

# How effective has terrorism been since 1969?



## 6. What is terrorism, why do people become terrorists and why do people and organisations resort to terror?

*"Terrorism is the systematic use of terror, often violent, especially as a means of forcing change"*

Tactics: either the use of or threat of violence, often resulting in death

Agents: those involved are usually non government groups or individuals

Targets: Civilian population in peacetime

Aims: two key aims are to intimidate the population and put pressure on governments to meet their demands



- Poverty** When extreme poverty hits many people in the effected countries blame the government for mismanaging things. This makes them more likely to join organisations which oppose the government, could be political or terror based groups (as with the PLO)
- Desire for land** In some countries (such as Ireland and Palestine) which are occupied by multiple populations one group may feel they have the right to that land whereas the other group does not. This can lead to terrorism against the government in control
- Religious beliefs** Some religious fundamentalists choose to focus on select extracts of their holy teachings and use those to justify violence and terror. One example is with Islam, a religious which teaches against suicide, however, Al Qaeda use that religion to justify their suicide bombings
- Other individual factors** Regardless of the situation you are born into it takes a particular type of person to turn to terror. You have to be angry at the situation you are in so much that you are willing to be involved in activity which will take innocent lives

## 7. What roles do religion, ideology and nationalism play in terrorism?

Why are they fighting ?	Roles / Motivations in this essence of conflict
<p>PIRA: Fighting primarily over the independence and unification of Ireland</p>	<p><u>Religion:</u> Many members of the PIRA are Catholics and most of these members wanted equal rights for Catholic people living in Ireland. Not all Catholics were in the PIRA. Some Catholics have been harmed</p> <p><u>Ideology:</u> <u>Nationalism:</u> The PIRA represent Southern Ireland, the original inhabitants of the island. They believe that Northern Ireland (controlled by UK) should not be allowed to take over their land.</p>
<p>PLO: Fighting for land for the Palestinian people against Israel</p>	<p><u>Religion:</u> Many members of the PLO are Muslims and believe that Palestine belongs to the Muslim world as it had done traditionally for centuries.</p> <p><u>Ideology:</u> <u>Nationalism:</u> After WWI the British had promised the Palestinians (McMahon treaty) they could live on the area of land we now know as Palestine because they had helped the British beat the Ottoman Empire (Turkish) in WWI. However, after WWI the Jewish people of Europe were promised their own country by the U.N on this same area of land. The land was divided into Israel and Palestine in the U.N partition plan of 1947.</p>
<p>Al Qaeda: fighting to defend the Muslim faith against other influences</p>	<p><u>Religion:</u> Al Qaeda think of themselves as defenders of the Muslim faith and want to protect it from the influence of Christianity and Judaism.</p> <p><u>Ideology:</u> <u>Nationalism:</u> No land/country issues. Al Qaeda have launched attacks in a variety of countries such as: Spain, Egypt, USA, UK, Turkey (a split Christian/Muslim country!)</p>



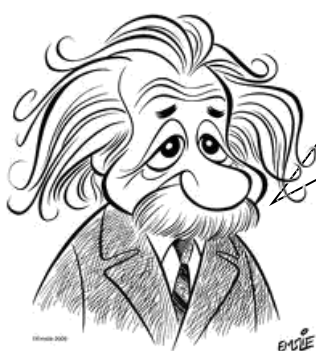
	Other factors motivating individuals within these groups	Group applicable to
Religion	Allah promising a special place and honour in paradise. This applies to Al Qaeda and some of the PLO (Muslim faith) who adhere to extremist Muslim views.	Al-Qaeda, PLO
Money	Financial incentives are often promised to the families of suicide bombers	Al Qaeda
Revenge	Payback for loss of family, friends or members of the religious faith.	PLO, PIRA, Al Qaeda

## 8. Why is terrorism generally condemned? Is terrorism ever justified?

It is a difficult question to answer. Terrorists often justify their actions quite well by saying:

- It is the only way we could achieve our aims (because governments are not listening)
- These acts of violence are exactly the same as the actions taken against us by the government(s) we oppose, and no one is taking action against this apart from us.

