl&ots=iiGX3HEu0G&sig=ACfU3U24O-vTH9z1neGoQm\\_f13ghJ36juQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjcxsv6ttLpAhUKUa0KHdymBHsQ6AEwBxoECA0QAQ#v=onepage&q=Free%20South%20Moluccan%20Youths&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=aVcG7EkuPgAC&pg=PA200&lpg=PA200&dq=Free+South+Moluccan+Youths&source=bl&ots=iiGX3HEu0G&sig=ACfU3U24O-vTH9z1neGoQm_f13ghJ36juQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjcxsv6ttLpAhUKUa0KHdymBHsQ6AEwBxoECA0QAQ#v=onepage&q=Free%20South%20Moluccan%20Youths&f=false)

#### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Free South Moluccan Youths

Group Formation: 1978

Group End: 1978

#### **Part 3. Narrative**

##### **Group Formation**

This group is an alias for the Free South Moluccan Youth Organization (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 20).

##### **Geography**

This group is an alias for the Free South Moluccan Youth Organization (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 20).

##### **Organizational Structure**



This group is an alias for the Free South Moluccan Youth Organization (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 20).

### **External Ties**

This group is an alias for the Free South Moluccan Youth Organization (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 20).

### **Group Outcome**

This group is an alias for the Free South Moluccan Youth Organization (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 20).

#### **IV. IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA)**

Torg ID: 224

Min. Group Date: 1922

Max. Group Date: 201

Onset: NA

Aliases: Irish Republican Army (Ira), Provisional Irish Republican Army (Pira), Provos

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Sinn Fein, Oglaiigh na hEireann

Group Formation:  
December of 1969

Group End:  
On July 28, 2005 the IRA Army Council announced an end to its armed campaign.

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

The PIRA is a splinter group, which formed out of the old IRA in December of 1969 (Global Security n.d.; Reuters 2008; Council on Foreign Relations 2010; Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group’s ideology can be identified as nationalist because it fights for the geographical and political unity of Ireland and North Ireland (FAS 2005; CFR 2010; Mackenzie Institute 2016). Its political aim is to unify Ireland and force the removal of British forces from Northern Ireland (Reuters 2008; Council on Foreign Relations 2010). Their first documented attack occurred on June 26, 1970 (Council on Foreign Relations 2010; GTD 2017).

### **Geography**

The Provisional IRA focused the majority of its attacks in the boundaries of the United Kingdom, but did attack in Ireland a couple of times (GTD 2017). Their bases were mainly stationed in Northern Ireland, but did operate throughout Ireland and Great Britain (GTD 2017). The PIRA can be identified as a transnational group.

### **Organizational Structure**

They are known to be affiliated as the wing of the politically driven group, Sinn Fein (FAS 2005). The group had a youth wing known as Fianna na h'Eireann (Schmid and Jongman 1988). No information could be found about the membership background. They were organized under an established Army Council made up of 12 members, which was recorded to have met semi-annually (Mackenzie Institute 2016). Notably, the group organized like a conventional army (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The leader of Sinn Fein's political party is Gerry Adams (Global Security n.d). Additional leaders included John Stephenson, Rory O'brady, Leo Martin, Billy McKee, Seamus Twomey, and Francis Card (Schmid and Jongman 1988). The number of troops of the IRA in 1989 is 300 fighters and in 1991 is 250 fighters (Non-State Actor Dataset Narratives 2013). It has also been more generally reported to have several hundred members at an unknown date (FAS 2005; Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group received some partial funding through Irish diasporas in the US (Gleditsch et al 2013). Members were Catholic.

### **External Ties**

The PIRA had many explicit splinters in their group, some that can be identified as the RIRA, Continuity IRA (CIRA), and the ONH (FAS 2005). The group received explicit weapons support from Libya as well an endorsement from Ireland (Gleditsch et al. 2013, 410; Schmid and Jongman 1988). The group provided weapons specifically for training to the FARC (FAS 2004). These divisions shared the same motives as PIRA, but differed in a few beliefs, usually in attack. These groups helped further PIRA as a threat to English army troops based in Northern Ireland, and to even continue to pose as potential threats today (BBC 2013).

### **Group Outcome**

A formal political agreement known as the Good Friday Agreement helped resolve the conflict in 1998 (BBC n.d.; BBC 2013). As part of this agreement, the IRA disarmed in July 2005 (CFR 2010). The group grew when British troops shot peaceful protesters in January of 1972 as part of an event that came to be known as Bloody Sunday (Reuters 2008; BBC n.d.; BBC 2013). Despite this confirmation, the IRA's last attack has been recorded to have occurred in May of 2011 in Londonderry, United Kingdom (Global Terrorism Database n.d.).

Notes for Iris:

- between 1922 and 1969, their initial aim is to remove British forces from Northern Ireland who have been occupying the area since the first Irish revolt. After 1960, the Irish forces are debating over the best strategy to get rid of the British.
- all these different groups are continuously attacking the British forces so they suspend the Irish political rights which becomes the catalyst for the start of the PIRA → goes through 2005 (fighting)

-the PIRA and CIRA/RIRA are divided over different ideologies and resistance to peace talks (ideological)

V. ETA

Torg ID: 102

Min. Group Date: 1959

Max. Group Date: 2011

Onset: NA

Aliases: Basque Fatherland And Freedom (Eta), Basque Fatherland And Liberty, Basque Homeland And Freedom, Eta, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna

**Part 1. Bibliography**

- "ETA." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 31, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, [https://docs.google.com/document/d/1qTlblesqD9gJaqsrrhKtvBnAriLM11TIYD6wk6jIn\\_c/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1qTlblesqD9gJaqsrrhKtvBnAriLM11TIYD6wk6jIn_c/edit)
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- Raphael Minder. "Suspected leader of Basque separatist group ETA is captured." New York Times. 2016. [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/06/world/europe/mikel-irastorza-captured-spain-basque-eta.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/06/world/europe/mikel-irastorza-captured-spain-basque-eta.html?_r=0)
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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: no other aliases

Group Formation: formed 1959, first attack 1968 (BBC 2017; MIPT 2008; CFR 2008; Mackenzie Institute 2015; Stewart 2009; Canada IRB 1992)

Group End: last violent attack 2008 (GTD 2017), 2017 disarmament (BBC 2017; Al Jazeera 2017)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

The ETA first appeared in 1959, during the rule of Franco, as a group of students from Bilbao's Deusto University protesting for Basque independence from Spain (BBC 2017; MIPT 2008; CFR 2008; Mackenzie Institute 2015; Stewart 2009; Canada IRB 1992). Franco prohibited the language and culture of the Basque Country (CFR 2008; Stewart 2009). The group was founded from some of the remaining members of another Basque nationalist group, the EKIN (MIPT 2008). The group formed because they claimed that the Basque National Party was too moderate (MIPT 2008; CFR 2008). The students were not originally a part of the Basque National Party, but were disgruntled by its actions.

The group's first violent attack was not until 1968 when a police torturer was shot outside of his home (Stewart 2009).

The ETA is a separatist, ethno-nationalist, leftist group and it seeks autonomy as its political aim (BBC 2017; MIPT 2008; CFR 2008; Mackenzie Institute 2015; Minder 2016).

### **Geography**

The group has networks and bases in the different Basque parts of France and Spain (BBC 2017; MIPT 2008). It is also allegedly reported that members trained in various countries: Algeria, Czechoslovakia, Lebanon, South Yemen, Cuba, Uruguay, and Ireland (Canada IRB 1992). Group also allegedly has ties with the "Action Directe" in France (Canada IRB 1992). The group conducted an attack in Costa Rica (Canada IRB 1992). In 1984, they allegedly bombed the Palace of Justice in Antwerp, Belgium (Canada IRB 1992). Many members are allegedly hiding in Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, and Venezuela (Canada IRB 1992). The group operated in France during the Franco dictatorship.

The group is transnational - it conducts transnational attacks and has external bases.

### **Organizational Structure**

The ETA first appeared in 1959, during the rule of Franco, as a group of students from Bilbao's Deusto University protesting for Basque independence from Spain (BBC 2017; MIPT 2008; CFR 2008; Mackenzie Institute 2015). The group primarily recruits youth and student individuals (Stewart 2009).

The group first operated in a hierarchical structure: leadership, military, logistics, and political (Mackenzie Institute 2015). There are three types of member in the ETA: "legal ones", "liberated ones", and supporters (Mackenzie Institute 2015).

The names of leaders are mostly unknown as the group interestingly is very secretive about their leadership wing (MIPT 2008). The group's military wing leaders are allegedly Garikoitz Aspiazu Rubina and Juran Martitegi Lizaso and the group's political wing leader is Javier Lopez Pena (BBC 2017; CFR 2008). The group has a political wing. A group leader was also Mikel Irastorza (Minder 2016). The political wing is known as Batasuna or HB.

The group uses several methods of funding including kidnapping and extortion, robbery, and charging a "revolution tax" from companies in the Basque Country (Canada IRB 1992; MIPT 2008).

The most common forms of attack by the ETA are assassinations and bombs (MIPT 2008). The group however, usually provides warning prior to attacks (MIPT 2008). The group is responsible for more than 800 deaths and thousands wounded (BBC 2017; CFR 2008; Al Jazeera 2017). The group has conducted nearly 2000 attacks (CFR 2008). The group had many high profile targets. They often attack Spanish police and government members and military members of the Spanish Guardia Civil (MIPT 2008; BBC 2017; Stewart 2009; CFR 2008). In 1973, they assassinated Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, the supposed successor to Franco in Spain (MIPT 2008). For example, in 1983 the group attacked the British ambassador in Costa Rica because an ETA member was arrested in that country (Canada IRB 1992). In 1984, they allegedly bombed the Palace of Justice in Antwerp, Belgium (Canada IRB 1992).

The group has also targeted journalists and media (Mackenzie Institute 2015; Stewart 2009). The group had about 200-300 members at an unknown date (Canada IRB 1992; MIPT 2008).

### **External Ties**

Group has been an ally to the Red Flag in Venezuela and the Irish Republican Army (MIPT 2008; Canada IRB 1992). The group has also allegedly trained FARC members for money (Stewart 2009). The group despises the US as they did not help against Franco after WWII (Stewart 2009).

The group also allegedly received funding from various countries: Libya, China, and the USSR (Canada IRB 1992). It is also allegedly reported that members trained in various countries: Algeria, Czechoslovakia, Lebanon, South Yemen, Cuba, Uruguay, and Ireland (with the IRA) (Canada IRB 1992).

Group also allegedly has tied with the “Action Directe” in France and the “Uruguayan Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaros” in Uruguay (Canada IRB 1992). Group also has ties in North Africa (Stewart 2009).

GRAPO has given “operational support” to ETA (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661).

### **Group Outcome**

Starting in 1968 through 1969, the government reacted to the group by making mass arrests, about 2000 in those two years (Stewart 2009).

Franco prohibited the language and culture of the Basque Country (CFR 2008; Stewart 2009; MIPT 2008). In 1980, the Basque Country was allowed its own parliament and taxes (MIPT 2008). In 1997, the group murdered the young leader of the Basque Popular Party because of his refusal to release 460 imprisoned ETA members (BBC 2017). This event made the ETA lose many supporters and protests began against the ETA (BBC 2017). The Popular Party continued to run with a strong policy of terminating the ETA (BBC 2017).

In 1992 the group called a 2 months truce because of the Olympics (Minorities at Risk Project 2004).

In 1998, the ETA called a cease-fire but that lasted for only 14 months until 1999 because the government of Spain did not allow Basque independence (MIPT 2008; BBC 2017). The Spanish police has been able to capture over 100 ETA members (MIPT 2008). In 1999, 700 people went on a hunger strike because of the ETA's poor prison conditions (Minorities at Risk Project 2004). In 2004, the group infamously set a bomb at a Madrid train station on the evening before elections; the bombs killed about 200 (BBC 2017; Stewart 2009).

In 2005, the government held a vote to have peace talks with the ETA in return for disarmament; about 250,000 voters voted against the talks, most likely due to distrust towards the ETA (CFR 2008).

Early in 2006 the group again proposed a ceasefire and peacefully joining politics but later that year the group bombed an airport garage (MIPT 2008). The Spanish government announced they would not allow peace talks and agreements until the group disarmed and ended its violence (BBC 2017).

The group's attacks up until 2003 had cost the Spanish government about 11 billion dollars in repair (CFR 2008).

The French and Spanish government banned the group's political wing that seeks Basque autonomy; the wing has been under the names Euzkako Herritarrok, Batasuna, and Herri Batasuna (BBC 2017). The reason being that the political wing provides the group with government representation and allegedly funding as well (BBC 2017). In 2009, they were excluded from electing officials (BBC 2017).

In 2008, they arrested Garikoitz Aspiazu Rubina and Javier Lopez Pena, two suspected leaders of the group (BBC 2017; CFR 2008). The group's last recorded violent attack took place that year, 2008 (GTD 2017). In 2010, the group agreed to stop carrying out attacks (BBC 2017). In 2011, the group announced they had completely disarmed (BBC 2017; Al Jazeera 2017).

In April of 2017 the group said that they had dissolved, but the Spanish government said they would refuse to give them anything in return (BBC 2017). In April of 2017, the group announced they would disarm (Al Jazeera 2017).

Notes for Iris:

- unlike Colombia groups, ETA is not super corrupt and doesn't deviate or have to deal with rogue members or splinters
- ETA pursues different leadership strategy here covering their faces which makes it harder for government to track down and identify
- repeated history of ceasefire breakdown between ETA and the government. No one actually trusts that ETA has disarmed.

