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Patterns of International Terrorism: 1980

A Research Paper

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Patterns of International Terrorism: 1980

A Research Paper

*Information available as of 31 December 1980
has been used in the preparation of this report.*

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Terrorism

The threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for, or in opposition to, established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims.

**International
Terrorism**

Terrorism conducted with the support of a foreign government or organization and/or directed against foreign nationals, institutions, or governments. Terrorism has involved groups seeking to overthrow specific regimes (for example, Yugoslavia and El Salvador), to rectify national or group grievances (for example, the Palestinians), or to undermine international order as an end in itself (for example, the Japanese Red Army).

These definitions elaborate and clarify the definition of international terrorism used in our previous studies of the phenomenon, but they do not change in any way the criteria used for selecting incidents included in the data base for these studies.

Patterns of International Terrorism: 1980

Overview

International terrorism resulted in more casualties in 1980 than in any year since the analysis of statistics related to terrorism began in 1968. The total number of events last year was also high—second only to 1978.¹

Established patterns of striking at targets in industrialized democracies and attacking symbols of Western power continued into 1980. Americans remained the primary targets of international terrorism, with nearly two out of every five incidents involving US citizens or property.

Terrorist events aimed at causing casualties, especially assassinations, increased over previous years. Over 30 percent of the attacks in 1980 resulted in at least one casualty.

Last year marked the first year that a large number of deadly terrorist attacks were carried out by national governments. The Libyan Government's assassination campaign against dissidents living in Europe and the exchange of terrorist attacks on diplomats in the Middle East were the most noteworthy examples of government-sponsored terrorism.

There was a sharp increase in right-wing terrorist activity in Europe. The attacks at the Munich Oktoberfest and at the railroad station in Bologna, Italy, rank among the worst terrorist incidents ever recorded.

On the positive side, incidents involving hostages and barricade incidents were more successfully countered in 1980, as governments became better equipped to deal with such situations. Two prominent hostage-takings—the Iranian Embassy in London and a skyjacking in Turkey—were countered successfully by military force, and another two in Latin America were resolved by careful negotiations.

¹ The statistics in this report are based on a computerized file of international terrorist events from 1968 through 1980. New events have been added for all years as we have expanded the sources from which we draw data in order to correct for a previous overemphasis on US sources and as we have completed the validation of previously acquired and coded information. The terrorist event file is now complete and current, and the statistics in this publication replace all statistics in our previous surveys. The only trend reported earlier that is significantly changed by the addition of new material is that the percentage of terrorist events involving Americans since 1968 is reduced from 41 percent to 38 percent. All other reported percentages and rank orders remain about the same.

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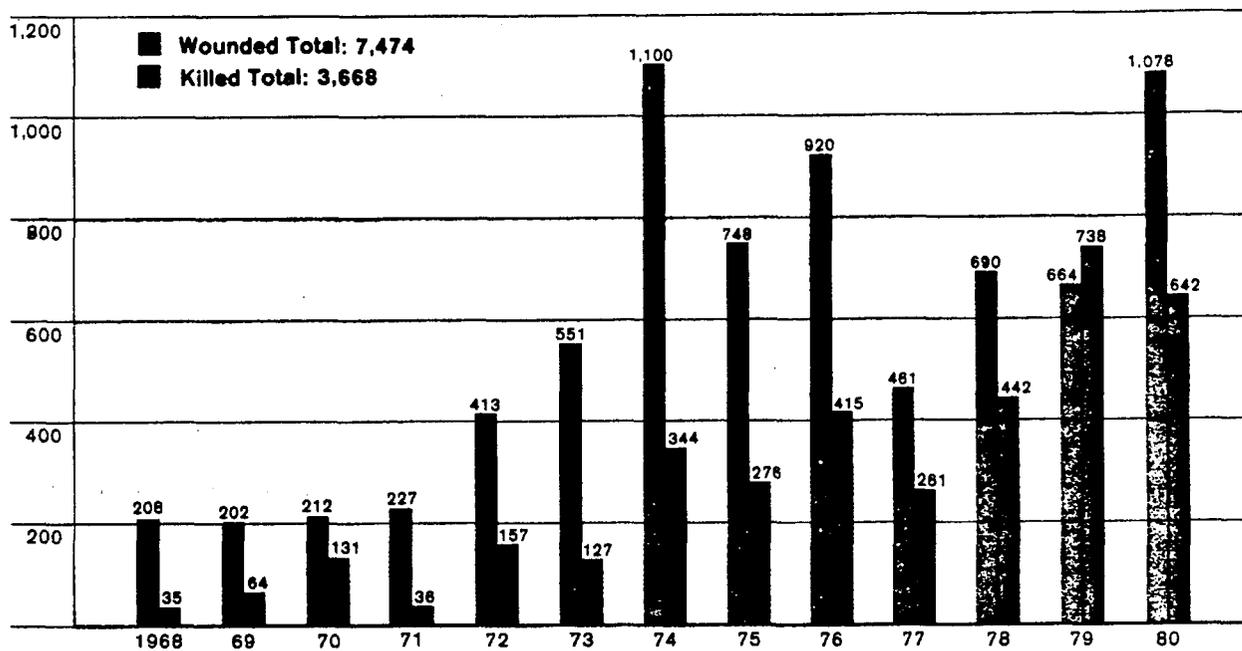
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Figure 1
Deaths and Injuries Due to International Terrorist Attacks*, 1968-80



*Casualty figures are particularly susceptible to fluctuations due to inclusion of especially bloody incidents.

Patterns of International Terrorism: 1980

Trends

Both the number of international terrorist casualties (figure 1) and incidents (table 1 and figure 2) were higher in 1980 than in 1979. Although there were fewer victims killed than in 1979 and fewer wounded than in 1974, there were more total casualties in 1980 than during any previous year since our data base was begun in 1968.

The number of terrorist incidents apparently aimed at causing casualties—most notably assassination attempts—increased dramatically in 1980. Assassinations and attempted assassinations have increased steadily since 1975; in 1980 almost twice as many such incidents took place as in any previous year. The high number of assassinations in 1980 is due, in part, to well-planned assassination campaigns by:

- The Muslim Brotherhood against the Soviet military in Syria.
- The Libyan Government against expatriates residing in Europe.
- Iran and Iraq, each targeting the other's diplomats in Europe and the Middle East.
- The Armenian terrorists against Turkish diplomats worldwide.

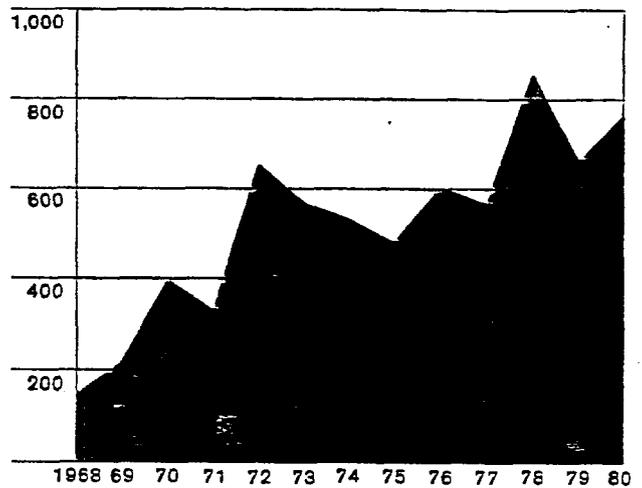
As has been noted in our previous surveys, however, most terrorist incidents do not cause casualties, and only one-fourth of all attacks between 1968 and 1980 resulted in death or personal injury.²

Terrorists continue to prefer to conduct their operations in the industrialized democracies (figure 3). Over 30 percent of the incidents took place in Western Europe alone, both by indigenous organizations against foreign targets and by foreign-based groups. About 20 percent of the incidents occurred in Latin America and another 20 percent in the Middle East.

