

# Low-Tech Terrorism

## Changing Patterns of Global Conflict & Response



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Presentation for the [Victims of Pan Am Flight 103](#) (Lockerbie Air Disaster)  
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*In Memory of Miriam Wolfe*



# Chapters

- Phases of Global Terrorist—  
Case: Qaddafi Regime/Pan Am  
Bombing 1988
- Global Terrorism Database  
(UMD-START, 2015)
- Low-Tech Terrorism & Pervasive  
Organizations
- Responses/Q&A



# Findings (Libya & Terrorism)

1. **Longstanding support** by Libyan regime/Qaddafi (1969-2011) for terrorism.
2. Terrorism mobilized as **predominant foreign policy**.
3. **Militarized, internationalized** regional conflicts in Africa (Chad, Sudan, Uganda, Egypt).
4. Global hub for **public support** for paramilitary groups espousing political use of violence (IRA, US Black Power, militant Palestinian splinter groups, guerillas in Philippines, Ethiopia, Somalia, Yemen, Chad, Morocco, Tunisia, Thailand, Panama)
5. Patronage contributes to post-1970s **upsurge in transnational terrorism**.
6. Contrary to others, where terrorism is unintended byproduct of group activities, Qaddafi **deliberately promotes terrorist violence** via financial and logistics support to extremists in order to exert political influence.



## Patterns of Conduct

### *Libyan Regime Support for and Involvement in Acts of Terrorism*

Prepared for M. Cherif Bassiouni  
Chair, UNHRC Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Violations in Libya

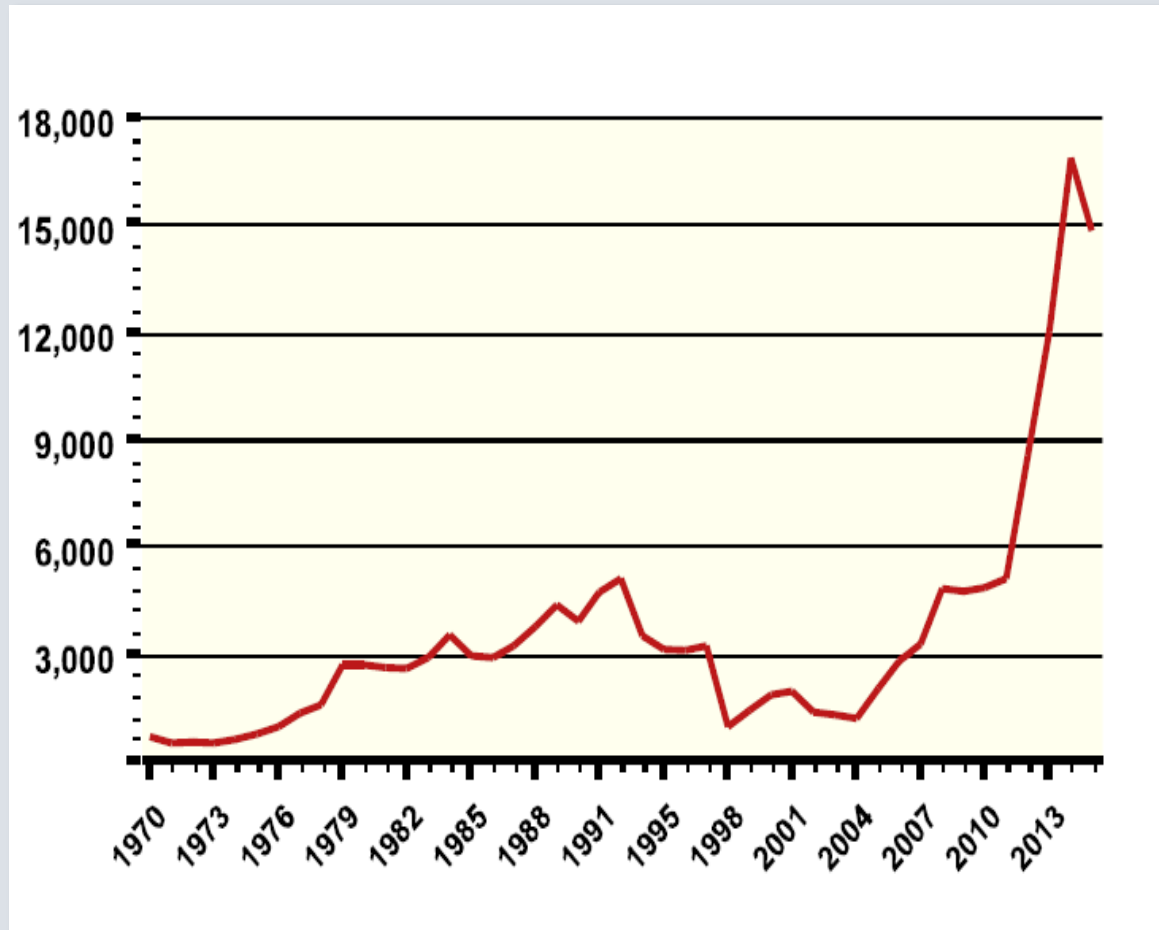
By Corri Zoli, Sahar Azar, and Shani Ross<sup>1</sup>