#### VI. TAKFIR WA'L HIJRA

Torg ID: 481

Min. Group Date: 1966

Max. Group Date: 2011

Onset: NA

Aliases: Takfir Wal-Hijra (Excommunication And Exodus), Anathema And Exile, Excommunication And Emigration, Excommunication And Exodus, Martyrs For Morocco, Rejection Of Sins And Exodus, Takfir Wa Hijara, Takfir Wa Hijra, Takfir Wal Hijra, Takfir Wa'l Hijra



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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Jama'at al-Muslimin  
al-Takfir wa al-Hijra (Mili 2006)

Jama'at al-Muslimin, Takfeer wal-Hegra, Black Flags (TIMEP N.d.)  
Repentance and Holy Flight (Godsel 1981)

Group Formation: "late 1960s"

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (active)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

The group was founded in Egypt by Shukri Mustafa either in the late 1960s, or sometime between the 1970's and 1980's, depending on the source; the group resurfaced in 2011 due to the death of Mubarak (Gleis 2005; MIPT 2008). The group was allegedly a splinter of the Muslim Brotherhood (Australia: Refugee Review Tribunal 2010; Godsell 1981). The group rose up again in the aftermath of the Arab Springs (CNN 2011).

Mustafa was heavily influenced by the teachings of Sheikh Ali Ismael; Ismael argued Muslims and Islam was being suppressed by Egyptian President Nasser (Mili 2006). The group does not follow a specific ideology, but rather follow the words of the leaders of the group, and punished people by torture who did not follow the way of the group; the group is still theorized to follow a fundamentalist Sunni Islamist ideology, which was then branded as takfiri (Mili 2006; Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004; Kimyungi N.d.; CNN 2011). Mustafa formed the group to punish apostates and wage jihad (Mili 2006; MIPT 2008). He was anti-modernity and Salafi jihadi. Mustafa and his followers moved to the desert in order to practice Islam and get around what they deemed "illegitimate" Egyptian law. The group's aim was to wage jihad, overthrow the existing governments, and create an Islamic state. The date of the group's first violent attack is unknown.

#### **Geography**

Al-Takfir wa al-Hira is a transnational terrorist group which provides support to different cells across Europe and northern Africa (Mili 2006; MIPT 2008; Australia: Refugee Review Tribunal 2010; GTD 2017). The group originally formed in Egypt. The group has been active in Egypt's Sinai as of 2011, and more specifically Sheikh Zuweid (TIMEP N.d.; Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004; Australia: Refugee Review Tribunal 2010)

The group conducted attacks in Benghazi, Libya; Rafah, Egypt; Mogadishu, Somalia; Kirkuk, Iraq; and Garaffa, Sudan (GTD 2017). The group re-emerged after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution in the Rafah and Sheikh Zuwaid regions of the Sinai Peninsula (Daymon 2013; CNN 2011).

#### **Organizational Structure**

The group was originally founded by Shukri Mustafa in Egypt (Gleis 2005; MIPT 2008; TIMEP N.d.; Kimyungi N.d.). Mustafa was heavily influenced by the teachings of sheikh Ali Ismael; Ismael argued Muslims and Islam was being suppressed by Egyptian President Nasser (Mili 2006). Mustafa formed the group to punish apostates, wage jihad, and create an Islamic caliphate (Mili 2006; CNN 2011). He was anti-modernity and Salafi jihadi.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Takfir cells emerged in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Turkey, Kenya, and Morocco (Mili 2006). The group was ethnically Egyptians, Syrians, Palestinians, Lebanese and other Arabs (MIPT 2008). The group was led by Zakaria Miludi at an unknown time (Botha 2008). The group was more recently led by Abdel-Fattah Hasan Hussein Salem (TIMEP N.d.). The group was allegedly an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood (Australia: Refugee Review Tribunal 2010; Godsell 1981).

### **External Ties**

The group may have influenced the ideology of GIA in Algeria as well as Takfiris in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco (Mili 2006). It may also have had a tacit alliance with the GIA (MIPT 2008). The group was allegedly also linked to as-Sirat al-Mustaqim and Salafia Jihadia (Botha 2008).

### **Group Outcome**

In 1977, Mustafa was executed by Egyptian police after that the group went underground (Mili 2006). The group has periodically engaged in violence. It may have influenced the ideology of GIA in Algeria as well as Takfiris in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco (Mili 2006). The group was attacked by a Lebanese group in 2000 that led to the death of several of its members (MIPT 2008). The group was responsible for five attacks on worshippers that started in 1994 (Mili 2006). The group was also linked to the death of Theo van Gogh in 2004 (MIPT 2008). On December 31, 2000, several Takfir groups together attacked (Mili 2006). As late as 2012, the group operates as a set of decentralized cells with little coordinated oversight (Daymon 2013).

The Egyptian government has typically “turned its head the other way” about violent activities in the Sinai and done little to address the concerns of Bedouins living in the Peninsula about economic discrimination (Daymon 2013). The group re-emerged after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution in the Rafah and Sheikh Zuwaid regions of the Sinai Peninsula (Daymon 2013). It came to attention through a set of prominent attacks around El Arish, Egypt (CNN 2011). Egyptian intelligence officials said the group had members from Palestinian factions

There is some confusion over whether Morocco’s Salafia Jihadia and Assirat al-Mustaqim are different from ATWAH because the ideology is so similar (Maroc Hebdo 2003; Mili 2008). It is also unclear whether Takfir refers to a single armed group or if it instead describes an ideology (Gleis 2005). Abdel-Fattah Hasan Hussein Salem was arrested in 2013 (TIMEP N.d.). The group was banned in Kazakhstan in 2014 (RFE/RL 2014). The group’s last violent attack was in 2013 in Libya (GTD 2017).

## VII. MARTYR ABU-ALI MUSTAFA BRIGADES

Torg ID: 378

Min. Group Date: 1967

Max. Group Date: 2012

Onset: NA

Aliases: Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine (Pflp), Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades, Abu-Ali Mustafa Brigades, Al-Jabha Ash-Sha'abiya Li-Tahrir Falastin, Al-Jabna Al-Shabiyya Li-Tahrir Filastin, Martyr Abu-Ali Mustafa Brigades, Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine, Red Eagles

Aliases: Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine (Pflp), Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades, Abu-Ali Mustafa Brigades, Al-Jabha Ash-Sha'abiya Li-Tahrir Falastin, Al-Jabna Al-Shabiyya Li-Tahrir Filastin, Martyr Abu-Ali Mustafa Brigades Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine, Red Eagles, PFLP

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Halhul Gang, Halhul Squad, Palestinian Popular Resistance Forces, PPRF (Mackenzie Institute)

Group Formation: 1967

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (Active)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

The PFLP formed in 1967 by George Habash to fight and destroy Israel after the latter began to occupy parts of the West Bank (BBC 2014). It formed as a merger between two unnamed left-wing factions (IB Times 2014). The group came to attention in 1968 with a series of prominent airplane hijackings and were the first group to employ this tactic (BBC 2014). It was primarily secular, but Habash argued the group was founded on Marxist-Leninist ideals (Global Security n.d., BBC 2014).

#### **Geography**

Today, the group primarily operates from the Gaza Strip attacking Israeli communities in the southern part of the country. It has also had prominent attacks in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Entebbe, Geva junction, Itamar, Ramallah, and Karnei Shomron (Global Security n.d., BBC 2014). Its headquarters were in Damascus, Syria as early as 1968 (Global Security n.d.)

#### **Organizational Structure**

The PFLP is a faction of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) (BBC 2014). It was originally created by George Habash - a Christian doctor - and merged with the PLO in 1968 (Global Security n.d.) Habash stepped down in 2000 and was replaced by Abu Ali Mustafa. It has an armed wing known as the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades which was particularly active during the Second Intifada (BBC 2014). The armed wing was led - at some point - by Abu Ali Mustafa and later Ahmed Sadaa (BBC 2014).

The group had an estimated 800 members at an unknown date with potentially more support throughout the West Bank and Gaza (Global Security n.d.) The group funds itself from local supporters as well as external sources in Libya and Syria.

The representative of the PFLP in Turkey is Hassan Tahrawi (PFLP 2013).

#### **External Ties**

The PFLP has a vast network of alliances including the German Baader-Meinhof organization and Japanese Red Army (BBC 2014). It fought against Hamas early on (BBC 2014). The group received external support from Syria, Libya, USSR, and China in the form of financial support, training, and an external base of operations.

The Turkish branch of the PFLP claims to have an alliance with Kurdish forces and parties in the country (PFLP 2013).

### **Group Outcome**

The PFLP escalated during the First Intifada with Israel. After the fall of the Soviet Union and in-fighting between Palestinian groups during the First Intifada ( Hamas, PIJ), the PFLP was very weakened and lost nearly all of its power and influence in the West Bank by 2000 (ADL n.d., IB Times 2014).

The US designated the group a Foreign Terrorist Organization in 1995 (Global Security n.d). The group became partially involved in politics in the 1990s when it sought to become a part of Arafat's government.

Israel killed Mustafa in 2001 and arrested Sadat in 2002 (Global Security n.d.). As of 2017, the group was continuing to fight Israel and Saadat claims the group will not enter negotiations with the Israeli government (BBC 2014). The group's last violent attack was in 2016 (GTD 2017).

## VIII. ANTI-IMPERIALIST INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE (AIIB)

Torg ID: 241

Min. Group Date: 1970

Max. Group Date: 1988

Onset: NA

Aliases: Japanese Red Army (Jra), Anti-Imperialist International Brigade, Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (Aiib)

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### **Part 2. Proposed Changes**

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1970

Group End (Outcome): 1988 (last attack), 2003 (dissolve)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

The JRA formed in 1970 as a splinter from the Japanese Communist League - Red Army Faction (FAS 2003; Global Security N.d.). Its initial aim was to overthrow the Japanese government and launch a revolution although the goals were later modified to just demand political representation, as well as to oppose US presence in Japan after the Vietnam War (FAS 2003; Kushner N.d.). The group's first violent attack was in 1970 (GTD 2017).

#### **Geography**

The group was transnational. In 1981, the group attacked two airplanes at the Cairo airport (GTD 2017). The group primarily operated out of Lebanon and initially grew out of the anti-war movement and student protests (BBC 2000; FAS 2003; Global Security N.d.). The group was active in general in Italy, Egypt, India, Malays, the Netherlands, Singapore, Israel, and Japan (GTD 2017).

#### **Organizational Structure**

The group was a student-led movement (Kushner N.d.). The group's leader was Fusako Shigenbou who led the JRA from its formation until she was arrested in 2000 (BBC 2000). The group had six members, but may have had 30-40 members at one time; the group allegedly had seven hardcore members and the rest were perceived as sympathizers (FAS 2003; Global Security N.d.). Some members defected to join revolutionary movements in Peru and Colombia (Global Security N.d.). The group primarily operated as one cell, but may have tried to create cells in Manila and Singapore during the 1980s (Global Security N.d.).

#### **External Ties**

There is no evidence of external support although the JRA may have had ties to the Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (AIIB) and the Antiwar Democratic Front, and "Palestinian terrorists" (FAS 2003; Global Security N.d.). Other external ties are unknown (Global Security N.d.).

#### **Group Outcome**

The group was responsible for terrible bombings and hijackings through the 70's; JRA came to attention following an attack at Ben Gurion airport in Israel in 1972 which killed 26 people (BBC 2000). The group was primarily active in the 1970s and 1980s (GTD 2017). The group's last violent attack is in 1988 (GTD 2017; Global Security n.d.). The group's leader was Fusako Shigenbou who led the JRA from its formation until she was arrested in 2000 (BBC 2000). The group announced they would disband in 2003 (FAS 2003). The group allegedly had cells in Asian cities like Manila and Singapore (Global Security N.d.)

Notes for Iris:

-the group opposes the US and carry out a bunch of transnational attacks

IX. MUNAZZAMAT AYLUL AL-ASWAD

Torg ID: 108

Min. Group Date: 1971

Max. Group Date: 1976

Onset: NA

Aliases: Black September, Black September Organization (Bso), Munazzamat Aylul Al-Aswad

**Part 1. Bibliography**

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**Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Fatah

Group Formation: 1970/1971

Group End (Outcome): 1973 (dissolve)



## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

Black September is a transnational terrorist organization, a special secret armed wing of Fatah, named after events of September 1970 (Fruchter-Ronen 2008, 255). It was formed in either late 1970 or early 1971 (Wolf 1973, 37). The group came to attention for their attack during the Munich Olympics in 1972 (Wolf 1973, 5). The group came about after the Jordanian King initiated a massive crackdown against Fatah in September 1970 (Wolf 1973, 6).

### **Geography**

The group's ties to Egypt came about when they assassinated Wasfi al-Tall, Prime Minister of Jordan, on November 27, 1971 in Cairo (Fruchter-Ronen 2008, 255; Global Security). Black September operated out of Lebanon and used this base as an external sanctuary to conduct guerrilla raids and operations into Israel (Wolf 1973, 7).

### **Organizational Structure**

Members were primarily well-educated, from upper-middle class backgrounds, and were born in refugee camps around Europe (Wolf 1973, 8). The group's first leader was Mohammad Mustafa Syein, a former deputy chief of staff to Yasir Arafat (Wolf 1973, 8).

### **External Ties**

The group received training in Jordan at terrorist camps where they may have also interacted with members of the Weather Underground, the IRA, Dev Genc, and Nicaragua's Sandinistas (Wolf 1973, 37)

### **Group Outcome**

Fatah allegedly disbanded Black September in 1973 as it tried to pursue diplomatic negotiations and garner international recognition (Ciment and Hill 2013, 74).