² Of the 5,955 international terrorist incidents recorded between 1968 and 1979, 673 incidents (11 percent) involved deaths and 867 (15 percent) involved injuries. These proportions are up slightly in 1980. Of the 760 incidents recorded, 122 (16 percent) involved deaths and 145 (19 percent) involved injuries.

Figure 2
International Terrorist Incidents, 1968-80

Total Incidents: 6,714



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There were 278 attacks on Americans in 1980—the second highest of any year since 1968—and 34 of these incidents caused casualties. Ten Americans, including six in El Salvador, two in Turkey, one in the Philippines, and one on the West Bank, were killed in international terrorist attacks, and 94 Americans were wounded. Damage to US property was recorded in 97 incidents (34 percent).

Between 1968 and 1979 most of the attacks directed against Americans occurred in Latin America and the Middle East (table 2 and figure 4). This pattern did not change in 1980. Thirty-three percent of all attacks

Table 1

Geographic Distribution of International Terrorist Incidents, 1968-80

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total ^a
Total	142 (2.1)	214 (3.2)	391 (5.8)	324 (4.8)	648 (9.7)	564 (8.4)	528 (7.9)	475 (7.1)	599 (8.9)	562 (8.4)	850 (12.7)	657 (9.8)	760 (11.3)	6,714
North America	42	10	28	46	19	42	53	83	60	59	78	63	90	673 (10.0)
Latin America	47	82	163	102	113	122	140	74	143	73	112	97	178	1,446 (21.5)
Western Europe	24	41	86	53	239	243	188	170	252	263	245	198	204	2,206 (32.9)
USSR/Eastern Europe	3	1	3	10	2	3	2	3	6	6	10	6	7	62 (0.9)
Sub-Saharan Africa	1	9	15	6	6	11	14	27	18	31	27	24	29	218 (3.2)
Middle East and North Africa	20	36	61	60	71	89	82	88	92	87	302	199	195	1,382 (20.6)
Asia	1	22	28	40	153	30	22	22	23	21	31	56	46	495 (7.4)
Pacific	1	6	2	3	3	2	1	4	0	7	21	3	3	56 (0.8)
Other	3	7	5	4	42	22	26	4	5	15	24	11	8	176 (2.6)

^a Figures in parentheses are percentages of the totals.

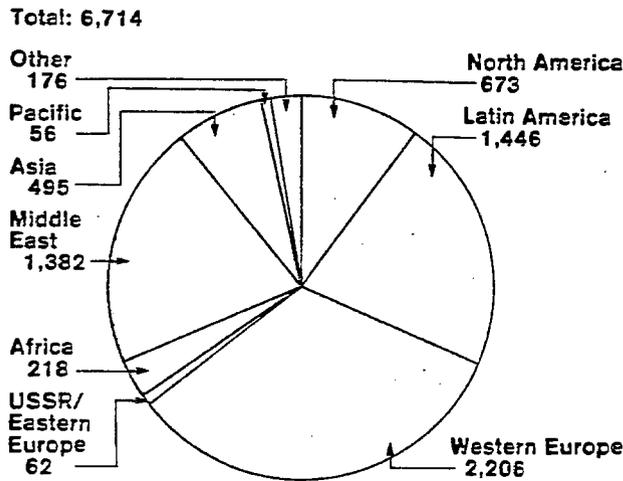
Table 2

Locations of Terrorist Attacks on US Citizens or Property, 1968-80, by Category

	North America	Latin America	Western Europe	USSR/Eastern Europe	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East/North Africa	Asia	Pacific	Other	Total
Total	282	854	691	29	76	692	245	32	48	2,949
Kidnaping	2	92	3	0	22	27	7	0	1	154
Barricade-hostage	3	10	4	0	0	12	1	0	0	30
Letter bombing	13	6	2	0	2	4	26	0	2	55
Incendiary bombing	42	78	212	1	3	91	27	6	3	463
Explosive bombing	146	334	260	4	8	236	69	4	20	1,081
Armed attack	0	32	13	0	8	26	11	0	0	90
Hijacking ^a	27	6	14	0	0	6	9	0	4	66
Assassination	5	37	6	0	7	26	11	0	1	93
Sabotage	0	1	1	0	2	6	0	0	0	10
Threat	36	167	139	22	13	194	51	20	2	644
Theft, break-in	1	38	6	0	7	9	1	0	0	62
Conspiracy	4	8	4	0	0	8	3	1	3	31
Hoax	0	5	8	0	0	3	10	0	1	27
Other actions	0	6	15	1	1	15	8	0	4	50
Sniping	1	29	2	1	0	25	8	1	0	67
Shootout with police	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Arms smuggling	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	7	12

^a Includes hijackings by means of air or land transport.

Figure 3
Geographic Distribution of International Terrorist Attacks, 1968-80



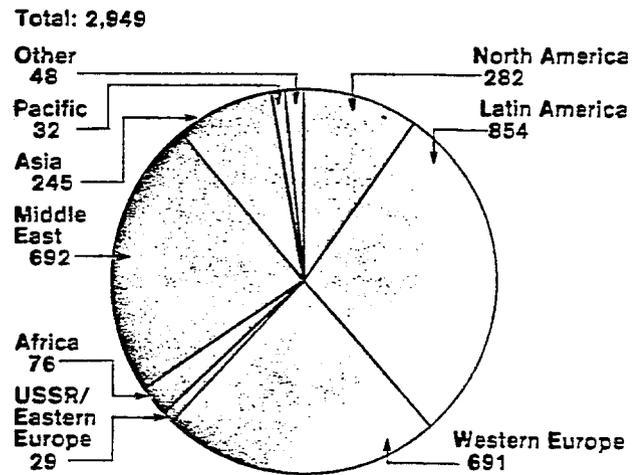
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against Americans occurred in Latin America and 20 percent occurred in the Middle East (figure 5). Attacks against Americans in 1980 were recorded in at least 51 countries; most of the attacks occurred in El Salvador, Turkey, the Philippines, West Germany, and Colombia.

Between 1968 and 1980, US and Canadian nationals were the most victimized; West Europeans were the second most frequent targets (figure 6). US businessmen and diplomats—especially individuals who are symbols of Western power and wealth—are still the primary targets, with at least 38 percent of all events involving US citizens or property (table 3).³ Although businessmen have been the most frequent victims in past years, they were second only to US diplomats in 1980. One hundred and twelve attacks were directed against US diplomats—more than in any previous year. Most of these attacks occurred in Latin

³ The reporting on international terrorist incidents involving Americans is unquestionably more complete than incidents involving nationals of other countries. This is almost unavoidable in collecting terrorist data and should be considered in any analysis.

Figure 4
Geographic Distribution of International Terrorist Attacks Directed Against US Targets, 1968-80



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America, with one-quarter resulting in damage to US property. About 30 percent of these incidents were telephone or letter threats received at US embassies or consulates. While these threats resulted in no direct damage or casualties, each was disruptive. They caused increased security efforts, personnel alerts, and absorbed time in searching for bombs or evacuating buildings.

Other countries whose nationals have been prominent victims are Israel, the United Kingdom, West Germany, France, Turkey and the Soviet Union. In 1980, the pattern of victims was somewhat different than in previous years. The US remained the primary target, but the order of the other major victims was different. The installations and citizens of the USSR were the second most frequent target followed by those of Turkey, Iraq, France, Iran, and Israel.

Gutted van in which three US nuns and a missionary were riding when kidnaped and assassinated by terrorists in El Salvador.