However, the bottom line as far as governments think is that taking innocent lives in pursuit of a political or religious aim is wrong and therefore terrorism can never be justified.



Now have a little think. We have all heard the phrase

*“One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter”*

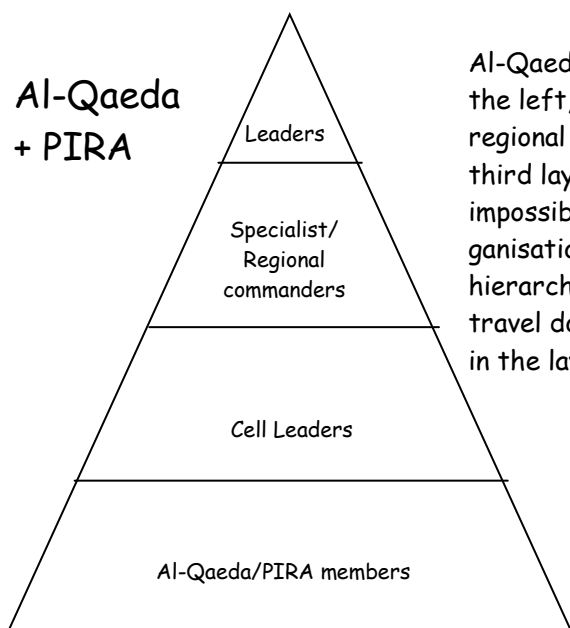
Governments say this is a cliché, and there is never an excuse for terrorism. However, when you look at our 3 case studies you must consider the feelings of both parties involved. These situations are complicated.

Obscene number of casualties	Few people allow themselves to feel sorry for terrorist causes because of the many victims involved. Incidents like <b>9/11</b> tore apart thousands of happy families and devastated many, many people living in America for years to come
Civilian casualties	Most often the majority of casualties are innocent bystanders, who want nothing else than to get on with their everyday lives. In attacks like the ... <b>Avavim School Bus attack in Israel (PLO -1970),</b> <b>Omagh in Ireland (PIRA-1998)</b> <b>Madrid bombings in Spain (Al Qaeda— 2004)</b> ...in which the majority of casualties were civilians.
Spreads fear and intolerance	Due to the de-stabilising effect terror has on governments people become naturally scared of terrorism. This causes panic and ordinary people begin to label people based on appearance, cultural and religious beliefs. Tensions between different communities are created.
Gives religion a bad label/name	This is particularly the case with Al Qaeda. Due to their terror efforts in Britain and the USA they have paved the way for racist organisations like the EDL (English Defence League) and political groups like the BNP to prey on the fears of ordinary people and gain support for their racist/Islamophobic beliefs.