# Patterns of Terrorist Incidents

- 2000: 1,777
- 2010: 4,784
- 2015: 14,806

*(UMD-START  
Global Terrorism  
Database)*



# Patterns of Terrorist Incidents

- 1970: 635 incidents (e.g., Irish “Troubles,” Israel/Palestine, “Black Nationalism,” etc.)

DATE	COUNTRY	CITY	PERPETRATOR GROUP	FATALITIES	INJURED	TARGET TYPE
1970-02-21	Switzerland	Zurich	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Gen Cmd (PFLP-GC)	47	0	Airports and Aircraft
1970-04-21	Philippines	Cauayan	Unknown	36	0	Airports and Aircraft
1970-02-13	West Germany (FRG)	Munich	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	7	9	Private Citizens & Property
1970-06-26	United Kingdom	Londonderry	Irish Republican Army (IRA)	5	Unknown	Terrorists/Non-state Militia
1970-08-07	United States	San Rafael	Jonathan Jackson Brigade	4	2	Government (General)
1970-06-27	United Kingdom	Londonderry	Irish Republican Army (IRA)	3	Unknown	Private Citizens & Property
1970-06-27	United Kingdom	Belfast	Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)	3	1	Private Citizens & Property, Religious Figures/Institutions
1970-11-16	United Kingdom	Belfast	Irish Republican Army (IRA)	2	Unknown	Private Citizens & Property
1970-09-02	Greece	Athens	Unknown	2	0	Government (Diplomatic)
1970-08-11	United Kingdom	Crossmaglen	Irish Republican Army (IRA)	2	Unknown	Police
1970-07-17	United States	Chicago	Black Nationalists	2	0	Police
1970-04-02	Philippines	Mabalacat City	New People's Army (NPA)	2	0	Military
1970-03-09	United States	Bel Air	Black Nationalists (suspected)	2	0	Unknown
1970-03-05	United States	San Juan	Armed Commandos of Liberation (suspected), Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement (MIRA) (suspected)	2	0	Military
1970-12-23	United Kingdom	Belfast	Irish Republican Extremists	1	Unknown	Private Citizens & Property

# Patterns of Terrorist Incidents

- 1990: 3,876 incidents (e.g., Tamil Tigers/Sri Lanka, Shining Path/South America, etc.)

DATE	COUNTRY	CITY	PERPETRATOR GROUP	FATALITIES	INJURED	TARGET TYPE
1990-06-11	Sri Lanka	Kalmunai	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	114	0	Police
1990-08-05	Sri Lanka	Kattankudy	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (suspected)	112	75	Religious Figures/Institutions
1990-12-10	El Salvador	Las Vueltas	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)	96	0	Military
1990-06-11	Sri Lanka	Murunkan	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	90	0	Police
1990-08-03	Sri Lanka	Kattankudy	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	82	100	Religious Figures/Institutions
1990-07-23	Peru	Buenos Aires	Shining Path (SL)	72	0	Military
1990-07-17	Peru	Corpanqui	Shining Path (SL)	72	0	Private Citizens & Property
1990-06-22	Sri Lanka	Nintavur	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	62	0	Private Citizens & Property
1990-06-22	Sri Lanka	Nintavur	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	62	0	Private Citizens & Property
1990-02-14	Mozambique	Ressado Garcia	Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR)	55	0	Transportation
1990-04-12	Peru	Naylamp	Shining Path (SL)	50	0	Private Citizens & Property
1990-03-22	Myanmar	Ye	Mon Guerrillas	50	0	Police
1990-03-15	Peru	Unknown	Shining Path (SL)	50	0	Private Citizens & Property
1990-10-10	India	Hyderabad	People's War Group (PWG)	47	14	Transportation
1990-08-14	Sri Lanka	Kudurippu	Muslim Militants	44	0	Private Citizens & Property
1990-08-20	Angola	Andulo	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)	42	0	Private Citizens & Property
1990-01-14	Colombia	Pueblo Bello	Narco-Terrorists	42	0	Private Citizens & Property



# Patterns of Terrorist Incidents

- Incidents in 1988 ...