Wide World ©

Table 3

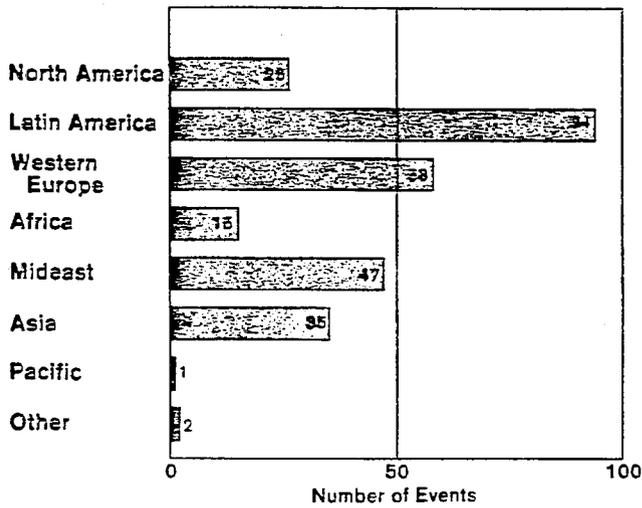
International Terrorist Attacks on US Citizens or Property, 1968-80, by Category

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total ^a
Total	68 (2.4)	124 (4.3)	262 (9.1)	243 (8.5)	248 (8.7)	225 (7.9)	197 (6.9)	179 (6.3)	227 (7.9)	193 (6.7)	386 (13.5)	241 (8.4)	271 (9.5)	2,864
Diplomatic officials or property	21	26	96	97	92	78	27	23	38	42	63	90	112	805 (28.1)
Military officials or property	6	15	44	45	28	29	22	30	63	58	48	38	30	456 (15.9)
Other US Government officials or property	30	37	63	34	43	10	18	20	6	9	23	16	35	344 (12.0)
Business facilities or executives	8	37	38	57	57	89	108	72	90	60	151	68	66	901 (31.5)
Private citizens	3	9	21	10	28	19	22	34	30	24	101	29	27	357 (12.5)

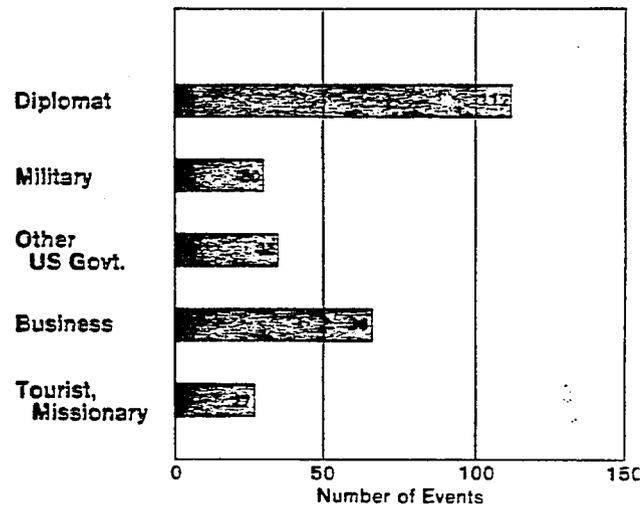
^a Figures in parentheses are percentages of the total accounted for by each category.

Figure 5
International Terrorist Attacks on US Personnel and Facilities, 1980

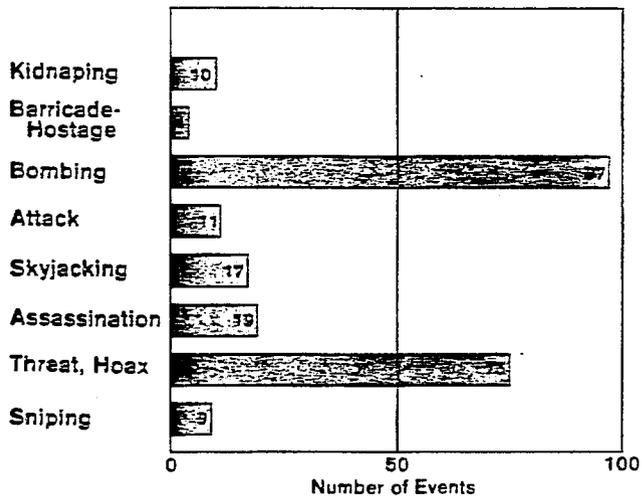
Location of Event



Type of Victim



Type of Attack



Nationality of Terrorist

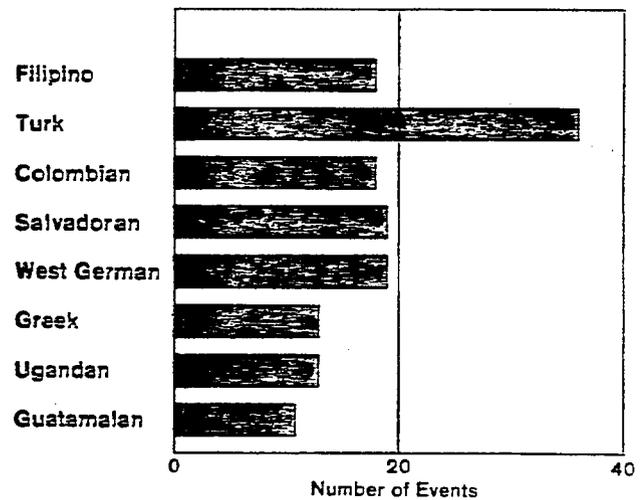
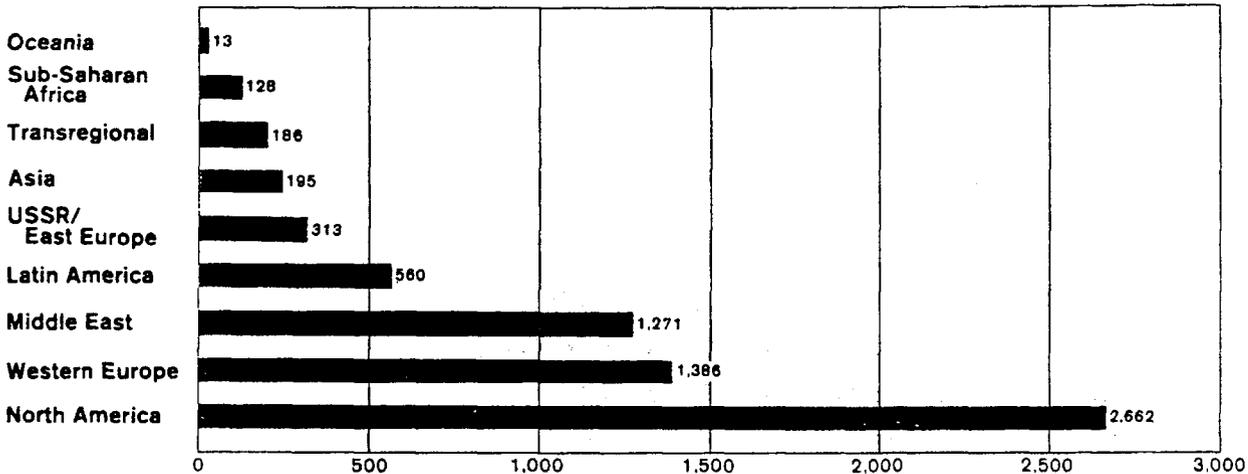


Figure 6
Nationality of Victims of International Terrorist Attacks, 1968-80

Total Incidents: 6,714



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Despite the publicity given to occasional sophisticated operations, most terrorist attacks continue to be simple in conception and operation (tables 4 and 5). During the 13-year period from 1968 through 1980, bombings were by far the preferred type of attack, accounting for nearly 45 percent of all terrorist operations. Our records for the period, however, also document over 400 kidnappings, about 450 assassinations, and over 100 barricade and hostage situations.

The categories of attacks in 1980 were similar to previous years. Bombings were still the most favored operation. The most noteworthy change was the dramatic rise in the number of assassinations and skyjackings. The security precautions designed to make smuggling of traditional weapons on board airliners more difficult failed to deter skyjackings in 1980. Skyjackers effectively used threats, hoaxes, or nonmetallic weapons, with the result that skyjackings increased for the second consecutive year.

Terrorist Events With Deaths or Injuries

Analyses of the incidents that caused casualties highlight the dangers and broad psychological impact of international terrorism. They provoke a response from governments, attention from the world media, and almost always involve a well-trained and experienced terrorist organization.