## 9. Comparing the methods the PIRA, PLO and Al Qaeda used?

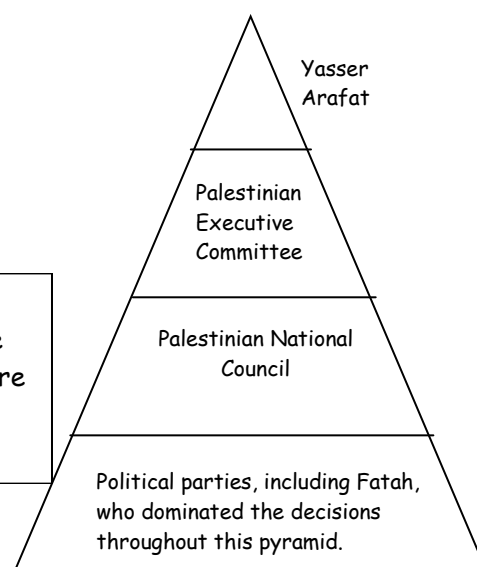
	PIRA	PLO	Al Qaeda
Phase 1	<p><u>Use of as much force as possible (1969-75)</u></p> <p>Aimed to cause as many British Army casualties as possible to make them withdraw. Landmines, bombs, shootings etc.  <b>M62 Coach bombing (Feb 1974)</b>  <b>Guildford pub bombing (Oct 1974)</b></p>	<p><u>War of Attrition (1969-70)</u></p> <p>Repeated civilian attacks on Israel using fedayeen fighters and using artillery on towns and kibbutzim (farming communities).  <b>Vivavim School Bus (1970)</b></p>	<p><u>Fighting the Soviet Union (1988-89)</u></p> <p>The fighting had almost finished by the time Al Qaeda was created. They helped recruit Mujahideen fighters to beat the Soviet Union. The SU withdrew in 1989.</p>
Phase 2	<p><u>Ceasefire (1975-76)</u></p> <p>Following secret meetings between the PIRA leaders and British they began a ceasefire. This broke down quickly when the PIRA realised that Merlyn Rees (British) was not going to withdraw British Troops.</p>	<p><u>Targeted Terrorism (1972)</u></p> <p>Black September, a group linked to Yasser Arafat's Fatah took members of <b>Israel's Olympic team hostage</b>. Killed 11 athletes and a German police officer. This gained much media attention for their cause.</p>	<p><u>International Terrorism (1992 onwards)</u></p> <p>Various worldwide attacks aimed at civilians, particularly in Christian countries.  <b>American soldiers in Yemen (1992)</b>  <b>USS Cole (2000)</b>  <b>9/11 (2001)</b>  <b>Madrid (2004)</b>  <b>London (2005)</b></p>
Phase 3	<p><u>The 'Long War' (1970s -late 1990's)</u></p> <p>The PIRA was reorganised into small cells for specific terror attacks, using propaganda to help their cause. <b>Assassination attempt on Margaret Thatcher</b></p>	<p><u>First Intifada (1987-93)</u></p> <p>Mass protests and strikes, violent and peaceful, by the Palestinians (young and old) in Gaza and the West bank.  This resulted ultimately in Arafat recognising Israel's right to exist in return for the Palestinians being allowed to set up their own state in the West Bank and Gaza</p>	
Phase 4	<p><u>Political Strategy (1980's)</u></p> <p>Sinn Fein (political party) under the leadership of Gerry Adams (who was close with the PIRA) realised that using violence was not always the best way to get what they wanted. <b>Anglo Irish Agreement (1985)</b>  <b>Hunger Strikes in prison (7)</b></p>		<p><u>Terrorism in Iraq (2003 onwards)</u></p> <p>Al Qaeda are suspected to be behind numerous kidnappings and bombings in insurgency against Western forces in Iraq</p>
Phase 5	<p><u>Peace Strategy (1998)</u></p> <p>IRA called a ceasefire and Sinn Fein began to negotiate with the British Government, leading to the <b>Good Friday Agreement</b> in 1998, ending the terror</p>	<p><u>Negotiating Settlement (1993)</u></p> <p>The above was put on paper in the Oslo Accords in 1993, with the PLO being a big part of the new Palestinian Government (the Palestinian Authority). Problems were not over because Israel kept taking land and some radical PLO members attacked again, leading to a <b>second intifada in 2003-4</b>.</p>	

## 10. How important are the leaders of terrorist groups?



Al-Qaeda and the PIRA are/were organised like the pyramid on the left, with the group leader(s) in the top section, specialist or regional commanders in the second layer, heads of cells in the third layer and soldiers/normal members in the lower layer. It is impossible to know exactly how many layers there are in each organisation because many of the details are unknown. However, this hierarchical approach is a good way of imagining it. The orders travel down, and the guys at the bottom do not know many who are in the layer(s) above. This

The PLO are structured slightly differently, in that they were the government of Palestine at the time and, because they were not recognised as a formal government, they were labelled a terrorist organisation in the eyes of many in the UN. However, this can again be represented in a pyramid.