Note: The group is a wing of Fatah and should be combined with them.

- X. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ACTION GROUP (GARI)
  - Torg ID: 219
  - Min. Group Date: 1973
  - Max. Group Date: 1977
  - Onset: NA

Aliases: International Revolutionary Action Group (Gari), Groupes D'action R\_Volutionnaire Internationaliste

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### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Groupes d'action revolutionnaires internationalistes, Revolutionary International Action Group, Groupes d'action révolutionnaires internationalistes, Internationalist Revolutionary Action Groups

Group Formation: 1973 (form and violent), 1974 (official formation)

Group End: 1977 (stopped using violence on its own), 1979 (merger [specifics discussed in "External Ties" and "Group Outcome" sections])

### **Part 3. Narrative**

## **Group Formation**

When Groupes d'Action Révolutionnaire Internationaliste formed is disputed. Some sources indicate that GARI formed in May 1974 (MIPT 2008). Other sources indicate that the group had already begun to use violence by January 1973 (GTD 2018). GARI formed in either 1973 or 1974 (GTD 2018; MIPT 2008). It is possible that the group conducted attacks as early as January 1973, but officially formed in May 1974 (GTD 2018; MIPT 2008). The first attack attributed to GARI occurred on January 28, 1973, when the group detonated an explosive at the Paris branch of Popular Bank, a Spanish bank, causing the equivalent of approximately 3000 U.S. dollars of property damage (GTD 2018). No one was killed or injured in the bombing (GTD 2018).

GARI may have formed as a splinter of Mouvement ibérique de libération (MIL) [English: Iberian Liberation Movement], an anti-Franco group (Dartnell 2013, 74). In April 1974, Spanish law enforcement killed Puig Antich, a member of MIL (Dartnell 2013, 74). For this reason, other MIL members officially formed GARI, a group dedicated to bringing about the demise of the Franco regime in Spain (Dartnell 2013, 74). Throughout 1974 and the following years, GARI attacked Spanish leaders, businesspeople, and infrastructure in France, Spain, and elsewhere in Europe (GTD 2018; MIPT 2008; Dartnell 2013, 74). The group has conducted bombings, kidnappings, robberies, and assassinations (GTD 2018; Dartnell 2013, 74).

GARI was an anti-Franco group (MIPT 2008; Dartnell 2013, 74; Atkins 2004, 5). The group's main goal was the destruction of the Franco regime (MIPT 2008; Dartnell 2013, 74). GARI used violence to demonstrate its potency and great disdain for the governments and leaders of Spain, France, and Belgium (Dartnell 2013, 74). The group was center-seeking and sought to destroy the dictatorial government of Francisco Franco (MIPT 2008; Dartnell 2013, 74). The group attempted to force the governments of European countries like France and Belgium to change their foreign policies regarding Franco and the government of Spain (Dartnell 2013, 74). The group can be considered anarchist (MIPT 2008; Atkins 2004, 5). The group's ideology can be considered leftist (Dartnell 2013, 74). The group opposed capitalism (MIPT 2008). The group can be considered communist and socialist (MIPT 2008). The group reportedly opposed Leninism (Dartnell 2013, 74). GARI strived for "the liberation of Spain, of Europe and of the world" (MIPT 2008). Since many of the group's members were Basque militants, the group could be classified as a Basque nationalist group (MIPT 2008).

GARI conducted its only attack in Portugal on September 25, 1975, when the group detonated an explosive at the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon and conducted five other attacks simultaneously throughout Europe (GTD 2018).

## **Geography**

GARI is predominantly based in southwestern France (Dartnell 2013, 73). The group was active in and conducted attacks in the French cities of Toulouse, Paris, and Lourdes (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in Spain (MIPT 2008). One source indicates that the group's attacks in Spain could have occurred in Madrid and near the border between France and Spain (Dartnell 2013, 74). Nevertheless, the group's activities in Spain and the locations of said activities remain unclear. The group conducted attacks in Belgium in the cities of Brussels, Liege, and Antwerp (GTD 2018). The group conducted one attack in Andorra (GTD 2018). The group conducted one attack in the Netherlands in Den Haag (GTD 2018). The group conducted one attack in Portugal in Lisbon (GTD 2018). The group conducted one attack in Switzerland in Geneva (GTD 2018). The group conducted one attack in Turkey in Ankara (GTD 2018).

### **Organizational Structure**

The leader of GARI was Jean-Marc Rouillan (Dartnell 2013, 74). Nothing else is known about the group's leadership or organizational structure. Most members of GARI were French, Spanish, or both and may have previously fought for the MIL. Many were Basque militants (MIPT 2008). Many were Spanish expatriates who had resided in southwestern France since they fled from Spain due to the Spanish Civil War (Dartnell 2013, 73). GARI funded itself through robberies, especially in French cities like Toulouse and Béziers (Dartnell 2013, 73).

### **External Ties**

Groupes d'Action Révolutionnaire Internationaliste allegedly had ties to Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) [English: Basque Homeland and Freedom] (MIPT 2008). ETA was an ethno-nationalist Basque separatist group that also operated in both France and Spain (Encyclopædia Britannica n.d.). ETA adopted Marxist positions and viewed revolutionary socialism as their ultimate goal (Encyclopædia Britannica n.d.). Moreover, since the membership of GARI was composed of Basque militants, it is likely GARI had ties to ETA (MIPT 2008). ETA allegedly was involved in GARI's bombing on a train from Madrid to Paris (MIPT 2008).

In 1979, Groupes d'Action Révolutionnaire Internationaliste and Noyaux armés pour l'autonomie populaire (NAPAP) [English: New Arms for Popular Autonomy or Armed Nuclei for Popular Autonomy] merged to form Action Directe (AD) [English: Direct Action] (Dartnell 2013, 73; Atkins 2004, 5; State Department 1989, 42-43). NAPAP was "a Maoist group of Parisian urban guerillas" (Atkins 2004, 5). AD was founded by Jean-Marc Rouillan, the leader of GARI, and Nathalie Menignon (Atkins 2004, 5). AD was based in Paris, Lyons, and somewhere in Belgium (Atkins 2004, 5-6; State Department 1989, 42-43). AD was committed to the destruction of societal institutions, the end of Western imperialism, the eradication of U.S. influence in Europe, and conducting attacks for anti-Zionist causes (State Department 1989, 42). The group

ceased using violence in 1987 following a police crackdown on the group and arrests of key members (State Department 1989, 43).

### **Group Outcome**

In September 1974, local police stopped GARI members, Michel Camillieri and Mario Innes Torres (Dartnell 2013, 74). Upon discovering that Camillieri and Innes Torres were members of GARI, they were arrested and subsequently imprisoned (Dartnell 2013, 74). In December 1974, more group members including the leader Jean-Marc Rouillan were arrested (Dartnell 2013, 74). These arrests significantly precluded GARI from conducting meaningful operations until a legal loophole saved the GARI (Dartnell 2013, 74). In 1976, a French court dismissed charges that GARI members threatened government authority (Dartnell 2013, 74-75). In May 1977, Rouillan, Camillieri, Innes Torres, and other group members were released (Dartnell 2013, 75).

GARI most likely stopped using violence in 1977 (GTD 2018). The group conducted its last recognized attack on May 22, 1977 when it detonated an explosive at the Paris branch of the Bank of Bilbao, a location it had previously attacked (GTD 2018; Dartnell 2013, 74).

In 1979, Groupes d'Action Révolutionnaire Internationaliste and Noyaux armés pour l'autonomie populaire (NAPAP) [English: New Arms for Popular Autonomy or Armed Nuclei for Popular Autonomy] merged to form Action Directe (AD) [English: Direct Action] (Dartnell 2013, 73; Atkins 2004, 5; State Department 1989, 42-43). NAPAP was "a Maoist group of Parisian urban guerillas" (Atkins 2004, 5). AD was founded by Jean-Marc Rouillan, the leader of GARI, and Nathalie Menignon (Atkins 2004, 5). AD was based in Paris, Lyons, and somewhere in Belgium (Atkins 2004, 5-6; State Department 1989, 42-43). AD was committed to the destruction of societal institutions, the end of Western imperialism, the eradication of U.S. influence in Europe, and conducting attacks for anti-Zionist causes (State Department 1989, 42). AD ceased using violence in the late 1980s following a police crackdown on the group and arrests of key members (State Department 1989, 43).

Notes for Iris:

- what are the aims of this group? Mostly center-seeking to oppose Franco
- the group's relationship with ETA was slightly unclear. It might have been strategically useful to put pressure on the
- ETA and GARI had ideological similarities, Basque membership similarity, both were transnational
- the group didn't oppose Portugal, it opposed the Spanish Embassy

Min. Group Date: 1973  
Max. Group Date: 1992  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Revolutionary Cells, Revolutionary Cells (Rz)

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### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: RZ, Revolutionaere Zellen, Rote Zora (State Department 1990, 67)

Group Formation: 1972 (form), 1973 (first attack)

Group End: 1992

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

The Revolutionary Cells formed between 1972 and 1973 and were a left wing armed group in Germany (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). They could also be considered an anarchistic armed group (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 596). The group is sometimes considered a splinter group from the Red Army Faction. However, Schmid and Jongman (1988, 558) contest this due to the large ideological differences between the two groups. The RZ was very successful and conducted a large number of attacks due to the way the group was organized (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). They were a leftist center-seeking group whose goal was to weaken and overthrow the German government (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). The RZ also conducted international attacks in Latin America; there are some claims that they formed in reaction to Pinochet's coup d'etat in Chile (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013).

The group's first attack was in 1973 when they bombed a US business called the ITT Subsidiary SEL Company in West Germany (GTD 2019).

## **Geography**

The Revolutionary Cells had a domestic and international faction (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). The domestic faction focused on operations in West Germany, and the international faction focused on operations in the Middle East, North Africa, and Latin America (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). There were also attacks from the RZ in Greece and the Netherlands (GTD 2019). However, the majority of the attacks take place in West Germany (GTD 2019).

## **Organizational Structure**

Christian Gauger was one of the founders of the Revolutionary Cells (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). The group's first members were leftist university students who had similar beliefs to the Red Army Faction (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 596). Members of the group stayed very anonymous and lived otherwise normal lives (Der Spiegel 2007). They separated into semi-independent teams ("cells") who spread out in Germany and appeared to be normal civilians (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013; Central Intelligence Agency 1982). The RZ used this strategy because it would be much more difficult for many small groups to be shut down than one large group (Anderson and Sloan 2009, 597; Central Intelligence Agency 1982). There was also a women's wing of the RZ, known as the Rote Zora (Anderson and Sloan 2009, 598). There were an estimated 100 members of the group, but it is suspected that during the 1980's, there were several hundred members in the group (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013; State Department 1990, 67). The Red Army Faction wanted to have complete command and control over members (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 596). The cell structure is effective because if a member is caught, they will not know much about the rest of the group outside of their own cell (Central Intelligence Agency 1982). In the 1980s it was believed that there were around 10 cells nationwide (Central Intelligence Agency 1982).

It is likely that some of the RZ's members are from smaller armed groups that are no longer active (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). The RZ funded itself through ransoms from kidnappings (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013).

### **External Ties**

There are claims that the RZ has ties to Palestinian armed groups as well as European Marxist or anarchist groups (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). It is also suspected that they have ties to the Irish National Liberation Army and the Provisional Irish Republican Army (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013; Sloan and Anderson 2009, 596). The Revolutionary Cells had "ties" to the Red Army Faction, but did not associate (State Department 1990, 67). The RZ's cell structure is very different from the structure of the RAF as well as their tactics (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013).

### **Group Outcome**

The Revolutionary Cells conducted over 185 arson and bomb attacks between 1973 and 1987 (Der Spiegel 2007). After 1987, the group began to target nuclear power plants (Anderson and Sloan 2009, 598). The group's last attack took place in 1992 (GTD 2019). The group has never officially disbanded, but they are no longer active (Anderson and Sloan 2009, 598). Revolutionary Cells members turned themselves in as recently as 2007 (Der Spiegel 2007). It is believed that the group ceased to exist after the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 598).

## **XII. KURDISTAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE**

Torg ID: 263

Min. Group Date: 1974

Max. Group Date: 2012

Onset: NA

Aliases: Kurdistan Workers' Party (Pkk), Argk, Arteshen Rizgariya Gelli Kurdistan (Argk), Kadek, Kongra Gele Kurdistan, Kongra-Gel (Kgk), Kongreya Azadi U Demokrasiya Kurdistan, Kurdish Workers' Party (Pkk), Kurdistan Freedom And Defense Congress, Kurdistan Freedom And Democracy Congress, Kurdistan National Liberation Front (Ernk), Kurdistan National Liberty Army, Kurdistan People's Conference, Kurdistan Workers Party, Kurdistan Workers' Party, Kurdistan Worker's Party, Kurdistan Workers Party (Pkk), Kurdistan Worker's Party (Pkk), Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan (Pkk), People' S Liberation Army Of Kurdistan (Argk), Peoples Congress Of Kurdistan, People's Congress Of Kurdistan, Peoples Defense Force, People's Defense Force, Peoples Liberation Army Of Kurdistan, People's Liberation Army Of Kurdistan, Peoples Liberation Army Of Kurdistan (Argk), People's Liberation Army Of Kurdistan (Argk), Pkk/Kongra-Gel, The Peoples Congress Of Kurdistan, The People's Congress Of Kurdistan



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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: KADEK, Kurdistan Halk Kongresi (KHK)

Group Formation: 1974

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (active)

## Part 3. Narrative

### Group Formation

The PKK began in 1974 in Diyarbakir by a group of Kurdish students organized as the National Liberation Army (UKO) (Karaca 2010, 38). The UKO was renamed to be the PKK in 1978 by Abdullah Ocalan with a goal to fight for an independent Turkish state (Australian National Security n.d.; Mackenzie Institute 2016). Ocalan was inspired by Marxist ideology (Mackenzie Institute 2016). After the fall of the Soviet Union, the group began to emphasize Kurdish nationalism more than Marxism (Karaca 2010, 37). The group came to attention in 1984 when it launched an armed struggle against the Turkish state (Mackenzie Institute 2016; Australian National Security n.d.).