Our records show 1,435 terrorist incidents between 1968 and 1980 that caused at least one casualty. The number of such attacks has generally increased each year since 1968 (figure 7). In 1980, there were 213 of these incidents—far more than any in previous years. Bombings and assassinations accounted for over 65 percent of all incidents with casualties. Each of the other categories of attacks—kidnappings, barricade and hostage situations, and skyjackings—accounted for only a small portion of the casualties. Most of the attacks with casualties occurred in Western Europe and the Middle East. US citizens remained the most

Table 4

**Geographic Distribution of International Terrorist Incidents,
1968-80, by Category of Attack**

	North America	Latin America	Western Europe	USSR/ Eastern Europe	Sub- Saharan Africa	Middle East/North Africa	Asia	Pacific	Other	Total
Total	674 (10.0)	1,446 (21.5)	2,206 (32.9)	62 (0.9)	218 (3.2)	1,382 (20.6)	495 (7.4)	56 (0.8)	176 (2.6)	6,714
Kidnaping	5	203	47	0	61	57	25	1	2	401
Barricade-hostage	8	51	38	2	2	33	4	0	1	139
Letter bombing	26	17	200	0	15	32	131	0	49	470
Incendiary bombing	85	101	390	3	6	113	36	7	12	753
Explosive bombing	325	496	859	16	28	489	96	16	46	2,371
Armed attack	4	54	52	1	23	122	21	0	1	278
Hijacking ^a	29	35	30	3	11	38	21	0	6	173
Assassination	29	94	140	2	27	111	34	3	3	443
Sabotage	2	3	8	0	2	8	1	0	0	24
Exotic pollution	0	0	21	0	0	1	0	0	0	22
Threat	99	228	275	29	21	240	78	27	11	1,008
Theft, break-in	4	56	19	1	7	17	3	0	0	107
Conspiracy	9	17	36	1	4	30	9	1	14	121
Hoax	18	10	10	0	1	6	11	0	2	58
Other actions	12	10	39	1	5	22	13	0	14	116
Sniping	17	63	15	1	3	42	10	1	0	152
Shootout with police	0	8	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	16
Arms smuggling	2	0	20	2	2	20	2	0	14	62

^a Includes hijackings by means of air, sea, or land transport.

victimized of any nationality, but the percentage of events with US victims dropped from 38 percent for all incidents to 28 percent of all incidents with casualties. Citizens of the United Kingdom and Israel were also prominent victims of events with casualties.

There have been 416 attacks involving American citizens during the 13-year statistic-keeping period. US businessmen have been the primary targets of these attacks. Attacks against Americans resulting in casualties have occurred in at least 50 countries over the reporting period, with the most events taking place in Argentina, Iran, and the Philippines. Our records show that over 140 different terrorist groups have claimed responsibility for these attacks. Palestinian groups, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine or Black September, along with the Argentine Montoneros and the Iranian groups have committed

more attacks against American citizens resulting in casualties than any other groups.

The overall pattern of international terrorist attacks in 1980 involving casualties is generally similar to previous years—that is, assassinations with small arms accounted for over 40 percent, and explosive bombings for 35 percent of the total incidents. Most of the attacks occurred in the Middle East and Western Europe. The most active groups in the attacks with casualties in 1980 were Iranian Government operations, Armenian terrorist groups, and the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria. The order of the most victimized nationalities was slightly different from that of previous years; the most numerous victims were Americans, Israelis, Soviets, Turks, Iraqis, and Libyans, in that order. In 1979 the most victimized nationalities were Americans, British, and French. In 1978, the US and British were the main victims.

Table 5

**International Terrorist Incidents,
1968-80, by Category of Attack**

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total ^a
Total	142 (2.1)	214 (3.2)	391 (5.8)	324 (4.8)	648 (9.7)	564 (8.4)	528 (7.9)	475 (7.1)	599 (8.9)	562 (8.4)	850 (12.7)	657 (9.8)	760 (11.3)	6,714
Kidnaping	1	6	43	30	16	45	43	57	34	40	39	30	17	401 (6.0)
Barricade-hostage	1	0	8	1	4	13	13	16	6	11	19	16	31	139 (2.1)
Letter bombing	3	4	5	1	306	58	18	5	15	17	12	23	3	470 (7.0)
Incendiary bombing	12	25	56	46	22	47	48	42	119	110	128	53	45	753 (11.2)
Explosive bombing	79	115	119	129	148	168	274	232	216	210	235	219	227	2,371 (35.3)
Armed attacks	12	13	8	9	13	16	31	21	21	21	40	22	51	278 (4.1)
Hijacking ^b	3	12	24	10	16	7	10	5	6	9	6	29	36	173 (2.6)
Assassination	7	12	22	13	16	25	16	23	53	33	54	61	107	442 (6.6)
Sabotage	1	2	0	4	4	3	4	1	2	0	0	3	0	24 (0.4)
Exotic pollution	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	17	3	1	22 (0.3)
Threat	12	12	61	53	77	132	32	34	81	67	234	96	117	1,008 (15.0)
Theft, break-in	3	7	22	10	5	3	10	8	6	2	13	4	14	107 (1.6)
Conspiracy	4	4	7	2	3	21	14	9	7	6	16	13	15	121 (1.8)
Hoax	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	48	58 (0.9)
Other actions	0	0	4	8	8	3	9	10	7	11	17	20	20	117 (1.7)
Sniping	3	2	7	3	6	4	3	10	18	12	17	44	23	152 (2.3)
Shootout with police	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	3	6	0	0	3	16 (0.2)
Arms smuggling	1	0	2	4	4	16	3	1	3	7	3	16	2	62 (0.9)

^a Figures in parentheses are percentages of the total accounted for by each category of attack.

^b Includes hijackings by means of air, sea, or land transport.

State-Sponsored International Terrorism

Nations support terrorist groups or engage in terrorist activity for a variety of reasons, ranging from the need to carry out their own policies in foreign countries to the desire to establish or strengthen regional or global influence.

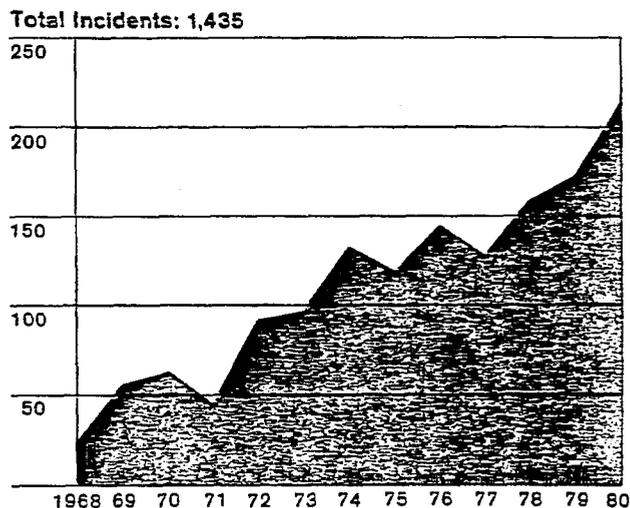
Despite increased state support for international conventions and agreements designed to reduce international terrorism, a number of Third World nations are unwilling to back sanctions against states that support international terrorist groups or engage directly in international terrorist attacks.

Our files contain records of almost a hundred terrorist attacks conducted directly by national governments. They occurred in every year since 1972, but the majority of them took place in 1980. Almost half were

assassinations or attempted assassinations. These state-sponsored attacks were more lethal than other terrorist incidents, with over 42 percent of them resulting in casualties. At least 33 victims were injured and another 40 killed in these 100 events. Most of them occurred in the Middle East, were carried out by Middle East nations, and were directed against citizens of other Middle East countries. They were almost always directed against diplomats.