DATE	COUNTRY	CITY	PERPETRATOR GROUP	FATALITIES	INJURED	TARGET TYPE
1988-12-21	United Kingdom	Lockerbie	Unknown	270	0	Airports and Aircraft
1988-05-12	Angola	Liumbale	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)	87	0	Private Citizens & Property
1988-11-22	Peru	Balcon	Shining Path (SL)	68	0	Police
1988-04-24	Lebanon	Tripoli	Unknown	52	125	Private Citizens & Property
1988-02-23	Uganda	Koch Goma	Holy Spirit Movement	50	0	Military
1988-10-10	Sri Lanka	Mahakongaskade	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	45	17	Private Citizens & Property
1988-02-17	El Salvador	Usulután	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)	45	0	Military
1988-11-11	Colombia	Segovia	Death Squad	43	47	Private Citizens & Property
1988-11-16	Iraq	Nero-Soto	Kurdish Democratic Party-Iraq (KDP)	40	100	Military
1988-08-19	Peru	Quinchihuil	Shining Path (SL)	40	0	Military
1988-03-31	Sri Lanka	Mallaiyakadu	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	40	0	Private Citizens & Property
1988-08-23	Colombia	Saiza	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	39	0	Military

1988 Libyan regime provides insurgency training, logistical, and funding support to Foday Sankoh, leader and co-founder (with Charles Taylor) of Sierra Leone rebel group Revolutionary United Front (RUF), as part of Qadhafi's sponsoring of revolutionary movements throughout the world and interventions in Africa. After Sankoh leaves Libya for Liberia, joining forces with Charles Taylor, and under RUF auspices, he commits documented atrocities against the Liberian population into the 1990s, backed by support and direction from Qadhafi, who routinely meets with Taylor and associates to review progress in their "scorched-earth campaigns" (including mass rapes and amputations) and to supply weapons.<sup>171</sup> Sankoh was indicted on 17 counts for various war crimes (use of child soldiers) and crimes against humanity (including extermination, enslavement, rape, and sexual slavery).

*July* – ANO operatives attack a Greek cruise ship, The City of Poros, killing 9 and wounding over 100 people. Libya provides the weapons used in the attack.<sup>172</sup>

*December 21* – A bomb hidden in stored luggage explodes on board Pan Am Flight 103, killing 259 people on board and 11 people on the ground in Lockerbie, Scotland. After two years of investigations, the evidence implicates two Libyan government agents, Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed al Megrahi and Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah. In November 1991 the U.S. and British government charge the agents, asking for their extradition. On 31 January 2001, Megrahi is found guilty of murder and sentenced to life in prison (his co-defendant was found not guilty and released).<sup>173</sup> Qadhafi admitted responsibility for the attack in 2003 and paid more than \$2.7 billion to families of the victims.<sup>174</sup>

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"Rewards for Justice - Reward Offer for Pan Am Flight 73 Hijackers,"

[<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2009/dec/133102.htm>]. Jamal Saeed Abdul Raheem was reportedly killed by US drone strike (9 Jan. 2010) in North Waziristan Agency, Pakistan.

<sup>167</sup> U.S. Department of Justice (1992), 70.