### Geography

The group claims territory in southeastern Turkey as part of Kurdistan including Hakkari province, Siirt, Adiyaman, Sirnak, and Agriman (Australian National Security n.d.). The PKK bases are located in the “PUK and KDP-controlled regions of the KRG” (Karaca 2010, 76). The HPG operates out of the Qandil mountains (Karaca 2010, 35).

The group primarily operated out of southeastern Turkey until 1991 when it began to move into western Turkey (Karaca 2010, 39).

### **Organizational Structure**

PKK was initially led by Abdullah Ocalan who decided to form the PKK while a university student in the 1970s (Mackenzie Institute 2016). After his arrest, he was replaced by Murat Karayilan (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The PKK has evolved into a very well-organized group. The armed wing is called the People’s Defence Forces (HPG) (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The Central Executive Committee oversees everything including the Military Wing (ARGK), External Wing (ERNK), and other subcommittees (Karaca 2010, 33). The ERNK is in charge of propaganda, training, funding, contacts with other armed groups, and intelligence on Turkish security forces (Karaca 2010, 34). It has a women’s wing called YAJK as well.

From 1984-1986, the PKK purposely targeted noncombatants that did not support their movement (Karaca 2010, 38).

It has approximately 7000 members (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It primarily funds itself through donations from supporters throughout Kurdistan as well as a Kurdish diaspora in Europe (Mackenzie Institute 2016). Members are primarily drawn from the Kurdish ethnic group and in rural areas often through personal connections (Australian National Security n.d.).

### **External Ties**

The group primarily fought against other armed groups in the late 1970s (Karaca 2010). It had an alliance with DHKP/C from 1991 to 1998 (Karaca 2010, 39).

The group allegedly received external support from Greece, Syria, Russia, Iraq, Iran, and Armenia including diplomatic, political, and funding (Karaca 2010, 46-51).

### **Group Outcome**

Until 1980, the PKK namely fought against other armed groups in Turkey and Kurdish tribal leaders (Karaca 2010, 38). After the 1980 military coup, the PKK reorganized to create a formal military wing and in 1984 launched its “people’s revolution” against the government (Karaca 2010, 38). Turkish counter-terrorism was largely ineffective at

destroying the PKK until 1991 when it launched a series of offensives which pushed the PKK out of villages and towards the Qandil mountains (Karaca 2010, 40-41).

Ocalan was arrested by Turkish police in 1999 and sentenced to death, but it was later commuted (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The arrest had little effect on the group's actions. In 2013, the PKK announced a ceasefire with Turkish forces (Mackenzie Institute 2016).

XIII. FATAH AL-MAJLIS AL-THAWRI  
Torg ID: 3  
Min. Group Date: 1974  
Max. Group Date: 1998  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Abu Nidal Organization (ANO), ANO, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Arab Revolutionary Council, Fatah Al-Majlis Al-Thawri, Fatah Al-Qiyadah Al-Thawriyyah, Fatah Revolutionary Council, Fatah Revolutionary Council (FRC/ANO), FRC/ANO, Revolutionary Organization Of Socialist Muslims, Revolutionary Council, Revolutionary Council of Fatah, Al-Fatah Revolutionary Council, Fatah-the Revolutionary Council, Black June, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims, Black September, Egyptian Revolution, Arab Fedayeen Cells, Palestine Revolutionary Council, Organization of Jund al Haq, Arab Revolutionary Council.

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### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1974

Group End (Outcome): 2002 (loss of leadership)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

ANO was founded in 1974 by Sabri al Banna as a splinter from the PLO (Martin 2011, 5). The group fought to destroy Israel in order to create a separate Palestinian state (Martin 2011, 5; CFR 2009). It was more extremist than Fatah which in 1974 announced it would be willing to support a two-state solution (Martin 2011, 5). The group was heavily influenced by the Baathists in Iraq (Martin 2011, 5). It came to attention in 1973 following a hijacking at the Rome airport (Mackenzie Institute 2015).

#### **Geography**

The group operated out of Baghdad, but was involved in attacks throughout Iraq, Israel, and Europe.

#### **Organizational Structure**

The group constructed a vast operation of resources in Iraq, Syria, and Libya. It had both a political and a military wing of which the former was also responsible for recruitment, propaganda, and financing (Mackenzie Institute 2015). Banna helped the group partially fund itself through the establishment of a trade and investment company in Warsaw which engaged in arms deals during the Iran-Iraq War (Mackenzie Institute 2015). The group had approximately 500 members and was active in 20 countries across northern Africa, the Middle East, and Europe (Martin 2011, 5). Banna may have “coup-proofed” parts of his organization in 1989 to remove dissidents (Martin 2011, 5).

#### **External Ties**

ANO operated out Baghdad and received external support from Saddam Hussein in exchange (Martin 2011, 5). The group also received external support from Libya and Syria (FAS 2004). The group was expelled from Baghdad in 1983, but was allowed to return after the Iraq-Iran war ended (CFR 2009). In 1999, Egypt and Libya expelled ANO from operating in the country (Mackenzie Institute 2015). Libya did so in order to secure some sanctions relief (CFR 2009). The Jordanian government responded to ANO with threats to kill Banna and his family if he did not cease operations (Martin 2011, 5). Iraqi and Libyan support for the ANO fell after the Cold War and Banna was forced to retrench to Egypt (Martin 2011, 6).

## Group Outcome

Last attack in 1998 (GTD 2017). Banna was killed in 2002 (Martin 2011, 5). The group is thought to be inactive with former leadership hiding in Lebanon (CFR 2009).

### XIV. JUSTICE COMMANDOS FOR THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Torg ID: 248

Min. Group Date: 1975

Max. Group Date: 1986

Onset: NA

Aliases: JCAG-ARA, Armenian Revolutionary Army

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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: JCAG, Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide, The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide

Group Formation: 1975

Group End: 1985 (unknown)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

The Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide was a right wing, Armenian nationalist and separatist group (MIPT 2008; Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 1; Gunter 2007, 110; Wilkinson 1983, 346; Chalk 2013, 383). JCAG was formed by the Dashnak Party, an Armenian political party that is more commonly known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or ARF (MIPT 2008; Chalk 2013, 383). The group's main goal was to use violence to coerce the government of Turkey into accepting responsibility for the Armenian genocide of the early twentieth century, in which 1.5 million Armenians were killed (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, iii; Chalk 2013, 383). Moreover, JCAG reportedly attempted to make other countries around the world recognize the Armenian genocide (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, iii). The group strived for the formation of a separate and autonomous Armenian state (MIPT 2008). The group had profound enmity for Turkey, and accordingly, attacked Turkish interests and assassinated Turkish diplomats (MIPT 2008; Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 2; Gunter 2007, PAGE; Chalk 2013, 383). JCAG conducted its first attack on October 22, 1975, when three group operatives assassinated Danis Tinaligil, the Turkish ambassador to Austria (GTD 2018; Gunter 2007, 115; Chalk 2013, 383).

The group conducted its first attack in Portugal on June 7, 1982, when a group member fatally shot a Turkish administrative attache and his or her wife (GTD 2018).

### **Geography**

JCAG conducted attacks throughout the world (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in Austria in the city of Vienna (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in France in the cities of Paris and Marseilles (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in Switzerland in the cities of Zurich and Bern (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in Italy in the city of Rome (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in Belgium in the city of Brussels (GTD 2018). The group conducted an attack in the United Kingdom in the city of London (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in Spain in the city of Madrid (GTD 2018). The group conducted an attack in the Netherlands in the city of Den Haag (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in the United States in the cities of Los Angeles, New York City, Cambridge, Somerville, and Philadelphia (GTD 2018; Central Intelligence Agency 1984, iii). In the United States, the group maintained a particularly large presence in Los Angeles and elsewhere in California (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, iii; New York Times 1982). The group conducted an attack in Australia in the city of Sydney (GTD 2018). The group conducted an attack in Denmark in the city of Copenhagen (GTD 2018). The group conducted attacks in Portugal in the cities of Linda-a-Velha and Lisbon (GTD 2018). The group conducted an attack in Canada in the city of Ottawa (GTD 2018; New York Times 1985). The group conducted an attack in Bulgaria in the city of Burgas (GTD 2018). The group conducted an attack in Turkey in the city of Istanbul (GTD 2018). The group allegedly conducted an attack in Lebanon in the city of Beirut (GTD 2018). The group allegedly conducted an attack in what was then Yugoslavia in the city of Belgrade (GTD 2018).

### **Organizational Structure**

JCAG was a part of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or ARF; JCAG often functioned as an armed wing of ARF (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 2-4). The structure of ARF is hierarchical and pyramidal (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 2). ARF consisted of many regional chapters throughout the world (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 2-4). Each chapter was led by a central committee, which was generally responsible for that chapter's operations and members (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 4). Each chapter's central committee reported to a geographic bureau, which consisted of about five of the most important ARF members of that region (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 4). The geographic bureau made important decisions, received funding, and directed important facets of activities (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 4). The entire ARF was led by the world bureau (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 4). The world bureau was elected every four years by delegates from local chapters (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 4). Nothing is known about the organizational structure or leadership of JCAG itself. JCAG consists of members of the Armenian diaspora around the world (MIPT 2008; Gunter 2007, 111). JCAG was funded privately and not by states (MIPT 2008). The group is primarily funded by the Armenian diaspora around the world (MIPT 2008; Chalk 2013, 383).

### **External Ties**

The Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide had ties to Hai Heghapokhakan Dashnaktsuthium (MIPT 2008; Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 2-4; Gunter 2007, PAGE; Chalk 2013, 383). Hai Heghapokhakan Dashnaktsuthium is more commonly known as the Dashnak Party, Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or ARF (Gunter 2007, 113). ARF, an Armenian political party, was the parent organization of JCAG (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, iii). JCAG was formed by the ARF in 1975 (MIPT 2008; Chalk 2013, 383). JCAG functioned as a military wing of ARF (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 4).

The Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide had a fierce rivalry with another Armenian group called Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, or ASALA (Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 5). ASALA, like JCAG, used violence to increase recognition of the Armenian genocide and to achieve liberation for the Armenian people (MIPT 2008; CIA/FOIA 1984, 1). Nevertheless, ASALA posed a larger threat to American interests than JCAG did (MIPT 2008; CIA/FOIA 1984, 1). Unlike the right wing JCAG, ASALA was a Marxist and Leninist group, which had ties to the U.S.S.R. and Palestinian nationalist groups which attempted to form an independent Palestinian state (MIPT 2008; Central Intelligence Agency 1984, 6; CIA/FOIA 1984, 1; Chalk 2013, 383).

JCAG was succeeded by the Armenian Revolutionary Army, or ARA (MIPT 2008). Armenian Revolutionary Army was an alias that the Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide adopted in July 1983 (MIPT 2008; Gunter 2007, 110).

JCAG likely did not have ties to any governments.

### **Group Outcome**

In a technical sense, JCAG's violent activities ended in 1983 (MIPT 2008). In July of that year, the Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide adopted the alias Armenian Revolutionary Army, or ARA (MIPT 2008; Gunter 2007, 110). The ARA used violence until 1985 (MIPT 2008; Gunter 2007, 110, 115-116; Chalk 2013, 383). For this reason, it can be determined that JCAG used violence after 1983, albeit under a different name. In March 1985, the group attacked the Turkish Embassy in the Canadian city of Ottawa (Gunter 2007, 115; Chalk 2013, 383). A security guard was killed (Gunter 2007, 115; Chalk 2013, 383). This was likely the group's last violent attack. The ARA reportedly has shifted its goals to campaigns in other places like Azerbaijan, where it is attempting to win Nagorno-Karabakh, a region in which many Armenians reside (MIPT 2008). It is unclear why the ARA ceased conducting attacks targeting Turkish diplomats and interests.

- XV. HAYASTANI AZATAGRUTYAN HAY GAGHTNI BANAK  
Torg ID: 87  
Min. Group Date: 1975



Max. Group Date: 1997

Onset: NA

Aliases: Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation Of Armenia, Armenian Liberation Army, Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation Of Armenia (Asala), Hayastani Azatagrutyun Hay Gaghtni Banak, Hayastani Azatagrut'yan Hay Gaghtni Banak

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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Armenian Liberation Army, Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation Of Armenia (ASALA), Hayastani Azatagrutyan Hay Gaghtni Banak, Hayastani Azatagrut'yan Hay Gaghtni Banak, Popular Movements for the Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation Of Armenia (PMASALA), Orly Group, ASALA-RM

Group Formation: 1971 - 1975

Group End: 1997 (dissolved due to splintering and death of leader)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

Hayastani Azatagrut'yan Hay Gaghtni Banak, commonly known as the Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation Of Armenia (ASALA), was founded between 1971 and January 1975 (Migliorino 2008, 154; Chalk 2013, 59; CIA n.d.). The group conducted its first attack in Beirut, Lebanon on January 20, 1975 (Gunter 2007). ASALA was the manifestation of a new wave of Armenian terrorism inspired by the 1973 killing of two Turkish attaches in Los Angeles by a 73-year old survivor of the Armenian genocide (Gunter 2007).