Soviet Union. The Soviets are deeply engaged in support of revolutionary violence, which is a fundamental element of Leninist ideology. Such violence frequently entails acts of international terrorism. The ostensible position of the Soviets that they oppose terrorism while supporting so-called national liberation movements is further compromised by Moscow's close relationship

Figure 7
International Terrorist Incidents That Caused Casualties, 1968-80



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with and aid to a number of governments and organizations which are direct supporters of purely terrorist groups. In the Middle East, for example, the Soviets sell large quantities of arms to Libya—knowing that Libya is a major supporter of terrorist groups—and they back a number of Palestinian groups that have conducted terrorist operations. In Latin America, Moscow relies heavily on Cuba—which provides guerrilla and terrorist groups with training, arms, sanctuary, and advice—to advance Soviet interests. In other parts of the world, particularly Africa, the Soviets have long supported guerrilla movements and national liberation organizations that occasionally engage in terrorism.

Libya. The government of Colonel Qadhafi is the most prominent state sponsor of and participant in international terrorism. Despite Qadhafi's repeated public pronouncements that he does not support terrorist groups, there has been a clear and consistent pattern of Libyan aid to almost every major international terrorist group, from the Provisional Irish Republican Army

(PIRA) to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

One of Qadhafi's stated policies is to silence the Libyan students suspected of opposition activity and Libyan expatriates who have criticized his regime. Early in 1980, he warned Libyan exiles that they should return home, or they would be punished in place. During the remainder of the year, Qadhafi's assassination teams carried out his threats. Our records list 14 attacks by Libyan assassination teams in Europe and the United States. They occurred in seven countries and resulted in 11 Libyan exiles murdered and one wounded. The murder on 19 April 1980 of a well-known Libyan businessman in Rome and the assassination on 25 April last year of a Libyan lawyer in London are two examples of this assassination campaign.

Libya's support for terrorism includes financing for terrorist operations, weapons procurement and supply, the use of training camps and Libyan advisers for guerrilla training, and the use of Libyan diplomatic facilities abroad as support bases for terrorist operations. Libya has trained terrorists from Latin America, Western Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia. Qadhafi's major goals involve the Middle East and Africa, particularly the destruction of Israel, the advancement of the Palestinian cause, and the overthrow of conservative and moderate Arab states. Most of his efforts, therefore, are directed toward aiding Middle Eastern terrorism. His second concern is to be recognized as a champion of national liberation movements, especially those of an Islamic cast.

South Yemen. The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen provides camps and other training facilities for a number of international terrorist groups. The PFLP maintains a major terrorist training camp there, and members of many different terrorist groups have all benefited from the PFLP training facilities.

In addition to supporting international terrorism through its training camps, South Yemen has in the past provided a refuge for airline hijackers.

Our records from 1968 to 1980 suggest that the Government of South Yemen has not participated directly in international terrorist attacks and show that South Yemeni citizens have been involved in only a few incidents since 1968.

Iraq. During the past two years, the Iraqi Government has reduced its support for most terrorist groups. During the mid-1970s various West European terrorist groups reportedly received Iraqi aid, including training and logistical support. Iraq also provides assistance to some radical Palestinian organizations, including the Arab Liberation Front (ALF).

In 1980, the Iraqi Government conducted terrorist attacks against Iranian diplomats in Europe and the Middle East. These attacks resulted in the deaths of several Iranian diplomats.

Syria. As a major supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Syria has played an increasingly important role in Palestinian activities. It has backed radical elements within the PLO, including the PFLP, the PFLP-General Command, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The Syrian Government also created Sa'iqqa, whose Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution have been involved in terrorist attacks.

Syrian intelligence services and Syrian diplomatic facilities abroad have been used to support various terrorist campaigns against the enemies of the Syrian regime, including Jordanian officials.

Iran. Despite its radical, anti-Western policies, the Tehran government is not presently an active supporter of groups practicing international terrorism. Many groups currently seek Iranian support, but internal political upheavals, socioeconomic problems, and the war with Iraq now seem to be Tehran's main preoccupations.

In 1980, however, the Iranian Government itself initiated numerous acts of international terrorism. Our records list international terrorist attacks carried out by Iranian nationals last year—at least half of which were directly carried out by Iranian Government officials. These attacks occurred in Europe, the Middle East, and the United States. They included armed



PFLP terrorist training somewhere in the Middle East.

attacks on Iraqi diplomatic facilities and assassinations of Iraqi citizens. Most prominently, the taking of the US hostages in Tehran was a clear act of international terrorism, violating all norms of diplomatic behavior; this incident clearly was approved by the Iranian Government.

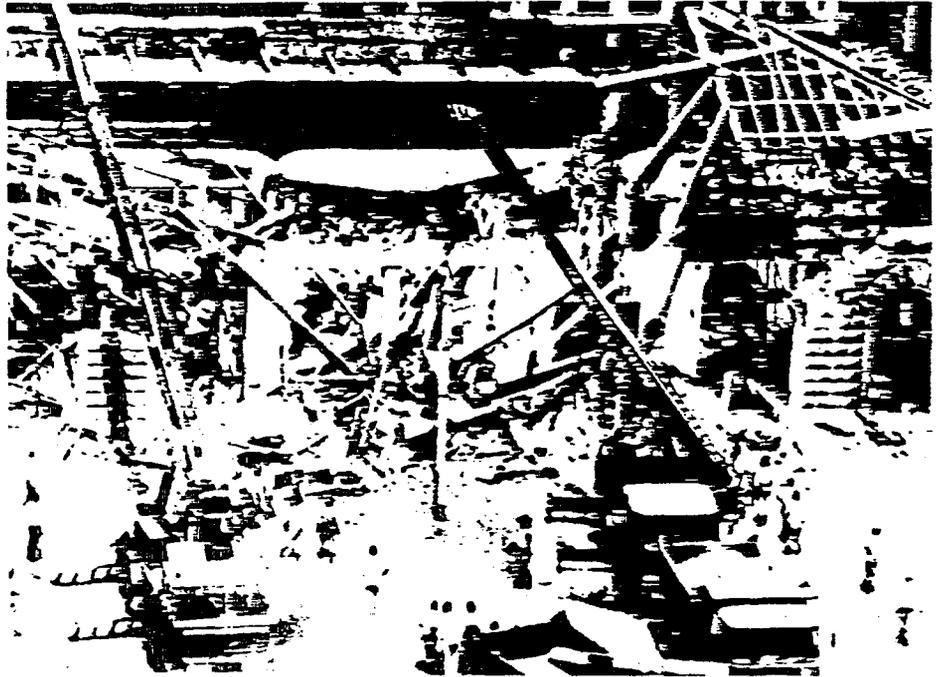
Cuba. Havana openly advocates armed revolution as the only means for leftist forces to gain power in Latin America, and the Cubans have played an important role in facilitating the movement of men and weapons into the region. Havana provides direct support in the form of training, arms, safe havens, and advice to a wide variety of guerrilla groups. Many of these groups engage in terrorist operations.

Right-Wing Terrorism

Most right-wing terrorism falls in the category of domestic violence and is not dealt with in this paper. When the attacks cross international boundaries or involve foreign victims such as the Bologna or Munich bombings, however, they are included in the records on international terrorism.

Right-wing terrorism is difficult to categorize and analyze, because it is perpetrated anonymously by groups with few or no articulated goals. Very little information is available on the type and frequency of

*Clearing the debris after the
bomb attack at the Bologna
railroad station.*



White World ©

the attacks, the group structure, or the personalities involved. Unlike publicity-seeking left-wing terrorist groups who tend to select targets that provide the greatest political impact, right-wing groups tend to be motivated by desire to terrorize or destroy specific enemies. These groups seldom indulge in such spectacular incidents as hostage-taking or hijackings; instead, they most often conduct assassinations and bombings. Some of the bombing attacks, however, have resulted in mass casualties and thus generated intense publicity.

The bombing of the train station in Bologna, Italy, and the explosion during Munich's Oktoberfest produced more casualties than any previous terrorist attacks in Western Europe.