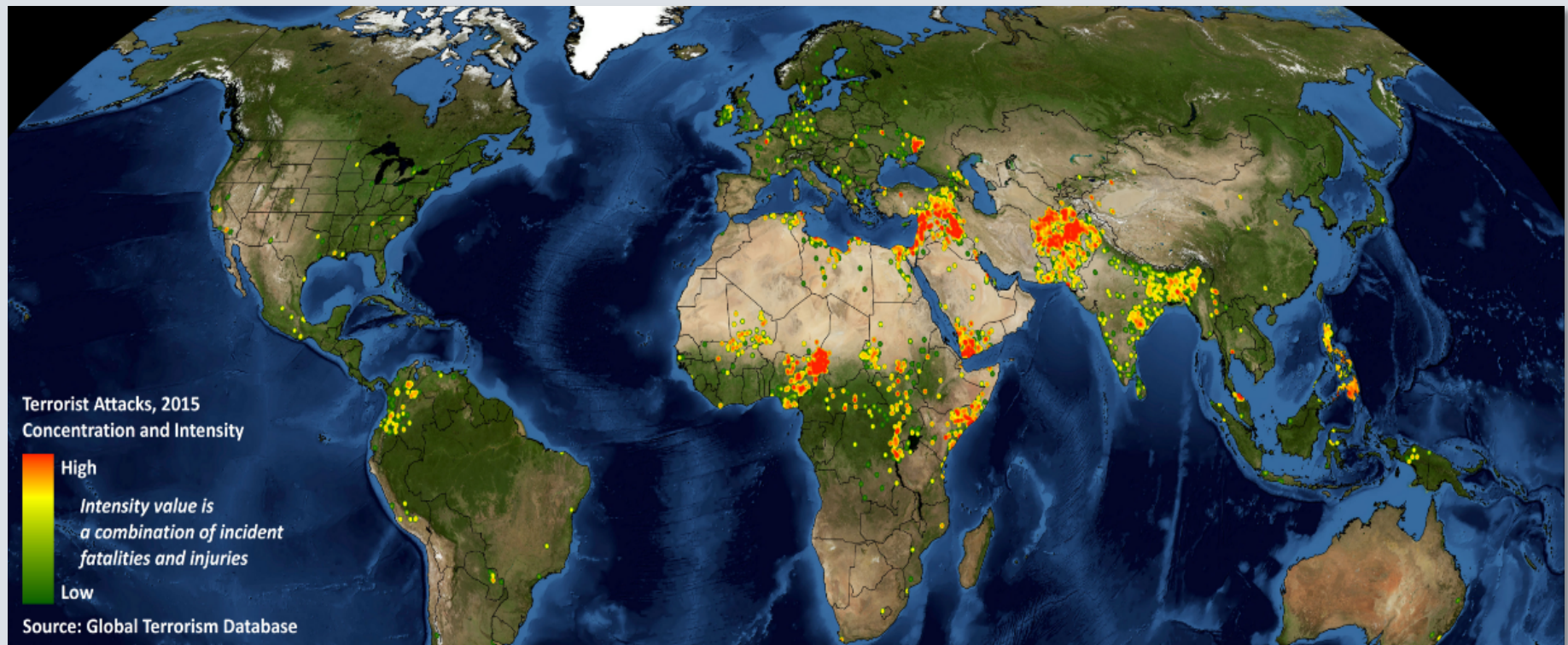
<sup>168</sup> U.S. Department of Justice (1992), 70.

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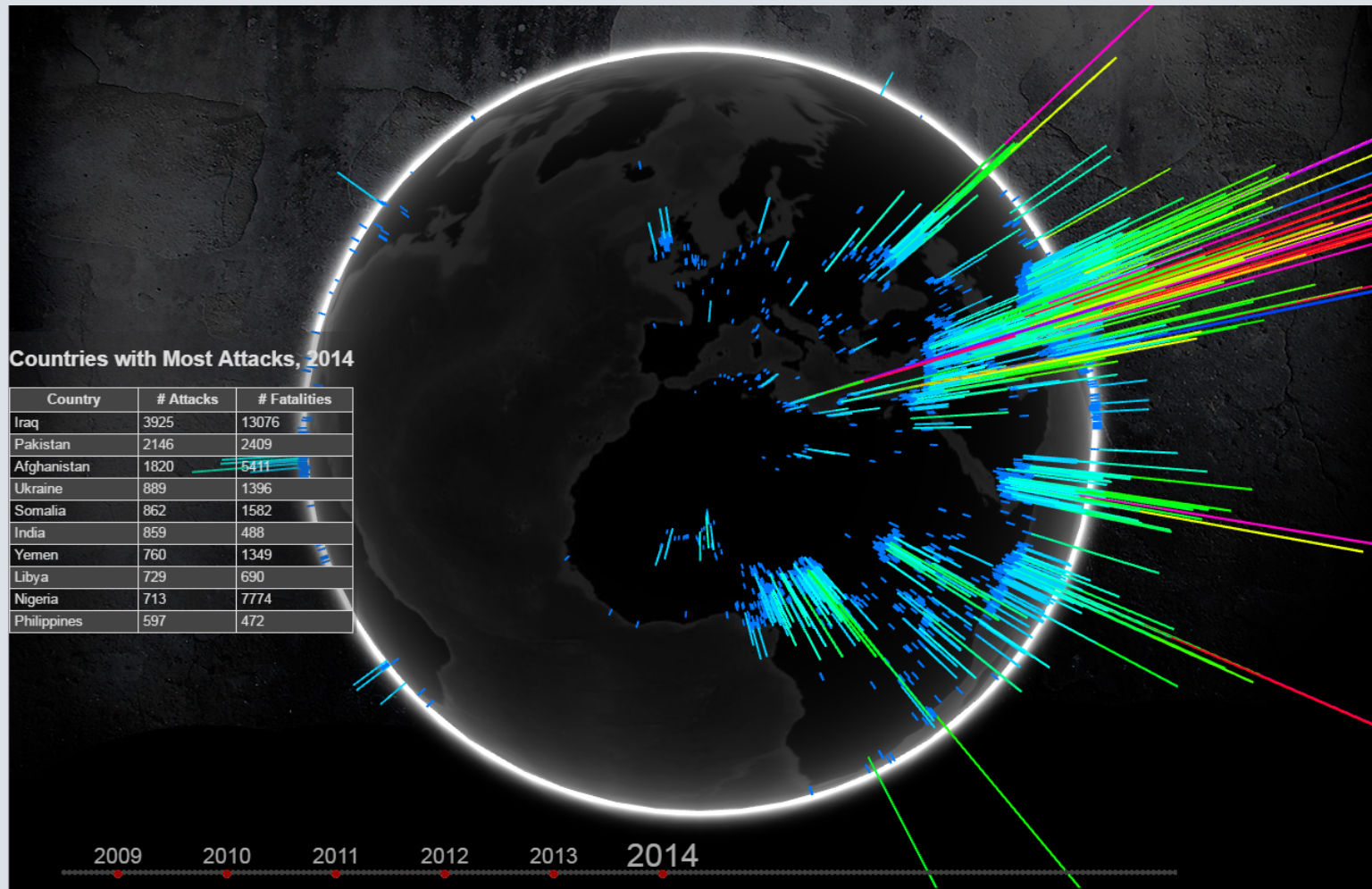
<sup>171</sup> Douglas Farah, *Harvard for Tyrants: How Muammar al-Qaddafi Taught a Generation of Bad Guys*, *Foreign Policy*, 4 March 2011, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/03/04/harvard\\_for\\_tyrants](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/03/04/harvard_for_tyrants); The Special Court for Sierra Leone, Case No. SCSL-03-I, The Prosecutor against Oday Saybana Sankoh (also known as Popay, Papa, Pa), Indictment, 7 Mar 2003, p. 2, 4; James Day, "Revealed: Colonel Gaddafi's School for Scoundrels," *Metro* (15 Mar. 2011), excerpted from Foreignpolicy.com, [<http://www.metro.co.uk/news/858166-revealed-colonel-gaddafis-school-for-scoundrels>].