**PLO**

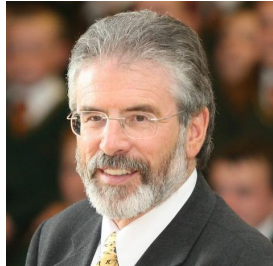
### Reasons leaders are important:

- Make decisions about targeted attacks and change in strategy
- Protect the identity of group members
- Act as a spokesperson/figurehead to represent the group
- Could become an idol/martyr

	PIRA	PLO	Al-Qaeda
Do leaders act on own or with others?	They were controlled by a <u>small group</u> of leaders, during the 1970s two of the key members were <u>Martin McGuinness</u> and <u>Sean Mac Stoifain</u>	The PLO was a huge organisation which was controlled by the <u>PLO Executive Committee</u> , of which the leader was <u>Yasser Arafat</u> . He did not govern it alone.	The figurehead of al Qaeda was Osama bin Laden, but he did not run it alone, having sought the advice of Ayman al-Zawahiri.
How do the leaders organise the group?	The PIRA were organised into small, tightly knit cells, with each cell working independently of others	The PLO had many layers, as illustrated above	Al-Qaeda are organised in small tightly knit cells, with each cell rarely knowing the identity of other cells.

## 11. How have governments reacted to terrorism?

<p>Different methods used to try and deal with terror (summary)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Military action (before/pre-emptive or after/reactionary)</li> <li>• Negotiation</li> <li>• Surveillance</li> <li>• Detention of terror suspects</li> <li>• Freezing financial assets</li> <li>• Enhancing police powers</li> <li>• Terror alert systems for the public (red, yellow, green)</li> </ul>
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<p>PIRA: Increased Intel and surveillance</p>	<p>The British government found it difficult to fight an enemy it couldn't see, after all, many of the PIRA were just civilians with a motive. Therefore, the British <u>infiltrated</u> the PIRA using undercover special forces officers and then could use the information to arrest some of the high profile figures within the PIRA. This tactic led to many arrests in the organisation after the ceasefire in 1975, but the PIRA counteracted this measure by restructuring itself into smaller cells, and not allowing cells to communicate with each other, making it more difficult for the British to infiltrate</p>	<p><u>Partly successful</u>, but led to more difficulties during the 1990's, until the <u>Good Friday Agreement in 1998</u>. However, there are still tensions there today, including IRA violence in 2013</p>
<p>PLO: Attempts at negotiation</p>	<p>The <u>Israeli government was sick of the violence during the first intifada</u> and, as a result, became more determined to negotiate with the PLO. The <u>PLO lacked funding</u> because they supported Iraq during the Iraq war in 1991 and a lot of the Arab countries who funded them had stopped as a result of this. As a result, in <u>1993 both sides signed the OSLO ACCORDS</u>, which meant Israel recognised the PLO as the legitimate government of Palestine and the PLO recognised Israel's right to exist and would reduce/stop the violence. However, as Israel continued to push forward taking land from Palestine, violence did resume on a much smaller scale under the organisation called <u>Hamas</u>.</p>	<p><u>Fairly successful</u> from the Israeli perspective, as they reduced overall violence, got more land and now have a political body in Palestine who will work with them.</p>
<p>Al-Qaeda: Military response</p>	<p>The USA have made constant <u>military strikes</u> on top Al-Qaeda locations around the world since September 11th 2001 and, with the help of the Afghan Northern Alliance, they removed the Taliban (controlled by Al-Q) from power in Afghanistan. The core base of operations for Al-Qaeda is now thought to be in Pakistan. In <u>2012</u>, the U.S government <u>killed Osama Bin Laden</u> and killed the new 2nd in command, <u>Abu Yahya al-Libi in the same year</u>. This <u>leaves Ayman al-Zawahiri in charge of Al-Qaeda</u>. Although the U.S.A appear to be making fantastic progress, through their killings they fuel the fires of hatred in the Muslim world amongst those who believe they have no right to be there.</p>	<p><u>Partly successful</u> as Al-Qaeda members have suffered huge losses of key figures and smaller members since 2011. However, <u>overall membership is up</u> and they are beginning to <u>cooperate with other terror organisations such as Salafi AND countries such as Iran</u>, who do not recognise the right of Israel to exist</p>

## 12. How effective have terrorist groups been?

It is difficult to measure how effective terror groups are. Considerations are how much investment/wealth they have at their disposal, how many people they have killed and how much media attention they have got. However, the KEY CRITERIA is whether or not they actually achieved their aims. It seems no coincidence that the organisation who was least willing to compromise (Al-Q) has achieved the least. To get closer to their aims the PIRA committed to disarming their organisation and the PLO recognised Israel as a country in the Oslo Accords.