Outlook

Although individual terrorist attacks rely heavily upon the element of surprise, general patterns of terrorist behavior are more predictable. There will be exceptions, but we expect certain trends evident in 1980 to carry over into 1981:

- The increase in casualties and casualty-producing incidents—particularly in light of the dramatic rise of assassinations—is especially significant. Although,

mass casualty operations have been rare, terrorists may now believe that some casualties are necessary to generate the amount of publicity formerly evoked by less bloody operations.

- The vast majority of incidents will continue to be simple in conception and implementation, posing little risk to the perpetrators. Although added security precautions at sensitive facilities and paramilitary rescue squads may deter spectacular confrontational attacks, these measures clearly cannot protect all potential targets from simple hit-and-run operations.
- Regional patterns of victimization and location of operations are likely to remain virtually unchanged. Representatives of affluent countries, particularly US Government officials and business executives, will continue to be attractive targets. Latin America and the Middle East again are likely to be the main trouble spots.
- West German terrorists, having suffered reversals during the past three years, are likely to feel greater pressure to engage in operations in order to remind their domestic and international sympathizers that they remain revolutionary leaders.

- Most terrorist activity by right-wing groups will remain domestic in nature and thus will not be reflected in our statistics. Because rightist groups are often willing to engage in mass-casualty attacks, however, and because their operations are often effective, their activities will pose a significant danger to public order in many countries. We expect right-wing terrorist activity to increase in 1981.
- 1980 marked the first time a large number of terrorist assassinations were directly sponsored by governments. These attacks proved to be an efficient, low-cost method of achieving limited goals. Some Third World nations, especially Middle Eastern countries, are likely to continue this practice. Most notably, Iran and Iraq probably will continue their war of terrorism, and Syria is also likely to engage in terrorist attacks.
- The Palestinian groups continue to have a terrorist capability. Some rejectionist groups may seek to embarrass PLO leader Arafat and the moderate elements of the PLO by renewing their terrorist attacks against Western democracies. If progress is not made on resolving the Palestinian problem, Arafat will find it increasingly difficult to restrain extremist Palestinian groups from conducting international terrorist attacks.
- The Armenian Secret Army's assassination campaign against Turkish diplomats is likely to continue next year at an even greater pace. In addition to the Turks, Armenian terrorists may include Western, especially US, diplomats among their targets.
- International terrorism is a tactic of leftist insurgents in El Salvador and will continue to be a factor affecting political stability in El Salvador as well as Guatemala and, perhaps, Honduras.
- On the positive side, hostage situations were more successfully opposed in 1980, as more governments became better able to deal with hostage-takings. Improved training and equipment will probably enable governments to be even more effective in dealing with hostage situations in the future.
- The development and implementation of more effective international countermeasures will continue to be impeded by differing perspectives among nations, and by a reluctance on the part of many states to commit themselves to a course of action that might invite retribution—either by terrorist groups or by states sympathetic to the terrorists' cause.

Appendix A

Major International Terrorist Groups

This appendix describes the activities of the major international terrorist groups whether they carried out international terrorist attacks in 1980 or not.

Groups such as the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and the Basque Fatherland and Liberty Movement (ETA) primarily conduct operations against domestic targets, but they are also active in the international arena. The PIRA has conducted more international terrorist attacks than any other single terrorist group. They routinely attack the British military in Europe. The ETA has not been as active internationally as the PIRA, but they conducted a campaign of terrorism against French nationals in the Basque area of Spain. Some of the attacks described in this section are not included in the statistical totals in this paper because they did not involve more than one nation, but they do provide insight into the activities of these major groups.

Western Europe

Although PIRA was not as active in 1980 as in previous years, the group was able to attack symbols of the British Government and the Crown. The PIRA assassinated a British Army colonel and attempted to kill two other British soldiers stationed in Bielefeld, West Germany. The PIRA also tried to increase pressure on the British by attempting a mass casualty attack. They exploded a bomb on a crowded commuter train as it passed through a tunnel near Belfast, but three people were killed and 10 to 15 were injured.

Attempting to expand their tactics beyond violence, seven PIRA members in Northern Ireland's Maze Prison conducted a two-month hunger strike which captured the headlines in British newspapers. After weeks of negotiations, the British Government refused to grant political status to the prisoners, the PIRA's major demand. As several prisoners neared death, however, the British issued a statement proposing improvements in prison conditions. Perhaps realizing it was the best they could hope to achieve, the PIRA leaders called a halt to the strike. Although the hunger strike received a great deal of attention, it failed to bring about a change in the status of PIRA prisoners



*Iranian Embassy in London
after British commandos ended
six-day siege.*

UPI ©

and apparently did little else to affect British policy in Northern Ireland.

The most publicized terrorist attack in the United Kingdom did not involve the PIRA or any other well-established group but was conducted by unknown Arab terrorists from Iran. The event is most notable for the successful counterterrorist attack by the British military.

On 30 April, five armed men seized the Iranian Embassy in London. After capturing 26 hostages, they demanded the release of 91 prisoners and autonomy for

an Arab province in Iran. They also demanded an aircraft to fly them to an undisclosed location. The terrorists released seven of the hostages and allowed two deadlines to pass without carrying out their threats. On 5 May, however, the terrorists killed two hostages, precipitating the British Government's decision to mount an assault on the Embassy. The Army's antiterrorist commandos stormed the building and rescued the remaining hostages, killing three terrorists and capturing two others. This successful operation was viewed as a major accomplishment by governments that have invested in costly training and elaborate contingency planning for antiterrorist strike forces.

On the European continent, the ETA,⁴ the Marxist-Leninist-oriented Basque separatist organization, assassinated dozens of police and military officers. They also carried out numerous damaging attacks against a company that is building a controversial nuclear power station in the Basque region. For the first eight months of 1980 the ETA confined itself mainly to killing policemen and alleged informers. Toward the end of the year, it expanded its assassination campaign to include civil servants and military officers. Despite widespread terrorist activities designed to build popular support and to provoke repressive measures from Madrid, the ETA campaign in 1980 was largely unsuccessful. Popular support in the Basque region continued to erode and the government resisted the provocation. During the year, Spanish ultrarightists conducted sporadic attacks against Basque targets because of what they saw as a lack of firm government response to ETA terrorism.

Mainly because of the government's efficient countermeasures, West German terrorists of both the left and right carried out only a few international terrorist attacks during the year. The one major exception and one of the bloodiest attacks recorded in West German history was the bombing by right-wing terrorists at the Munich Oktoberfest. The explosive device could have killed hundreds of people had it not exploded prematurely while being emplaced in a crowded area. Instead, only 12 people were killed and another 200 injured. The terrorist handling the bomb was killed.

⁴ The ETA consists of the ETA-Political/Military and the ETA-Military. The ETA-M has carried out most of the terrorist attacks in recent years.

In Italy, both leftist and rightist terrorism continued in 1980, almost completely confined to domestic violence. The Red Brigades, although somewhat hampered by government actions, attacked symbols of the Italian establishment, including executives, a prominent newspaperman, a doctor from the prison system, and many policemen and civil servants. On 13 December, the Red Brigades abducted a high-ranking magistrate in the Ministry of Justice, claiming their goal was to force the government to close the maximum security prison at Asinara that held some members of the Red Brigades. This was the first time in approximately two years that the government faced the choice between possibly sacrificing the life of an official or giving in to the terrorists' demand. After weeks of uncertainty, a number of newspapers scorned the government's ban on publicity and printed several communiqués explaining the terrorists' demands. The magistrate ultimately was released unharmed. This incident gave the Red Brigades more publicity than any event since the Moro kidnaping and assassination.

Although right-wing terrorism in Italy has been overshadowed by that of far-leftist groups for the past few years, it has continued to be active; the Italian Government credits almost one-half of all casualties from terrorism in Italy to right-wing groups. One of these groups—the neofascist Revolutionary Armed Nuclei—first claimed and then denied responsibility for the most lethal incident in 1980, a bomb attack at the Bologna railroad station on 2 August. Holiday travelers crowded the station and the explosion killed over 80 people and injured at least 200. Although right-wing terrorist groups are small and offer little real threat to the Italian Government, they are perfectly willing to cause mass casualties in their single-minded intent to destroy their perceived enemies. These groups are, therefore, particularly disruptive and dangerous.