The primary goals of ASALA were to pressure the Turkish government into recognizing the Armenian genocide (Rubin and Colp Rubin 2015, 1376), enacting revenge on Turkey for their perpetration of the Armenian genocide, and establishing an independent Armenian state (Rubin and Colp Rubin 2015, 1376). The group ascribes to Marxism-Leninism as well as ethno-nationalism on behalf of the Armenian people (Sullivan 2011; Gunter 2007; Chalk 2013).

### **Geography**

ASALA was founded in Beirut, Lebanon and maintained headquarters with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in Western Beirut (Wilkinson 1983) until 1982 when the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) invaded Lebanon in order to disrupt the PLO. ASALA's headquarters were then moved to Damascus, Syria (Migliorino 2008, 155). Additional reports state that ASALA has an additional base in Libya where it was allowed to train by Muammar Gaddafi's government (Lalevee 1983, 41). ASALA is a transnational organization, orchestrating attacks in almost two dozen countries across Europe, the Middle East, North America, and South America (GTD 2018). These attacks are generally conducted in metropolitan areas with dense populations.

### **Organizational Structure**

ASALA was founded in 1975 by Hagop Hagopian and Hagop Tarakciyan in Beirut, Lebanon (GTD Perpetrator 305) with the support of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) (Migliorino 2008, 154), a faction of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and Black September (Gunter 2007, 117), the secret service branch of Fatah. Prior to starting ASALA, Hagopian, an ethnic Armenian born in Lebanon (Sullivan 2011), was a member of the PFLP (Gunter 2007, 117). ASALA received funding and support from a wide range of states and organizations.

In addition to external support from both state and non-state actors, U.S. officials have stated that ASALA has acted as a mercenary group in order to finance their terrorist operations (Washington Post 1988). At its inception, ASALA had six or seven members (Sullivan 2011) and later estimates placed membership in the group anywhere from roughly 100 to 300 members (Sullivan 2011; FAS 1998). Membership of ASALA consists of ethnic Armenians. A CIA report from 1984 states that the CIA believed ASALA to be managed by a central leadership committee while most academic sources credit Hagopian as the group's leader (Central Intelligence Agency 2010). However, the CIA report references Hagopian as a group leader chief spokesman. Due to redactions in the document, it is not possible to determine additional information regarding Hagopian and the group's leadership.

### **External Ties**

ASALA receives funding and support from multiple state and non-state actors. At ASALA's onset, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine heavily supported the group by giving them protection and training (Migliorino 2008, 154). The leader of another Palestinian terrorist leader, Abu Iyad, chief of Black September, the secret service branch of Fatah, also reportedly supported the group during its inception (Gunter 2007). Both Syria and Libya have provided aid and safehaven for ASALA (Lalevee 1983, 41; FAS 1998). ASALA maintained close connections with the terrorist groups the New Armenian Resistance (NAR) (GTD n.d.) and the Kurdish Workers' Party (KWP) (Central Intelligence Agency 2010), both of whom ASALA has conducted joint operations with in Europe.

Following the displacement of ASALA's headquarters following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the attack on Orly Airport in France in 1983, ASALA splintered into two groups. One would be known as ASALA Revolutionary Movement (ASALA-RM), and the other, lead by Hagopian, would continue on as ASALA.

### **Group Outcome**

Following the splinter of 1983, ASALA-RM attempted to establish itself as a political movement rather than a terrorist organization. However, members of ASALA-RM claim to have been targeted by ASALA hindering the group's ability to function (source). In addition, the leader of ASALA-RM, Monte Melkonian, was arrested in France in 1985, essentially killing the movement (Gunter 2007). Due to the loss of resources as a result of splinter of 1983 combined with the troubles of establishing itself in Syria, ASALA was forced to rely heavily on the Syrian government to remain afloat. Eventually the Syrians took control of ASALA and ousted its leader Hagopian at the end of 1987 (Gunter 2007). ASALA did not launch a single attack during 1987 and only conducted a single attack following the expulsion of Hagopian in 1988.

The last confirmed attack undertaken by the ASALA was on February 2, 1988. In two additional incidents, occurring in 1991 (Los Angeles Times 1991) and 1997 (GTD n.d.), individuals claiming to be connected to ASALA claimed responsibility for the attacks, but their claims can not be substantiated and were likely lone wolf actors.

Notes for Iris:

- they had 6 or 7 people in 1975 (likely) when they formed, but the 100-300 people estimates are unknown

- why were they able to grow so big? The group's ties to the PFLP gave them a lot of training and experience because of external support. The founder of ASALA was Armenian and the initial members were likely Armenian (Armenian refugees in Lebanon), but external support was primarily Palestinian.

- the group has a lot of external support, but most of it is alleged. The Libya support is super unclear

- one of the most interesting things about ASALA was the heroism associated with one of the group's leader

- why did ASALA splinter? They had gotten kicked out of Lebanon and there were reports of in-fighting. ASALA R-M \*might\* have wanted to be more of a political movement, but another faction might have tried to keep using violent activities post Orly-attack.

XVI. UNIVERSAL LIBERATION FRONT  
Torg ID: 1338  
Min. Group Date: 1977  
Max. Group Date: 1977  
Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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  - Universal liberation front netherlands from 1977-10-01 to 1977-10-30
  - Germany consulate attack from 1977-10-01 to 1977-10-30
  - german\* consulate attack dutch from 1977-10-01 to 1977-10-30

### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1977 (first attack)

Group End: 1977

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed, but it came to attention for its first violent attack in October 1977 (GTD 2019). The Universal Liberation Front’s first attack was executed by five members of the group and was an armed attack on the German Consulate in the Netherlands on October 5, 1977 (GTD 2019). The second attack was executed by four members of the group and was an armed attack on the US Consulate in the Netherlands on October 10, 1977 (GTD 2019). Nothing could be found about the Universal Liberation Front’s political aims or ideology.

#### **Geography**

The group’s only two attacks took place in the city of Rotterdam in the Netherlands (GTD 2019).

#### **Organizational Structure**

Nothing is known about the Universal Liberation Front’s organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about the Universal Liberation Front's external ties.

### Group Outcome

After the group's only two attacks in 1977, the Universal Liberation Front disappeared (GTD 2019). It is unknown if any of the attackers were captured during either of the attacks (GTD 2019).

## Netherlands Part 2, 1981-2012

Last Updated: 15 May 2020

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T50	ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT (ALF)		1982	2011
T882	ARMENIAN RED ARMY		1982	1982
T1154	KOETOH REH		1984	1984
T1260	RED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT		1985	1986
T1440	PAN-TURKISH ORGANIZATION		1985	1985
T1063	DOWN WITH LUBBERS		1986	1986
T28	AL-QAIDA		1989	2012
T1264	REVOLUTIONAIRE ANTI-RACISTISCHE ACTIE		1990	1991
T1593	ACTION FRONT NATIONALIST LIBRIUM		1992	1992
T867	ACTIEFRONT NATIONISTISCH NEDERLAND		1992	1992
T469	REPUBLIK MALUKU SELATAN		1998	0
T136	COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES IN EUROPE		1999	0
T975	STOP HUNTINGDON ANIMAL CRUELTY (SHAC)		1999	0
T1101	HOFSTADGROEP		2004	2004

- I. ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT (ALF)  
Torg ID: 50  
Min. Group Date: 1982  
Max. Group Date: 2011  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Animal Liberation Front (Alf), Animal Liberation

### Part 1. Bibliography

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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: ALF

Group Formation: 1976 (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681)

Group End: 2012

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

This group formed in 1976 when it splintered off from the Bands of Mercy, the armed wing of the Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA) (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681; Best 2004, 239; MIPT Knowledge Base 2008).

The HSA was a revived anti-hunting organization from 1824. This small group did actions against cub hunting by disabling hunt vehicles to stop or slow down hunting. In 1972, two members, Lee and Cliff Goodman, created an armed wing known as the Band of Mercy to violently prevent people from hunting (Best 2004, 239). Activities expanded to arson and higher levels of illegal activity before Lee and Goodman were arrested in 1974 (Best 2004). This backfired and gave huge publicity for the group which Lee exploited upon his prison release in 1976 (Best 2004).

It committed its first formal violent attack in 1976 (Monaghan 2000; Best 2004; VICE 2017). The group’s short term goal is the save as many animals as possible while in the long term be able to end all animal suffering (MIPT Knowledge Base 2008). It also aims to avoid harming humans (MIPT Knowledge Base 2008).

### **Geography**

The group targets areas known as “urban sprawls” or populated areas that have negative environmental impact (Lewis 2004). This groups also targets laboratories and research facilities (MIPT Knowledge Base 2008). In 1982, the group founded a US branch (MIPT 2008). This group became transnational in 1982 when it set a veterinary lab in California on fire. It has now spread across the globe and conducted attacks in Netherlands, New Zealand, Canada, France, Australia, Mexico, Finland, and Germany (GTD 2017). The only known base is a training camp in Britain held by both Speak and SHAC. The camp featured 300 militants including many from the U.S (Independent UK 2004).



## **Organizational Structure**

Ronnie Lee formed the group in 1976 (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681). Lee had a long history as an animal rights activist. He first was a member of the Hunt Saboteurs Association before splitting off and forming the Band of Mercy with Cliff Goodman (Best 2004). After being arrested in 1974 on a failed raid, Goodman became a “grass” or police informer against the Band of Mercy while Lee used the new attention from their arrest to form the Animal Liberation Front (Best 2004, pg 73).

The group is organized around many different cells (BBC 2000).

Even though it was founded by Ronnie Lee, the group still claims to be a leaderless resistance that depends on the individual cells to commit their own actions (Monaghan 2013, pg 934). The group is said to also have gotten its expertise and training from manuals and the internet (BBC 2000). The group is allegedly self-financed (MITP Knowledge Base 2008). While some of them may be financed individually, 3000 individuals contribute resources to the ALF through the ALFSG or Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group (Monaghan 1999).

The group roughly began in 1976 with 30 individuals but has since expanded to what the group claims to be well over 2,500 activists with 100 of them especially dedicated (Monaghan 1999, 163). The requirements for membership of the group are only to be vegan and obedient (Monaghan 1999). The majority of the group is composed of young middle class professionals in North America and the UK (BBC 2000).

## **External Ties**

This group formed in 1976 when it splintered off from the Bands of Mercy, the armed wing of the Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA) (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681; Best 2004, 239; MITP Knowledge Base 2008). Other animal extremist groups in the UK such as Speak, SHAC, and the Justice Department do not officially collaborate with the ALF. (Independent UK 2004). The Animal Rights Militia splintered off from this group around 1982 (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681).

## **Group Outcome**

The state has arrested and convicted Lee on several occasions including in 1976, 1977, and 1987 (Best 2004; Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681). British police have arrested several other members including 10 individuals in 1987 and Donald Currie (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681; Monaghan 2013, pg 944). Police have arrested numerous individuals over the years including 10 in 1987 and ALF's top bomber, Donald Currie, in 2007 (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 681; Monaghan 2013, pg 944).

Britain took further extreme measures with Scotland Yard in 1984, lobbying the Research Defence Society and Victims of Animal Rights Extremism in 2004, and the National Domestic Extremism Unit led by the Metropolitan Police Service in 2011 (Monaghan 2013, pg 940-941).

This became successful with the use of Operation Forton (2005) and Operation Achilles (2007) which is believed to help bring half of all violent activists to prison (Monaghan 2013, pg 944). The FBI has also taken a number of actions against the ALF. The FBI have made a number of arrests against eco terrorists group including both the ALF and ELF. The FBI also began a "coordinated investigative approach" in 2001 and have over 34 FBI field offices with numerous cases on the ALF and ELF. The FBI also brought in Intelligence Information Reports and the Joint Terrorism Task Forces to further compact the animal rights groups. The latest Operation was Operation Backfire which convicted 9 of the 11 activists on trial.

The group's last violent attack occurred in 2016 in Finland (GTD 2017). The group is still active today (GTD 2017; Vice 2017).

- II. ARMENIAN RED ARMY  
Torg ID: 882  
Min. Group Date: 1982  
Max. Group Date: 1982  
Onset: NA

Note: This may be an alias for ASALA.

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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<https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/215937767/>
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[http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND\\_MG741-1.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG741-1.pdf)

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: ASALA?

Group Formation: 1982 (MIPT 2008)

Group End (Outcome): 1985 (disappear (Gooding 1986); Jones and Libicki (2008, 149) say the group ended in 1982 due to policing)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the Armenian Red Army first formed, but it initially came to attention in 1982 for a series of violent attacks in the Netherlands (MIPT 2008). Although there was not much information on this specific group, MIPT states that most Armenian terrorist groups carry out attacks in order to seek revenge against Turkey for the Armenian genocide, compel Western states to bring attention to the Armenian genocide and hopefully establish an independent state of Armenia (MIPT 2008).

### **Geography**

The group carried out attacks around the world including the Netherlands and Canada. Penyemin Evingulu, a member arrested at one point, claimed that the Armenian Red Army was based in Beirut, Lebanon (MIPT 2008). In addition, the Armenian Red Army claimed responsibility for a hostage crisis in the Turkish embassy in Ottawa, Canada (Gooding 1986).

### **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found, except one member who claimed that the Armenian Red Army operated out of Beirut (MIPT 2008). No other information could be found about membership, funding, structure, etc.