# Our world today: Radicalization affects us all...

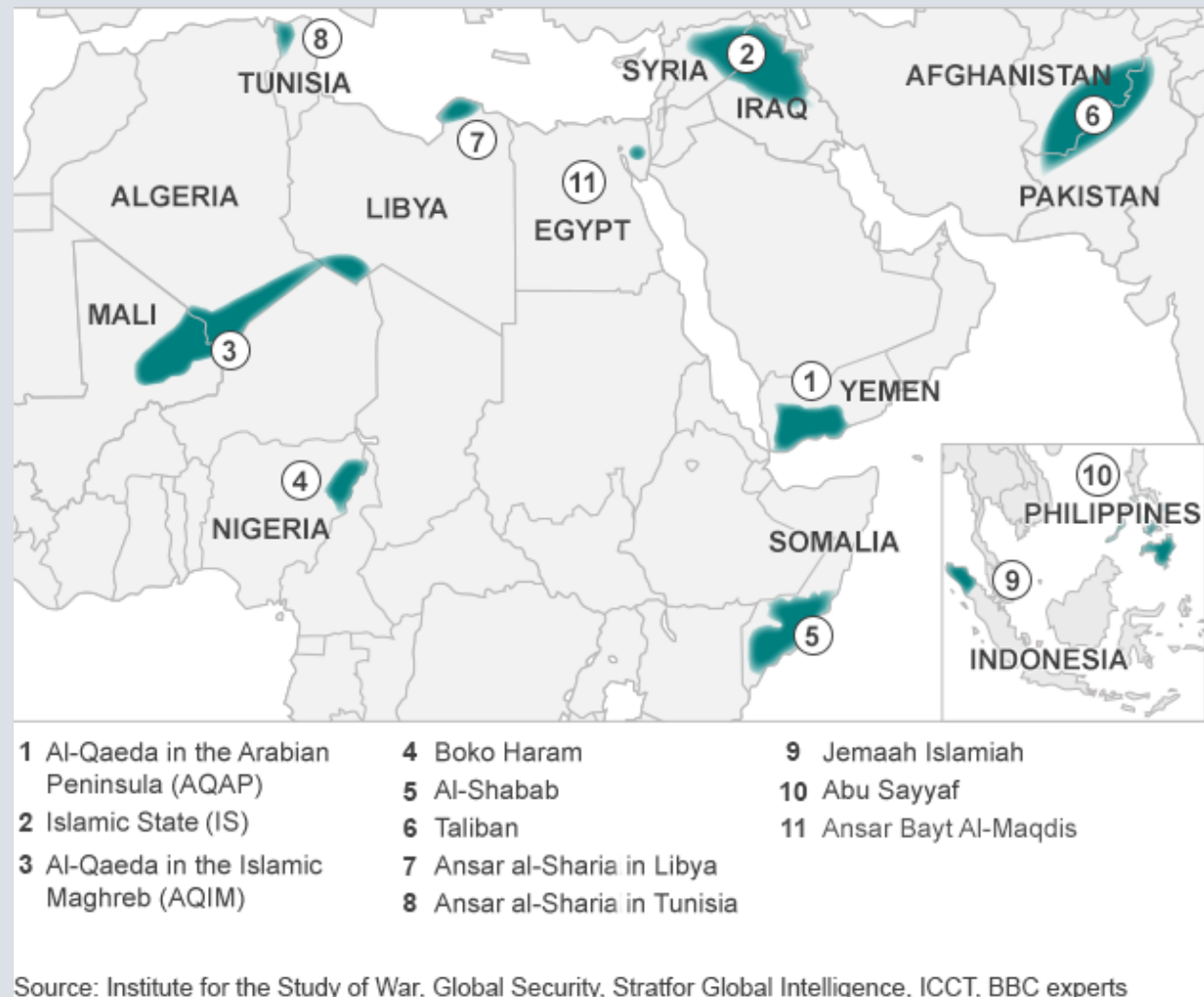




# Hot Spots: By state/region ...



Hot Spots:  
Presence of  
well-organized  
terrorist groups  
(correspondence  
with map of  
Middle East and  
North Africa)