Despite the imposition of martial law in all of Turkey's 67 provinces during the latter part of the year, the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, the Dev Yol, and the Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit (MLAPU) succeeded in generating mass publicity with a series of international terrorist attacks that

*Dominican Republic Embassy
in Bogota during 61-day siege
by M-19 terrorists.*



Wide World ©

caused the deaths of two US servicemen. The Armenian terrorists appeared well trained, well equipped, and efficient as they conducted an assassination campaign against Turkish diplomats worldwide. These attacks occurred in Switzerland, Italy, Greece, France, the United States, and Australia. The Armenians also exploded bombs at Turkish facilities in Europe, the Middle East, and the United States.

The Dev Yol conducted numerous attacks in Turkey against both Turkish and US personnel and facilities. In November, they assassinated a US Air Force sergeant at his home in Adana, Turkey.

The MLAPU assassinated a US Navy chief petty officer and an El Al airport manager and carried out numerous attacks against Turkish and American facilities in Turkey.

Middle East

The US diplomatic hostages continued to be held by Iran through 1980. This operation differed from previous embassy seizures in several significant ways. In Tehran, the captors had the support of the government, which defied all rules of customary and codified international legal practice.

In Syria, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) conducted an active and lethal assassination campaign against So-

viet military advisers during the first part of 1980. The MB is a Muslim fundamentalist group that attacked Soviet targets to express a general dislike of the Soviet Union and the Assad regime and specific opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Palestinian terrorist actions in 1980 did not reach the level experienced during the 1970s. The Iran-Iraq war divided the Arab world, diverting attention from the Palestinian issue and greatly complicating the PLO's attempts at diplomacy. The Syrian and Libyan Governments, along with many rejectionist Palestinian groups, attempted to pressure Arafat into curtailing his diplomacy and keeping his distance from moderate Arab states.

Fatah, the largest group in the PLO, while presumably waiting for the results of Arafat's diplomatic initiatives, restricted its international terrorist attacks to Middle East countries. Fatah also continued to train groups that often use terrorism and maintained contacts with supporters abroad.

Other Palestinian groups met with mixed success. The Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command and the Black June Organization continued operations against Israel and carried out attacks in other Middle East countries, especially



*Police attempt to oust occupiers
of the Spanish Embassy in
Guatemala.*

Wide World ©

Lebanon. The PFLP was relatively inactive after its leader, George Habbash, was incapacitated following surgery in September.

Latin America

In Colombia the 19th of April Movement (M-19) conducted one of the most publicized terrorist attacks of 1980. On 27 February, armed members of M-19 shot their way into the Dominican Republic Embassy in Bogota. They timed the attack to coincide with a diplomatic reception. After taking 57 people hostage, including the ambassadors of 11 countries, the terrorists demanded the release of 311 prisoners, a \$50 million ransom, and safe passage out of the country. During the course of the protracted negotiations, the terrorists freed a majority of hostages and vastly scaled down their demands. They finally accepted safe pas-

sage to Cuba and a \$2 million private ransom. The entire incident lasted 61 days and illustrated the success of careful, patient negotiation by responsible governments in a hostage situation.

In El Salvador, at least 10,000 people were reported killed by left- and right-wing groups as the nation's domestic strife spread. El Salvador also ranks high among countries affected by international terrorism. The primary targets of attacks in El Salvador included embassies and private facilities from other Central American countries, the United States, and Israel. Several diplomats and business officials were also assassinated. One example of the attacks on embassies was the attack on 11 January 1980 on the Panamanian Embassy in San Salvador, when members of the 28 February Popular League (LP-28) stormed the embassy. They held seven hostages, including the Ambassadors of Panama and Costa Rica, and demanded the release of seven LP-28 members imprisoned in San Salvador. After three days of negotiating, the incident ended on 14 January when the Salvadoran Government bowed to the demands of the terrorists and released the prisoners. The embassy seizure ended with the safe release of the hostages. In addition the US Embassy was seriously damaged by a People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) rocket attack on 16 September 1980.

In Guatemala, international terrorist attacks followed a similar pattern. Leftist terrorist groups attacked facilities of a few foreign countries and kidnaped foreign nationals. The most significant of these incidents occurred on 31 January 1980. Peasants, sponsored and transported by Guatemalan leftist groups, entered the Spanish Embassy and demanded to see the Ambassador. Once inside, they seized hostages, but were unable to make their demands known because Guatemalan police swiftly attacked them. Fire that broke out during the attack caused chaos among terrorists, hostages, and police. Of the more than 30 terrorists and hostages in the embassy, the only survivors were the Spanish Ambassador and one of the attackers. The surviving attacker was kidnaped a few days later and was subsequently killed.

Appendix B

Antiterrorist Measures

The Private Sector

In 1980, multinational corporations continued to search for defensive methods tailored to their own needs. A number of private security firms joined those specializing in executive protection programs, risk analysis, and armored vehicle service. Several victimized corporations hired consultants to advise executives on how to cope with political violence. Specialized consultants were also employed to conduct ransom negotiations and handle payoffs to terrorist groups.

Regional Cooperation

In 1980, cooperation in combating terrorism was a topic of discussion among European countries. In November, the North Atlantic Assembly adopted a resolution on terrorism that urged member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance to exchange information on terrorist-related groups. It also sought cooperation on joint measures against subversive groups that may be directly responsible for terrorism or that may be providing financial or logistical support or training for international terrorists. In December, the 15 NATO foreign ministers adopted a Declaration on Terrorism and the US hostages in Iran. That declaration vigorously condemned terrorist acts as particularly odious, regardless of their cause or objectives. The foreign ministers agreed that there is a need for close intergovernmental cooperation and for effective measures to prevent and combat terrorism. In December, the Spanish introduced a resolution at the Conference on Security of Central Europe in Madrid which condemned international terrorism. The resolution was widely supported by the conference participants. To date, however, little measurable action has resulted from any of these meetings, although the meetings continue to serve as a useful forum for exchanging information and reaching tentative agreements on international terrorism.

United Nations

During 1980, four nations ratified the General Assembly's convention against the taking of hostages. The convention, which had been in various UN committees for three years, was adopted by consensus in December 1979. It calls for states to prosecute or extradite hostage-takers without exception. Language on the rights of national liberation movements, the right of asylum, and the Geneva conventions and protocols on the law of war was included, thereby insuring greater support for the final document. Forty states have signed the convention, which will come into effect when it is ratified by 18 more states.

In December, the General Assembly also adopted a consensus resolution sponsored by the Nordic countries calling for effective measures to enhance the protection, security, and safety of diplomatic and consular missions. The resolution reaffirmed the need for all states to ensure the security of diplomatic missions and to prohibit on their territories illegal activities directed against such offices.

The Venice Economic Summit

In June, the Venice Economic Summit of Heads of State and Government of seven of the world's leading industrialized democracies adopted a Statement on the Taking of Diplomatic Hostages. The statement called on all governments to take appropriate measures to deny terrorists any benefit from their criminal acts and stated that the seven states would provide resident diplomatic missions their mutual support and assistance in situations involving the seizure of diplomatic facilities or personnel.