Jones and Libicki say the group had a peak size in the “tens” of members although no additional source could be found to corroborate this information (Jones and Libicki 2008, 149).

### **External Ties**

No information could be found about external ties although the group had a similar ideology to many other Armenian terrorist groups, they may have had some sort of support from them and the Armenian people.

There is some speculation the group was an alias for the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (MIPT 2008).

### **Group Outcome**

The group’s last known incident was in 1985 when they attacked the Turkish embassy in Ottawa, Canada (Gooding 1986). Since then, the group has been primarily quiet.

After the fall of the USSR, Armenia gained independence, fulfilling a big goal of most Armenian terrorist groups, which may have contributed to the dissolution of the Armenian Red Army (Ibid). It can be concluded that the AAR has dissolved. However, Turkey has not yet made a statement apologizing for the Armenian genocide, so not all the initial goals of the group have been fulfilled (Ibid). According to Jones and Libicki, the group ceased due to policing, but no other sources could be found to corroborate that (Jones and Libicki 2008, 149).

III. KOETOH REH  
Torg ID: 1154  
Min. Group Date: 1984  
Max. Group Date: 1984  
Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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<https://amsterdam.kunstwacht.nl/kunstwerken/bekijk/553-monument-indie-nederland>

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1984

Group End: 1984

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed, but it first came to attention for a violent attack in 1984. The purpose of Koetoh Reh’s only attack was to protest racism in the Netherlands as well as Dutch connections to the government of Indonesia (Central Intelligence Agency 1984; Reformatorisch Dagblad 1984). The group’s name, Koetoh Reh, is a reference to an Indonesian village where the Dutch army murdered hundreds of people in 1904 (Central Intelligence Agency 1984). This massacre by the colonial army was under the leadership of General Van Heutzsz, which is why Koetoh Reh bombed the Van Heutzsz monument in Amsterdam in 1984 (Reformatorisch Dagblad 1984). The Van Heutzsz monument was already very controversial and has been the target of violence in the past (Kunstwacht n.d.). The bombing of the monument dedicated to the Dutch colonial army in Indonesia was the group’s first and only attack (Central Intelligence Agency 1984; GTD 2019). There was only one injury, and it was the 12 year old boy who first discovered the bomb while climbing the monument (Antenna 1984).

### **Geography**

The group’s only attack took place in Amsterdam in the Netherlands (GTD 2019; Central Intelligence Agency 1984).

### **Organizational Structure**

Nothing could be found about Koetoh Reh’s organizational structure. The group may have been Indonesians, but no evidence could be found to corroborate.

### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about Koetoh Reh’s external ties.

## Group Outcome

The boy injured in the attack only discovered some of the dynamite, and what was not found exploded on the statue later that day (Antenna 1984). Police rushed to the scene and were soon able to remove the rest of the explosives (Antenna 1984). Newspapers received statements from Koetoh Reh claiming responsibility for the attack, but it seemed as though the explosion was supposed to take place at night (Antenna 1984; Reformatorisch Dagblad 1984). Amsterdam police searched the monument again but never found anything (Reformatorisch Dagblad 1984). The bombing of the Van Heutsz monument was Koetoh Reh's only violent attack (GTD 2019).

Notes for Iris:

-the monument had been previously controversial due to the military history associated with and been targeted for political violence before

#### IV. RED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

Torg ID: 1260

Min. Group Date: 1985

Max. Group Date: 1986

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

#### Part 1. Bibliography

- GTD Perpetrator 2703. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last modified September 2019.  
<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=2703>
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- Bob de Graaf. "From Security Threat to Protection of Vital Interests: Changing Perceptions in the Dutch Security Service, 1945-91." Bob de Graaff. Conflict Quarterly. 1992. PDF. gDrive.
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#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Rood Revolutionair Front, RRF (Schmid and Jongman, 1988)

Group Formation: 1984-1985

Group End: 1986 (arrest)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

The Red Revolutionary Front was created by three young men in their 20's around 1984-1985 (Reformatorisch Dagblad 1987; Schmid and Jongman, 1988). The group was formed because the trio opposed the government's policy governing freedom of speech social protests (Reformatorisch Dagblad 1987). The group claimed that democratic reforms in Netherlands did not sufficiently represent the rights of the people (Reformatorisch Dagblad 1987). The group is considered a left-wing nationalist group (Reformatorisch Dagblad 1987). The RRF was responsible for nine attacks until they were arrested in 1986 (Schmid and Jongman, 1988). Their first attack was in the fall of 1984 (Schmid and Jongman 1988).

#### **Geography**

All of the Red Revolutionary Front's attacks took place in the Netherlands. The majority were in The Hague, but their last one was in the city of Rotterdam (Schmid and Jongman, 1988; GTD 2019; Gazette 1986).

#### **Organizational Structure**

The Red Revolutionary Front was made up of three men in their 20's (Schmid and Jongman, 1988; Reformatorisch Dagblad 1987). It is unknown how they funded themselves.

#### **External Ties**

Nothing could be found about the Red Revolutionary Front's external ties.

#### **Group Outcome**

The group's last attack was in November 1986 and was the bombing of an American Express building in Rotterdam (Reformatorisch Dagblad 1987). There were no injuries from the explosion, but there was extensive property damage (Gazette 1986). The RRF's attacks typically involved time bombs, and the group would call in a tip notifying someone of the explosives before they were detonated (The Guardian 1986; Gazette

1986). Following this attack, all members of the group were arrested in December 1986 and sentenced in 1987 (Schmid and Jongman, 1988; de Graaf 1992). Two of the members had to serve three and three and a half years in prison (Reformatorsch Dagblad 1987). The third man was sentenced to treatment in a mental institution (Reformatorsch Dagblad 1987).

Notes for Iris:

-political aims here are super unclear. Need to better understand what gov policy on freedom of assembly or social protest was?

## V. PAN-TURKISH ORGANIZATION

Torg ID: 1440

Min. Group Date: 1985

Max. Group Date: 1985

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: PTO (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 624)

Group Formation: 1985

Group End: 1985

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

The Pan-Turkish Organization first came to attention in 1985 when they sent a letter bomb to a Bulgarian travel agency in Amsterdam (MIPT 2008; GTD 2019; Schmid and



Jongman 1988, 624). However, the attack was not successful and Dutch authorities were able to diffuse the explosive (MIPT 2008; GTD 2019). The group never explained the reason behind the attack but they promised that more would follow, even though they never did (MIPT 2008; Schmid and Jongman 1988, 624). It is assumed that the group formed in response to the authoritarian Zhirkov regime's assimilation plan in Bulgaria (MIPT 2008). Once the Turkish population was growing faster than the ethnic Bulgarians', the Bulgarian government created an assimilation program against the Turkish minority (MIPT 2008). This involved restricting Islamic customs and institutions, changing Turkish names to Bulgarian names, banning the teaching of Turkish in schools. The assimilation program sparked Turkish violence in protest (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 624; MIPT 2008).

### **Geography**

The Pan-Turkish Organization's only attack took place in Amsterdam in the Netherlands (MIPT 2008; GTD 2019; Schmid and Jongman 1988, 624).

### **Organizational Structure**

The PTO is allegedly made up of Turks who felt repressed in Bulgaria, however, it is unknown how many members were in the group (MIPT 2008). Although the group's incendiary device was extremely professional, it is assumed that they were not very organized or structured (MIPT 2008).

### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about the Pan-Turkish Organization's external ties.

### **Group Outcome**

The PTO's first and last attack was at a Bulgarian travel office in 1985, where the Dutch police were able to diffuse the bomb that was used (MIPT 2008; GTD 2019; Schmid and Jongman 1988, 624). The Pan-Turkish Organization has been inactive since their first attack and it is likely they disbanded after the assimilation plan came to an end in the 1990s (MIPT 2008). Eventually the Turkish minority regained their rights and cultural freedoms after the Zhirkov regime fell.

Notes for Iris:

-Zhirkov was the communist leader of Bulgaria from 1954 to 1989 and super authoritarian.

-the main catalyst for this group was the new policy and not the leader himself

Torg ID: 1063  
Min. Group Date: 1986  
Max. Group Date: 1986  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Down With Lubbers Commando, Down With Lubbers

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- GTD Perpetrator 2493. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last modified September 2019.  
<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=2493>
- Sun-Times Wires, F 1987, 'Dutch prime minister foils attack, tosses out firebomb', Chicago Sun-Times, 8 May, p. 40, (online NewsBank). PDF. gDrive.
- Mike Corder. "Ruud Lubbers, long-serving Dutch prime minister who trimmed welfare state, dies at 78." Washington Post. 2018.  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/ruud-lubbers-long-serving-dutch-prime-minister-who-trimmed-welfare-state-dies-at-78/2018/02/14/fa148600-11b0-11e8-9065-e55346f6de81\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/ruud-lubbers-long-serving-dutch-prime-minister-who-trimmed-welfare-state-dies-at-78/2018/02/14/fa148600-11b0-11e8-9065-e55346f6de81_story.html)

### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Down with Lubbers Commando

Group Formation: 1986

Group End: 1987 (suspected)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed, but it came to attention for its first violent attack in September 1986 (GTD 2019). Down with Lubbers claimed responsibility for firebomb attacks in September that year. They may have also been responsible for an attack at the house of Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers in 1987 (Sun-Times Wires 1987). Lubbers was the youngest and longest serving prime minister for the Netherlands (Sun-Times Wires 1987; Washington Post 2018). He was a Christian Democrat and ran a very conservative Dutch government from 1982-1994 (Washington Post 2018). Lubbers was also chosen to be the U.N. high commissioner for refugees, but was forced to resign due to a sexual harassment accusation (Washington Post 2018). There were many anarchist groups similar to Down with Lubbers that opposed the prime minister's center-right government (Sun-Times Wires 1987).

#### **Geography**

Down with Lubbers' only attacks took place in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands (Sun-Times Wires 1987; Washington Post 2018).

### **Organizational Structure**

Nothing is known about Down with Lubbers' organizational structure.

### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about Down with Lubbers' external ties.

### **Group Outcome**

None of the group's attacks resulted in fatalities or injuries (GTD 2019). Their only confirmed attacks were in September of 1986, but it is assumed that the group is responsible for a firebomb thrown into Ruud Lubbers' home (Sun-Times Wires 1987; GTD 2019). It is unknown if any of the members of Down with Lubbers were ever taken into custody, but the group has been inactive since their last attack in 1987 (Sun-Times Wires 1987; GTD 2019).

Notes for Iris:

-is the 1987 attack the same group?? The attack type is the same (Lubbers) and the tactic is the same (firebombing), but no direct evidence ever found.

VII. AL-QAIDA  
Torg ID: 28  
Min. Group Date: 1989  
Max. Group Date: 2012  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Al-Qa'ida, Al Qaeda, Al Qaida, Al-Qa`Ida, Al-Qaeda, Qaidat Al-Jihad, Qa'idat Al-Jihad, The Base

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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- "Al Qaeda: Inside the Terror Network." Frontline. PBS.  
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<http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-organizations-and-networks/al-qaeda-k-al-qaida-al-qaida/p912>

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1988 (Mackenzie Institute 2016)

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (active) (Crenshaw 2015)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

Al-Qaida was founded by Osama Bin Laden in 1988 (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group's initial goals were to completely remove Western influence and ideas and to abolish the United States and Israel (BAAD 2015). Al-Qaida attempts to achieve a state governed by sharia law and a conservative interpretation of Islam (FP 2012). They conducted their first attacks against the US embassy in Africa in 1998 (BAAD 2015; Global Security N.D). Al-Qaida first came to global attention after 9/11 but was active prior to that in its region (FAS 2005). The group has a radical Sunni Muslim ideology and ascribes to Salafi jihadist ideas (CFR 2012; Global Security n.d.; Blanchard 2007, 6).

#### **Geography**

Al-Qaida operated mainly within Peshawar, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (CFR 2012; PBS N.D). The group hid within cities and hills with particularly mountainous terrain in the Tora Bora mountains of Afghanistan (as shepherd or farmers) (FAS 2005). The group's leader Osama bin Laden had a base of operations in Sudan from 1991 to 1998 (Mackenzie Institute 2016).

#### **Organizational Structure**

Al-Qaida was headed by Osama Bin Laden, who was the group's sole leader until his assassination in 2011 (CFR 2012). He was originally from Saudi Arabia and had helped fight the Soviets in Afghanistan (Crenshaw 2015). His father, Mohammed bin Laden, moved from southern Yemen to Saudi Arabia, where he worked his way up from being a menial laborer to gaining favor with the royal family and constructing palaces and mosques for King Faisal (The Guardian 2015; PBS 2001). Osama bin Laden was born in Saudi Arabia as one of fifty children (The Guardian 2015). After returning from a trip to Peshawar, Pakistan, he vocally advocated for support for the mujahideen (PBS 2001).

After collecting monetary donations for the mujahideen in Afghanistan, bin Laden first went to Afghanistan in 1982 and eventually fought in battles and established camps, which eventually attracted more Saudis to the country (PBS 2001). Eventually, bin Laden established Al-Qa'edah, or "The Base" as the center of his mujahideen operations. After the Soviets had withdrawn from Afghanistan, bin Laden again went to Afghanistan (PBS 2001). He was unable to leave the country as he had been banned from travel for trying to spread jihad to Yemen (PBS 2001). In response to Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1991, bin Laden argued that all Arab mujahideen should be brought to defend the country (PBS 2001). Then, bin Laden learned that

the United States would enter the conflict in Kuwait (PBS 2001). This was a turning point for bin Laden. He gathered religious support and led 4000 people to receive jihadist training in Afghanistan (PBS 2001). He spent a short while in Pakistan and Afghanistan, but eventually escaped from Saudi and Pakistani authorities to Sudan where he received temporary refuge (PBS 2001). In 1996, he left Sudan and returned to Afghanistan, where he conducted attacks against civilians and American forces on the Arabian Peninsula (PBS 2001). After the Taliban took over the Afghan city of Jalalabad, bin Laden joined the group (PBS 2001). The Saudis and the U.S. tried unsuccessfully many times to kidnap bin Laden (PBS 2001). He was finally defeated when American Navy SEALs raided his compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan (History 2018).