# Hot Spots: The spread of Islamic State...

## ISIS Global Presence

■ Countries where ISIS holds territory

■ Countries where local groups have pledged allegiance to ISIS

■ Countries from where large numbers of ISIS supporters have been arrested

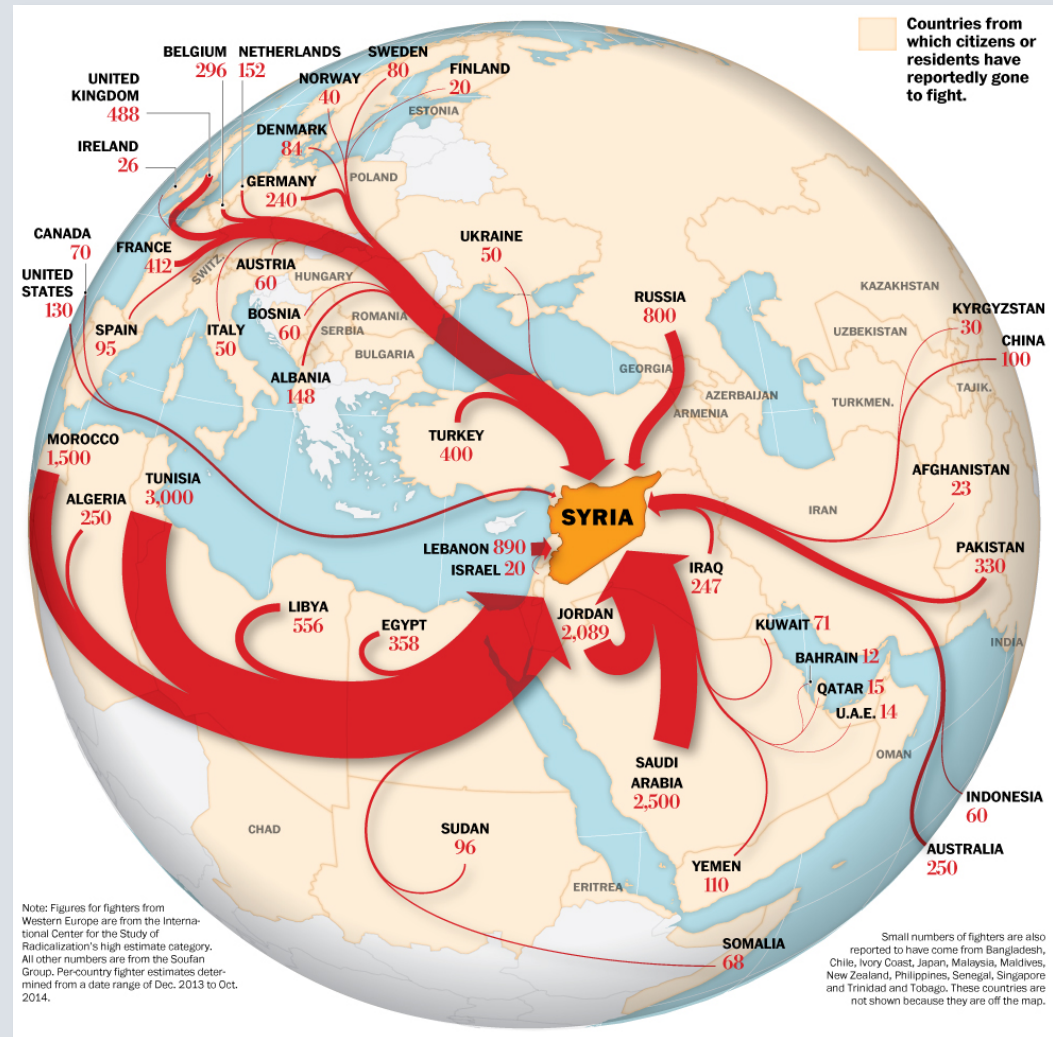


**Note:** "Presence" is defined as ISIS holding territory; local groups having either pledged allegiance or actively cooperated with ISIS; or large numbers of ISIS supporters having been arrested.

**Sources:** Heritage Foundation research and various media reports.



# Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Flows into the Levant (ICSR-Soufan 2014)



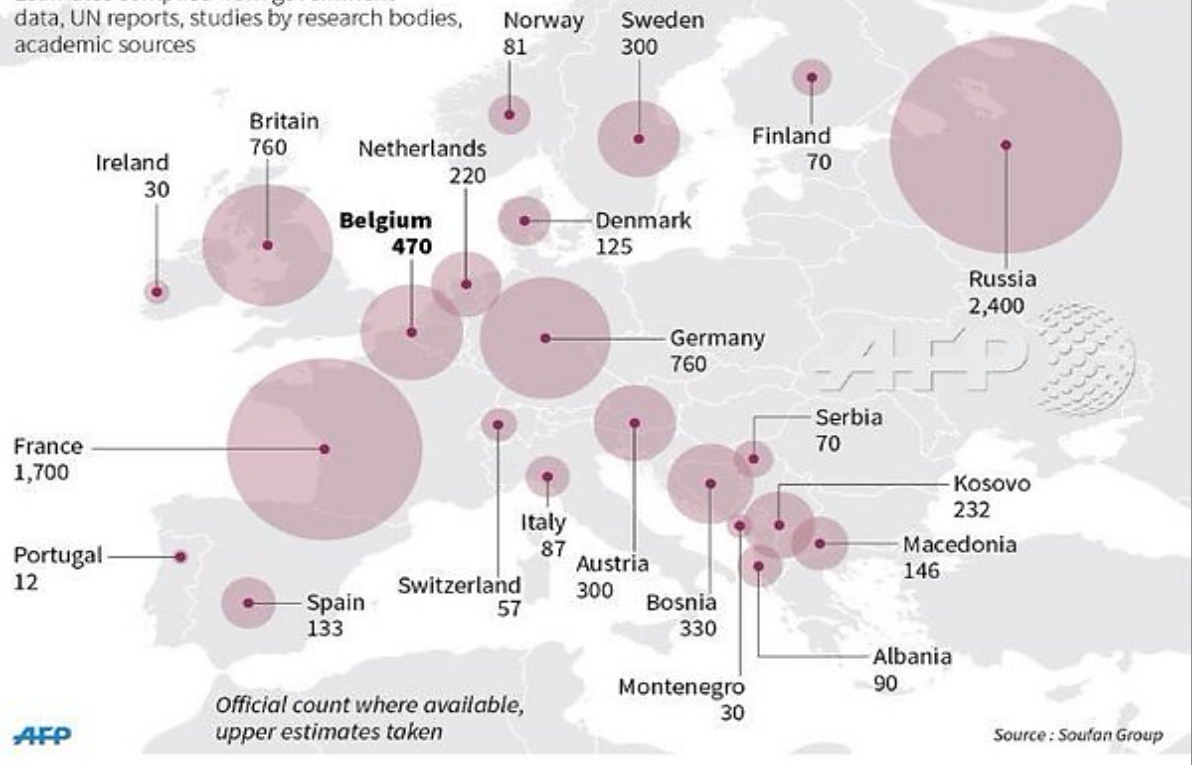
# Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Unexpected contributions (European high-output states, via Soufan 2015)

## From Europe to Syria and Iraq

Foreign fighters who embarked from European countries in 2014 and 2015

Based on data released December 2015 by intelligence consultancy, The Soufan Group

Estimates compiled from government data, UN reports, studies by research bodies, academic sources



# Data-Driven Global Indicators: Phases of Terror

1. Traditional Terrorism: 19th century (The Anarchists)—state officials as targets
2. Modern Terrorism: Cold War behavior—nation states and proxy wars/armies
3. Postmodern Terrorism: Gray zone conflict and campaigns—and the “new normal” ...
  - Leveraging global issues: Migration & migration crisis
  - Global insecurity: Rise of religious persecution (across all sects), identity regimes, tribalisms
  - Exacerbation of existing governance challenges: Development, corruption, institutions, inclusivity, equity, climate/water wars