<p>Effectiveness of the PIRA by the time of the good Friday agreement (1998)</p>	<p><u>Unify Ireland:</u> This was the main aim of the PIRA and this has not been achieved. However, the GFA stated that this would be possible if Northern Ireland voted for it to happen. This respects the right of any country to self-govern or self determination.</p> <p><u>Reduce British influence in Northern Ireland:</u> The British have very little influence in Northern Ireland today and their presence was dramatically reduced by 1998</p> <p><u>Get rights for Catholic communities:</u> Catholics communities had much improved equality and equal human rights by 1998.</p>	<p>Failed on main aim</p> <p>Achieved well in smaller aims</p>
<p>Effectiveness of the PLO by the time of the Oslo Accords.</p>	<p><u>Provide Palestinians with own country:</u> In this Oslo Accords Palestine are cited as having a country of their own. It gave the Palestinians self-rule in the Gaza strip and Jericho areas. However, the boundaries of much other land were not decided upon and this has led to Israel taking large chunks after the accords was signed in 1993.</p> <p><u>Destroy the state of Israel:</u> They failed in this aim because the Accords formally recognised Israel's right to exist, the opposite of their original aim.</p>	<p>Partly achieved main aim</p> <p>Secondary aim failed</p>
<p>Effectiveness of Al-Qaeda by the time of the Iraq war</p>	<p><u>End foreign influence in Muslim countries:</u> Through it's military actions Al-Qaeda has increased foreign influence in Afghanistan and in Iraq, due to suspected links between Al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein being used as one reason for the USA and UK to invade Iraq</p> <p><u>Destroy the state of Israel:</u> They have not achieved this goal, although they have caused much instability and hatred towards Israel in Muslim countries</p>	<p>Failed in main aim</p> <p>Failed in secondary aim</p>



# TERRORISM: TOP 10 QUIZ

1. What are the 3 terror organisations called and who are their leaders?
2. Who were the leaders of the main Governments affected by these terror organisations? (Al-Qaeda needs 2 opposing government leaders)
3. What are the main aims of each organisation?
4. Which 2 organisations did not recognise Israel's right to exist? And which one did recognise this right after 1993?
5. Name 2 terror attacks by each group.
6. List 3 similarities in the methods used by each group (method comparison)
7. List 3 differences in the methods used by each group (method comparison)
8. Explain why the leaders of terror organisations are important using the reasons given in that section (1 example for each reason)
9. Which government do you think was the most successful at dealing with the threat of terror and why?
10. Which terror group you think was the most AND least successful in achieving their aims? Why?

# EXAM QUESTIONS: TERRORISM

## DESCRIBE:

- What is terrorism? (4 Marks)
- Describe the aims of Al-Qaeda. (4 Marks)
- What were the main causes of terrorism between 1969 and 2005? (4 Marks)

## EXPLAIN:

- Why have many people condemned terrorism? Explain your answer with reference to specific terrorist groups. (6 Marks)
- Explain why Osama bin Laden was important to the emergence of Al-Qaeda. (6 Marks)
- Explain why Yasser Arafat was important to the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. (6 Marks)

## EVALUATE:

- How successfully have governments responded to terrorism? Explain your answer with reference to specific terrorist groups. (10 Marks)
- 'Terrorism is never successful' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer with reference to specific terrorist groups. (10 Marks)
- The following have been **equally effective** in achieving their aims:  
1) the PIRA  
2) the PLO  
3) Al-Qaeda  
How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer referring only to 1, 2 and 3. (10 Marks)