Following his death, he was replaced as leader by Ayman al-Zawahiri in 2011 (Crenshaw 2015; CFR 2012). The group used a complex decentralized, or cell-based, organizational structure in which members reported to couriers who reported to other couriers eventually making their way up to the head (RAND 2008). Funding for the organization came from many places, including donations (FTO 2005). The group had different councils to deal with different aspects. For example, they had a “military committee” to deal with “military” matters, and a “consultation council” to plan out terrorist attacks and deal with financial matters (PBS 2001). They have no formal political wing (BAAD 2015). Al-Qaida can be considered an umbrella group that consisted of many other terrorist groups within (ibid; Global Security n.d.). The organization had an estimated 75 members when it was first formed and up to 18,000 at its peak in 2004 (Crenshaw 2015). As of 2015, it is thought to have less than 1000 members, but these estimates vary wildly by source (Crenshaw 2015; BAAD 2015).

### **External Ties**

Both the government of Saudi Arabia and the US Central Intelligence Agency allegedly provided money and supplies to the mujahideen during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan before al-Qaida formally organized (Crenshaw 2015). Some reports claim that the CIA itself sent more than \$600 million to mujahideen associated with bin Laden (Crenshaw 2015). Some reports allege that Saudi Arabia funded Al-Qaida through drug trafficking and diamonds, though these claims are now considered to have been falsified and invalid (Crenshaw 2015). Bin Laden maintained ties with key members of the Saudi royal family; some, including Prince Faisal, allegedly provided Al-Qaida with large monetary donations (Crenshaw 2015; CNN 2015). Iran also allegedly trained and supported AQ members in the early 1990s (ibid; BAAD 2015). Afghanistan and Pakistan allow Al-Qaida to operate training camps within their borders (ibid). The group has ties to several other terrorist organizations including Egyptian Islamic Jihad, The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Armed Islamic Group in Algeria, the Abu Sayyaf Group, and Jemaah Islamiya (CFR 2012; PBS 2001).

### **Group Outcome**

The US launched Operation Enduring Freedom in 2001 to find and destroy the Taliban and Al-Qaeda elements operating in Afghanistan (BAAD 2015). The group's first leader Osama bin Laden was killed during a U.S. raid in 2011 (CFR 2012; BAAD 2015). The group is still active today.

VIII. REVOLUTIONAIRE ANTI-RACISTISCHE ACTIE

Torg ID: 1264

Min. Group Date: 1990

Max. Group Date: 1991

Onset: NA

Aliases: Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (Rara), Revolutionaire Anti-Racistische Actie, Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action

**Part 1. Bibliography**

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- "Anti-Apartheid Activists Turn Saboteurs." The Telegraph. 1988.  
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<https://search-proquest-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/docview/186862422?accountid=14026> (accessed May 26, 2020).
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<https://search-proquest-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/docview/187313989?accountid=14026> (accessed May 26, 2020).
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<https://search-proquest-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/docview/251949519?accountid=14026> (accessed May 26, 2020).
- Bomb explodes in the hague. 1993. South China Morning Post (1946-Current), Jul 02, 1993.  
<https://search-proquest-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/docview/1542247455?accountid=14026> (accessed May 26, 2020).

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 625), RARA (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 625), Radical Anti-Racist Action (Spinks 1991), Revolutionary Anti-Racist Group (Edmonton Journal 1993), "Guess Who I Am" (Spinks 1988)

Group Formation: 1985 (first attack?)

Group End: 1993

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action formed, but it first came to attention in 1985 for an arson attack at a Makro store (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 625; The Telegraph 1988). One source notes the group might have been conducting attacks back in the "1970s", but no other evidence of earlier attacks could be found (South China Morning Post 1993).

This leftist group conducted these attacks as anti-apartheid protests against the regime in Pretoria in South Africa (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 625; Edmonton Journal 1993). RARA attacked businesses in the Netherlands with ties to South Africa such as Makro and Shell (Spinks 1988). Some companies gave in to the group's demand to withdraw their business activity from South Africa (Spinks 1991; The Telegraph 1988). RARA conducted several bomb and arson attacks. They justified the use of violence arguing the damage they were causing was nothing compared to the injustice happening in South Africa due to the apartheid system (Spinks 1988).

### **Geography**

All of RARA's attacks took place in cities in the Netherlands (GTD 2019). They would attack companies with South African ties in the cities of Amsterdam, Duivendrecht, The Hague, Grootchermer, and Duiven (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 625; GTD 2019).

### **Organizational Structure**

RARA was very clandestine. Only ten members of the group have ever been arrested (Spinks 1988; The Telegraph 1988). Their name means "guess who I am" in Dutch and it has proved very difficult to track down members of the Revolutionary-Anti Racist Action (Spinks 1988; The Telegraph 1988). Nine of the ten arrested were released due to a lack of evidence, except for Rene Roemersma, who was the first RARA member to be convicted (Spinks 1988; The Telegraph 1988). It is unknown if Roemersma was a leader of RARA, but he was the only member sentenced to prison (Spinks 1988; The Telegraph



1988). He had to serve five years and was convicted for four attacks carried out by the Revolutionary-Anti Racist Action (Spinks 1988; The Telegraph 1988).

### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about the Revolutionary-Anti Racist Action's external ties.

### **Group Outcome**

In April 1988, nine members of RARA were arrested by police, but only Rene Roemersma was convicted (Spinks 1988). Roemersma was sentenced to five years in jail (Spinks 1988). The group's last attack was the bombing of the Dutch Social Affairs Ministry in The Hague in 1993 (Edmonton Journal 1993). The explosion took place at 3 in the morning and nobody was injured (South China Morning Post 1993; Edmonton Journal 1993). RARA called in warnings but nothing was found until the bomb exploded on the fourth floor and left a giant hole in the middle of the building (South China Morning Post 1993; Edmonton Journal 1993). The group claims the bomb was meant for the offices of the Labour Relations Inspectorate as a protest against the discrimination of both legal and illegal immigrants (South China Morning Post 1993). The group left a note at the crime threatening to conduct future attacks, but no more was heard from the group (South China Morning Post 1993). The apartheid system ended in South Africa in April 1994 which may have obviated the group's grievance and ended their need to use violence.

Notes for Iris:

-conflicting initial dates. Schmid and Jongman say 1985, but SCMP says 1970s. Unclear whether SCMP is referring to anti-apartheid groups in general or RARA.

-why did the group end? Suffered arrests in 1988, but continue to conduct attacks afterwards. End of apartheid likely had an effect but it's not clear if that's the primary reason for end of violence.

-unclear why the group is operating in Netherlands --targeted all types of businesses

#### **IX. ACTION FRONT NATIONALIST LIBRIUM**

Torg ID: 1593

Min. Group Date: 1992

Max. Group Date: 1992

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

#### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- GTD Perpetrator 2503. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last modified September 2019.  
<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=2503>

- Search ProQuest
  - Action front nationalist librium
  - “Action front nationalist librium”
  - Turkish attack hague from 1992-01-01 to 1992-04-30
  - Hague supermarket from 1992-01-01 to 1992-04-30
  - Hague attack from 1992-01-01 to 1992-04-30

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1992

Group End: 1992

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed, but it came to attention for its first violent attack in March 1992 (GTD 2019). The group’s only attack was on March 5, 1992, however, they never claimed responsibility for the attack (GTD 2019). It was the bombing of a Turkish supermarket in The Hague in the Netherlands (GTD 2019). There were no fatalities or injuries (GTD 2019). Nothing is known about the Action Front Nationalist Librium’s political aims or ideology.

### **Geography**

The Action Front Nationalist Librium’s only attack was in The Hague in the Netherlands (GTD 2019).

### **Organizational Structure**

Nothing is known about the Action Front Nationalist Librium’s organizational structure.

### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about the Action Front Nationalist Librium’s external ties.

### **Group Outcome**

The Action Front Nationalist Librium has been inactive since its only attack in 1992 (GTD 2019). It is unknown how many attackers participated in the attack or if any of the members have been captured (GTD 2019).

X. ACTIEFRONT NATIONISTISCH NEDERLAND

Torg ID: 867

Min. Group Date: 1992

Max. Group Date: 1992

Onset: NA

Aliases: Actiefront Nationistisch Nederland, Actiefront Nationalistisch Nederland

### Part 1. Bibliography

- "Actiefront Nationistisch Nederland." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 3905. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.  
[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcwI1JF6m\\_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcwI1JF6m_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit)
- GTD Perpetrator 2504. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last modified September 2019.  
<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=2504>
- Searched Proquest
  - Actiefront Nationistisch Nederland
  - Actiefront nederlan january attack
  - Netherlands employment bureau attack from 1992-01-01 to 1992-04-04

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Actiefront Nationalistisch Nederland

Group Formation: 1992

Group End: 1992

### Part 3. Narrative

#### Group Formation

The Actiefront Nationistisch Nederland first came to attention for a violent attack in 1992 (MIPT 2008; GTD 2019). Not much was previously known about the group but it is thought to be made up of far-right racist Dutch citizens (MIPT 2008). They are thought to have used violence to protest immigration flows into the Netherlands (MIPT 2008). The group's only other attack was a bombing at the Alien Broadcasting Foundation in the

Netherlands (GTD 2019). There were no fatalities or injuries from either of the bombings (GTD 2019).

### **Geography**

Both of the Actiefront Nationistisch Nederland's attacks took place in The Hague in the Netherlands (MIPT 2008, GTD 2019).

### **Organizational Structure**

It is suspected that the Actiefront Nationistisch Nederland did not have much of a structure and only came together to conduct the two attacks (MIPT 2008).

### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about the Actiefront Nationistisch Nederland's external ties.

### **Group Outcome**

The group has been inactive and disappeared after its last attack in 1992 (MIPT 2008; GTD 2019). It is unknown how many members participated in the attack or if any of them have been captured (GTD 2019)

## **XI. REPUBLIK MALUKU SELATAN**

Torg ID: 469

Min. Group Date: 1998

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: South Maluku Republic (Rms), Republik Maluku Selatan, South Maluku Republic

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- "SOUTH MALUKU REPUBLIC." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 3665, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1-gP05IM7aH41bHYL4ffcS-M8YqOHaFI4seuTSCvGAvs/edit>
- International Crisis Group (ICG), Weakening Indonesia's Mujahidin Networks: Lessons from Maluku and Poso, 13 October 2005, Asia Report N°103, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/43bd25804.html>
- Searched Proquest
  - South maluku republic

- “South maluku republic”
  - “South maluku republic” 1998
- Searched gScholar
  - South maluku republic
  - Republic of south maluku
  - Republic south moluccan

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Republik Maluku Selatan or RMS (MIPT 2008)

Group Formation: 1998 (MIPT 2008)

Group End: 2001 (MIPT 2008).

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

South Maluku Republic formed in 1998 and may have conducted its first violent attack soon after (MIPT 2008). South Maluku Republic was a Christian Separatist group that wanted to gain independence from Indonesia (MIPT 2008). Fighting broke out in Maluku in 1999 (ICG 2005, 4). It is modeled off of the original RMS movement in the Malukus that rebelled in the 1950s.

### **Geography**

South Maluku Republic was active in Maluku (MIPT 2008).

### **Organizational Structure**

South Maluku Republic members were later exiled to the Netherlands (MIPT 2008). Members were Christians who lived in Maluku (MIPT 2008). There is not much information about the group’s organizational structure, funding, leadership, or size.

### **External Ties**

No information was found about the group having external ties to other state or non-state actors.

### **Group Outcome**

The last recorded instance of violence was a bombing in 2001 (MIPT 2008). The government cracked down on South Maluku Republic in response (MIPT 2008). South Maluku Republic members were exiled to the Netherlands (MIPT 2008).

## XII. COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES IN EUROPE

Torg ID: 136

Min. Group Date: 1999

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- "Communist Revolutionaries in Europe." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 3507. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.  
[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcw1JF6m\\_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hjGDEfClmkd4VVjcw1JF6m_cfBnusDPtPEdrxJ223c/edit)
- Iran's embassy in the hague reportedly attacked by "kurds". 1999. BBC Monitoring Middle East - Political, Feb 28, 1999.  
<https://search-proquest-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/docview/451309814?accountid=14026> (accessed May 26, 2020). PDF. gDrive.
- Sengupta, Kim. 1999. Hour by hour, a new kurd attack: [FINAL edition]. The Independent, Feb 17, 1999.  
<https://search-proquest-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/docview/312815889?accountid=14026> (accessed May 26, 2020). PDF. gDrive.

### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1999

Group End: 1999

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed but they first came to attention for a violent attack in 1999 (MIPT 2008). They attacked the Iranian Embassy in the Netherlands with petrol bombs in order to protest Iran's treatment of Kurds (MIPT 2008; BBC 1999). The

Communist Revolutionaries in Europe justified their attack because they believed that the Iranian Kurds were being massacred (MIPT 2008). The group seemed Kurdish ethnonationalist separatist. During this same time the leader of the Kurdish Workers' Party, Abdullah Ocalan, had just been arrested (Sengupta 1999). This resulted in attacks and riots all over Europe, but mainly Greek and Kenyan diplomatic buildings which the attackers felt were most responsible for Ocalan's arrest (Sengupta 1999).