Haymarket Riot (Chicago 1886)

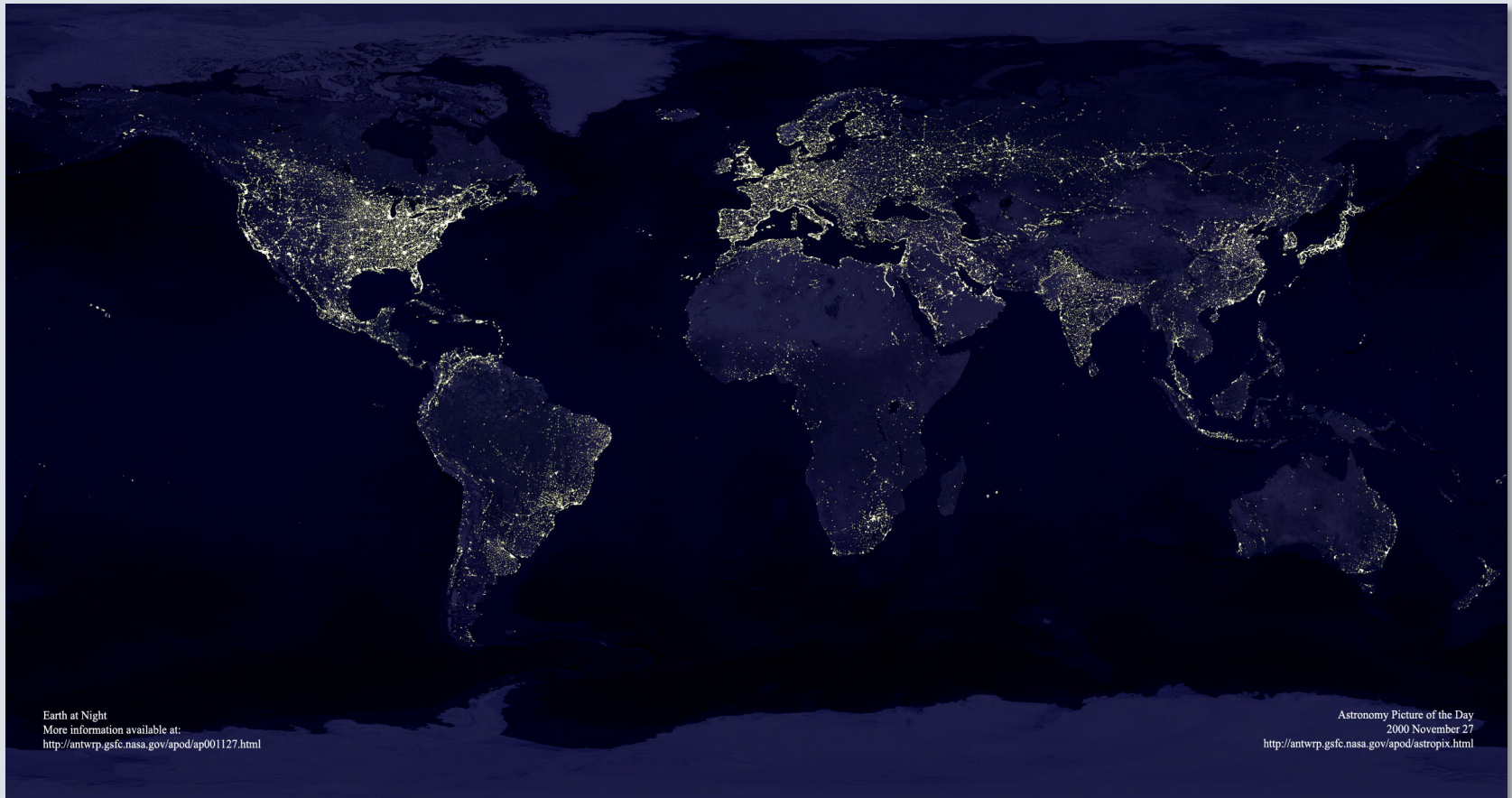


Aftermath of the Brinks Hotel Bombing (Vietnam 1964)



# The World at Night 2009 (NASA)

*Via ADM Eric Olsen (Ret.), former Commander,  
US Special Operations Command (SOCOM)*



Earth at Night  
More information available at:  
<http://antwrp.gsfc.nasa.gov/apod/ap001127.html>

Astronomy Picture of the Day  
2000 November 27  
<http://antwrp.gsfc.nasa.gov/apod/astropix.html>