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Appendix C
Statistical Data

Table C-1

**Geographic Distribution of International Terrorist Incidents,
1980, by Category**

	North America	Latin America	Western Europe	USSR/ Eastern Europe	Sub- Saharan Africa	Middle East/ North Africa	Asia	Pacific	Other	Total ^a	
Total	90 (11.8)	178 (23.4)	204 (26.8)	7 (0.9)	29 (3.8)	195 (25.7)	46 (6.1)	3 (0.4)	8 (1.1)	760	
Kidnaping	0	13	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	17	(2.2)
Barricade-hostage	0	22	5	0	0	3	0	0	1	31	(3.9)
Letter bombing	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	(0.4)
Incendiary bombing	3	5	27	0	0	8	1	1	0	45	(5.9)
Explosive bombing	25	33	71	2	6	66	19	1	4	227	(29.9)
Armed attack	0	8	6	0	2	32	3	0	0	51	(6.7)
Hijacking ^b	15	7	3	2	3	4	1	0	1	36	(4.7)
Assassination	6	21	35	0	2	39	2	1	1	107	(14.1)
Exotic pollution	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	(0.1)
Threat	17	39	29	2	3	20	7	0	0	117	(15.4)
Theft, break-in	0	4	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	14	(1.8)
Conspiracy	2	2	2	0	0	8	1	0	0	15	(2.0)
Hoax	17	5	10	0	0	5	10	0	1	48	(6.3)
Other actions	4	1	9	0	3	3	0	0	0	20	(2.6)
Sniping	1	15	2	0	0	3	2	0	0	23	(3.0)
Shootout with police	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	(0.4)
Arms smuggling	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	(0.3)

^a Figures in parentheses are percentages of the total accounted for by each category.

^b Includes hijackings by means of air, sea, or land transport.

Figure 8
International Terrorist Incidents by Category of Attack, 1968-80

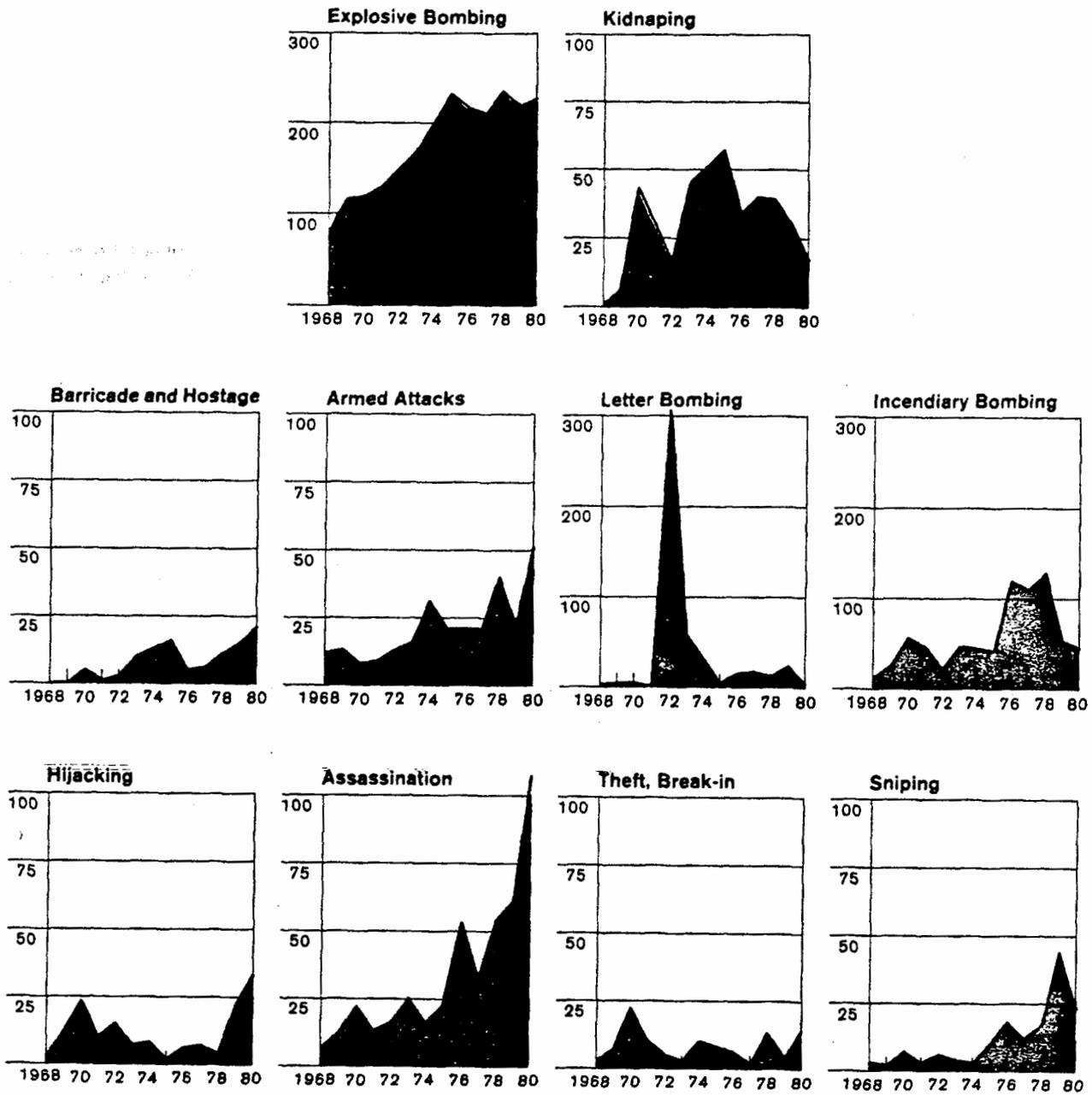


Table C-2

**International Terrorist Attacks on US Citizens or Property,
1968-80, by Category**

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total ^a
Total	71 (2.4)	124 (4.2)	266 (9.0)	243 (8.2)	255 (8.6)	237 (8.0)	216 (7.3)	181 (6.1)	231 (7.8)	195 (6.6)	396 (13.4)	256 (8.7)	278 (9.4)	2,949
Kidnaping	1	3	25	19	5	23	14	23	8	7	8	8	10	154 (5.2)
Barricade-hostage	1	0	4	0	1	3	2	1	2	3	0	6	7	30 (1.0)
Letter bombing	2	1	2	0	29	3	1	0	4	7	0	4	2	55 (1.9)
Incendiary bombing	12	21	46	42	18	30	31	17	56	58	80	29	23	463 (15.7)
Explosive bombing	35	71	87	100	97	74	127	95	65	70	95	93	72	1,081 (36.7)
Armed attack	1	4	3	5	10	8	6	7	8	5	12	10	11	90 (3.0)
Hijacking ^b	1	5	12	4	4	0	1	2	5	4	3	15	20	76 (2.5)
Assassination	3	3	10	2	4	4	2	8	15	6	7	10	19	93 (3.2)
Sabotage	0	0	0	3	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	10 (0.3)
Threat	11	12	51	51	71	77	19	19	53	22	161	47	50	644 (21.8)
Theft, break-in	0	3	15	8	1	3	4	3	1	0	7	4	13	62 (2.1)
Conspiracy	1	0	2	2	1	2	4	3	1	2	4	3	6	31 (1.1)
Hoax	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	27 (0.9)
Other actions	0	0	3	5	7	2	2	1	4	2	11	3	10	50 (1.7)
Sniping	2	1	5	2	3	0	3	1	6	8	7	20	9	67 (2.3)
Shootout with police	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	4 (0.1)
Arms smuggling	1	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	12 (0.4)

^a Figures in parentheses are percentages of the total accounted for by each category.

^b Includes hijacking by means of air, sea, or land transport.

Table C-3

Geographic Distribution of International Terrorist Attacks on US Citizens or Property, 1980, by Category

	North America	Latin America	Western Europe	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East/North Africa	Asia	Pacific	Other	Total
Total	26	94	58	15	47	35	1	2	278
Kidnaping	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Barricade-hostage	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	7
Letter bombing	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Incendiary bombing	0	1	14	0	7	0	1	0	23
Explosive bombing	6	20	9	1	19	16	0	1	72
Armed attack	0	5	1	1	3	1	0	0	11
Hijacking *	15	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	20
Assassination	3	10	0	2	4	0	0	0	19
Threat	2	21	14	0	7	6	0	0	50
Theft, break-in	0	4	2	7	0	0	0	0	13
Conspiracy	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	6
Hoax	0	4	8	0	3	9	0	1	25
Other actions	0	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	10
Sniping	0	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
Shootout with police	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

* Includes hijackings by means of air or land transport.