### **Geography**

The group's only attack took place in The Hague in the Netherlands (MIPT 2008; BBC 1999).

### **Organizational Structure**

Nothing is known about the Communist Revolutionaries in Europe's organizational structure.

### **External Ties**

Nothing is known about the Communist Revolutionaries in Europe's external ties. At the same time of the attack the leader of the Kurdish Workers' Party, Abdullah Ocalan, had just been arrested (Sengupta 1999).

### **Group Outcome**

The group's first and last attack took place in February 1999 and the Communist Revolutionaries in Europe disappeared and have been inactive since then (MIPT 2008).

Notes for Iris:

- the group has really murky ties to the PKK. forms in reaction to Ocalan's arrest.
- this is the only attack that this group ever conducts which raises questions about their independence and whether they might be an alias for the PKK. news sources did not mention this group as an alias though.

#### XIII. STOP HUNTINGDON ANIMAL CRUELTY (SHAC)

Torg ID: 975

Min. Group Date: 1999

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- “Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty” Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4736, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism,  
<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1wUBq0Pukf3ftXRUIK3E6TM8aJsJoZTiqtgSsMTPnI3A/edit>
- “A Controversial Laboratory.” BBC. 2001.  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/1123837.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/1123837.stm)
- Richard Alleyne. “Terror tactics that brought a company to its knees.” Guardian. 2001.  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1318487/Terror-tactics-that-brought-a-company-to-its-knees.html>
- Paul Peachey. “Animal rights group ends 15 year campaign against experiments at Huntingdon.” Independent (UK). 2014.  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/animal-rights-group-ends-15-year-campaign-against-experiments-at-huntingdon-9687843.html>
- Matthew Weaver. “Animal rights activists jailed for terrorising suppliers to Huntingdon Life Sciences.” Guardian. 2010.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/science/2010/oct/25/animal-research-animal-welfare>
- Chris Maag. “America’s #1 Threat.” Mother Jones. 2006.  
<http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2006/01/americas-1-threat/>
- Marco Evers. “Britain’s other war on terror: resisting the animal avengers.” Spiegel. 2007.  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/britain-s-other-war-on-terror-resisting-the-animal-avengers-a-517875.html>
- “Animal rights extremists set up combat skills training camp in Britain.” Independent (UK). 2004.  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/environment/revealed-animal-rights-extremists-set-up-combat-skills-training-camp-in-britain-48851.html>
- Best Steven, “Gaps in Logic, Lapses in Politics: Rights and Abolitionism in Joan Dunayer’s Speciesism”, Drstevebest, 2012  
<http://www.drstevebest.org/GapsInLogic.htm>
- Monaghan, Rachel. “Terrorism in the name of animal rights, Terrorism and Political Violence.” 1999. Routledge. p. 159-169. gDrive.

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: No known aliases

Group Formation: 1999 (Independent UK 2014)

Group End: 2014 - group announces it will dissolve (Independent UK 2014)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**



The group formed in 1999 (MIPT 2008; Independent UK 2014). It formed in response to a documentary that showed the Huntingdon Life Sciences laboratory abusing its animals (MIPT 2017). Although the HLS laboratory apologized and fired the animal abusers, it spurred Greg Avery, Heather James, and Natasha Dellemagne to create SHAC. Greg Avery, Heather James, and Natasha Dellemagne (MIPT 2017). Originally, the group just picketed the laboratory (BBC 2001). It was later involved in hoax bombs, violent threats, and graffiti (The Guardian 2010). The group's most well known attack was in 2001 when three members attacked HLS Managing Director Brian Cass leaving him with a three inch wound (MIPT 2017). Furthermore, when neighbors tried to intervene, they were sprayed with CS gas (MIPT 2017).

The group's goal is limited and aims to completely close down the Huntingdon Life Sciences (MIPT 2017; The Guardian 2010; Mother Jones 2010, The Telegraph 2001; Independent UK 2004; Independent UK 2004).

Like other animal rights groups, their ideology can also be related to that of Steven Best's, who coined the term "extensional self-defense". His methodology justifies violence and bombing since the animals are unable to defend themselves. Humans act as "proxy agents" to carry out the justice defenseless animals are unable to do (Best 2012).

## **Geography**

The group is primarily known for its attacks within the UK as the Huntingdon Life Sciences was the largest contract research organisation in the UK in 2001 (BBC 2001). The group moved its headquarters to New Jersey in 2002 and established an external base (MIPT 2008). There are still offices within the UK but the American group is led by Kevin Kjonaas.

## **Organizational Structure**

In the UK the group was most tied to one of its co-founders Greg Avery, Heather James, and Natasha Dellemagne (MIPT 2017). It seems that the group had no previous radical animal activism (MIPT 2017) as their goal was only to take down the HLS (Independent UK 2004). Avery also claims the group started with only 10 activists (Independent UK 2004). In America, the group was led by Kevin Kjonaas who joined the group after witnessing HLS beating beagles on television (Mother Jones 2006). There are no known wings of the group. It is unknown precisely how the group funds itself, but is rumored to launder money through a charity (MIPT 2008).

## **External Ties**

It is known that SHAC has collaborated with both Speak and the ALF for a training camp in Britain. The camp featured 300 militants including many from the U.S (Independent UK 2004). There are no other known alliances.

### **Group Outcome**

Britain and the US took several actions against the group including numerous arrests and operations. Police arrested 32 members in 2007; this event “effectively broke the back of the movement and led to the jailing of its leadership” (Independent UK 2014). Avery Bradley and members of SHAC were arrested in 2009 with 5 more in 2010 (The Guardian 2010). In America, police arrested Kevin Kjonaas and six other members (Mother Jones 2006). The group suffered during further large-scale campaigns including Operation Forton (2005) and Operation Achilles (2007) who targeted majority of the animal activists groups within the UK (Monaghan 2013, pg 944). The last and only really “violent” attack was in 2001 when three members attacked HLS Managing Director Brian Cass leaving him with a three inch wound (MIPT 2017). As of 2012 it was still active and violent but in 2014 the group ended its campaign after an "onslaught of government repression" (Independent UK 2014).

Note for Iris: There is a group called the Militant Forces Against Huntingdon Life Science that sprung up in 2009 with a possible relation to SHAC but all sources are pretty shady

XIV. HOFSTADGROEP  
Torg ID: 1101  
Min. Group Date: 2004  
Max. Group Date: 2004  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Hofstad Network, Hofstadgroep

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- GTD Perpetrator 20499. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last modified September 2019.  
<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=20499>
- Bart Schuurman, Quirine Eijkman, and Edwin Bakker. “A History of the Hofstadgroup.” Perspectives on Terrorism. Vol, 8. No 4 (2014).  
<http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/362/html>
- Lorenzo Vidino The Hofstad Group: The New Face of Terrorist Networks in Europe, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 30:7, 2007. 579-592. PDF. gDrive.
- Wendy Zeldin. “Netherlands: Terrorist Cases of PKK, Hofstad Group Adjudicated.” Library of Congress. 2008.  
<https://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/netherlands-terrorist-cases-of-pkk-hofstad-group-adjudicated/>

- “In Dutch terror cases, many are arrested but only a few convicted.” NRC. 2009. [https://archive.vn/20120915062324/http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2268048.ece/In\\_Dutch\\_terror\\_cases\\_many\\_are\\_arrested\\_but\\_only\\_few\\_convicted](https://archive.vn/20120915062324/http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2268048.ece/In_Dutch_terror_cases_many_are_arrested_but_only_few_convicted)
- “Violent jihad in the Netherlands.” Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. General Intelligence and Security Service - Communications Department. 2006. <https://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/violent.pdf>
- “The Netherlands: Extremism and Counter-Extremism.” Counter-Extremism Project. N.d. <https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/netherlands>
- “Islamist Extremism in Europe.” Hearing before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee of Foreign Relations. United States Senate. 2006. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-109shrg33941/html/CHRG-109shrg33941.htm>
- “Members of the Hofstad Group.” NOS. 2005. <https://web.archive.org/web/20051207013955/http://www.nos.nl/nosjournaal/dossiers/terreurnederland/TerreurFAQHofstad.html>

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Hofstadgroup (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014), Hofstad Network (GTD 2019)

Group Formation: 2002 (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014)

Group End: 2004 (arrests) (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

The Hofstadgroup formed in 2002 but did not conduct its first attack until 2004 (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014; GTD 2019). They did not refer to themselves as the Hofstadgroup, but received that name by the Dutch secret service AIVD (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). The group consists primarily of second-generation Muslim immigrants from North Africa (Zeldin 2008). Their first attack was the assassination of Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014; GTD 2019; Zeldin 2008). The group’s beliefs are mainly focused on Salafi-Jihadist principles (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). The Hofstad group was not originally pro-violence, but they eventually developed into an extremist group (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). There has been a constant increase of European Muslim extremists with the ideology of violent jihad in the Netherlands (Ministry Interior 2006; Counter-Extremism Project n.d.).

### **Geography**

All of the Hofstadgroup's attacks took place in the Netherlands and the murder of Theo Van Gogh occurred in Amsterdam (Zeldin 2014; GTD 2019). The group's meetings were held in places such as a cafe in Schiedam or even the houses of some of the members (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). Members of the group were trained in Pakistan and it is suspected that there were links to other extremist organizations in Spain and Belgium (Counter-Extremism Project n.d.). In 2003, members of the group traveled to Barcelona and met with a known Spanish militant group whose name is unknown (Vidino 583). The Spanish authorities arrested them and deported them back to the Netherlands in fear that they would conduct an attack in Spain (Vidino 2007, 583).

### **Organizational Structure**

It is estimated that there were roughly 38 individuals in the group, and most members were already acquaintances or even friends (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). It is unclear who the official leaders of the Hofstadgroup are, but it is known that there was a Syrian man named Redouan who was their religious leader (NOS 2005; Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). He did not encourage the use of violence in jihad, but he did teach a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). Along with being the group's spiritual leader, he would also organize meetings so the members could meet regularly (NOS 2005). A man named Mohammed B, also known as Abu Zubair, and Samir A are suspected to be two of the leaders of the Hofstadgroup (NOS 2005). Mohammed is the one who carried out the murder of Theo Van Gogh and is serving a life sentence in prison (NOS 2005).

### **External Ties**

The Hofstadgroup is one of many radical Islamic European groups that has strong ties to other extremist networks across the Middle East and Africa (Vidino 579). Members of the group have traveled to Pakistan or Afghanistan in order to undergo paramilitary training (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014; Counter Extremism Project n.d. ). 2 members of the group attempted to travel to Chechnya to join the Islamist rebels there, but were arrested shortly after crossing the border with Ukraine (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). They were then sent back to the Netherlands where they had to undergo interrogation by the Dutch police and AIVD (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). It is thought that some members had connections to a Spanish citizen who had ties to an Iraqi extremist organization (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). The government was also able to link the Hofstadgroup to other extremist organizations in Spain and Belgium (Counter-Extremism Project n.d.). Arrests in 2004 ended the Hofstadgroup, but in 2005 another group emerged with almost identical beliefs and intentions as the first Hofstadgroup (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). They were called the Piranha group and were known as the successor to the Hofstadgroup, but came to an end later that year (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014).

### **Group Outcome**

Mohammed B and Samir A both played key roles in the Hofstadgroup (NOS 2005; NRC 2009). Mohammed was arrested in 2004 and given a life sentence for the murder of Theo Van Gogh (NOS 2005; NRC 2009). Samir was arrested 3 times, but released twice due to a lack of evidence (NOS 2005; NRC 2009). The Hofstadgroup's activities kept them on AIVD's radar and they tried to act quickly in order to arrest members of the group while they had Mohammed B in custody (Vidino 584). Arrests of other members in 2004 officially put an end to the first generation of the Hofstadgroup (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). In 2008, four members of the Hofstadgroup had their prison sentences raised (Zeldin 2008). Their terms were raised from 4 years to 8, 1 year to 8, 4 years to 6, and 3 years to 4 (Zeldin 2008). The reasons for these extensions were the Hofstadgroup's single belief system, their paramilitary training, and their continued attempts to put Dutch politicians on a hit list (Zeldin 2008). There was a splinter group that came to attention in 2005 known as the Piranha Group, but arrests later that year brought this group to an end as well (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014). All forms of the Hofstadgroup have been inactive since 2005 (Bakker, Eijkman, Schuurman 2014).

Notes for Iris:

- only main attack is the Van gogh attack. The Bakker source says the group conducted several other attacks between 2003-2004 but its the only source where we see this information.
- ties to groups in MENA are part of the Islamist terror networks across Europe
- there are vague ties to Islamic groups, but hard to nail down specific names
- the govt had been monitoring the group for awhile, but didn't act until there was a violent attack
- Bakker mentions a splinter group (more second-generation of members) which reorganized, short-lived before falling apart. Police often treated it the same.

### Netherlands Trends

#### Types of Groups

- very short duration, only one or two attacks each time, groups disappear
- state response very good at monitoring and responding to these groups
- lots of transnational attacks. And attacks targeted at foreign dignitaries living within Netherlands
  
- Maluku groups
- Islamic groups
- transnational Kurdish, Palestinian, Bulgarian groups targeting other states
- lots of political aims were policy or center-seeking
- state didn't give like any concessions to any of the,