# **GREECE PART 1**

# Greece Part 1, Unknown Dates Last Updated: 15 June 2021

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T138	COMMUNISTS LIBERATION FACTION		0	0
T1389	FREE GREEKS		0	0
T1392	GREEK ANTI-REGIME MOVEMENT LAOS-11		0	0
T1401	INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE		0	0
T1435	NOVEMBER 25 ANARCHIST GROUP		0	0
T281	VNATRESNO-MAKEDONSKA REVOLUCIONERNA ORGANIZACIJA (VMRO)		0	0
T344	FIGHTING ECOLOGIST ACTIVISM		0	0
T573	MAKRIYANNIS FIGHTING GROUP		0	0
T587	ANTI-STATE STRUGGLE		0	0
T590	RED INITIATIVE		0	0
T591	REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY GROUP		0	0
T601	GROUPS FOR SABOTAGE		0	0
Т830	ANARKHIKI OMADHA 20 LOULI		0	0

I. COMMUNISTS LIBERATION FACTION

Torg ID: 138

Min. Group Date: 0 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

Part 1. Bibliography

Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

Group Formation: This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

Group End: This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

### Geography

This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

### **Organizational Structure**

This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

#### **External Ties**

This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

### **Group Outcome**

This is an alias for the Communist Liberation Faction (T1380).

### II. FREE GREEKS

Torg ID: 1389

Min. Group Date: 0
Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

"Free Greeks." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4022. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008.
 National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.
 <a href="https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43qM-8fx5">https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43qM-8fx5</a>
 PTvhFQ/edit

 Kenneth Bibb. "A Compendium of European Theater Terrorist Groups." Air Command and Staff College Research Study. 1976. P. 56.
 <a href="https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/46219NCJRS.pdf">https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/46219NCJRS.pdf</a>

Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1969

Group End: 1971. The group may have disbanded as late as 1974 following the overthrow of Greece's military junta given that its ideological goals were achieved as of this date, however, no evidence would suggest that they carried out violence following May 1971 (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008).

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when exactly the Free Greeks organization formed, however, it is very likely that the group formed in the late 1960s during the regime of Colonel George Papadopoulos (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). Papadopoulos headed a military regime in Greece from 1967 until 1974 (MIPT 2008). The Free Greeks were allegedly responsible for a series of bombings that occurred in early 1971 (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). On May 14, 1971, the Free Greeks committed what may be referred to as their most significant attack (Bibb 1976).

On May 14, the organization detonated a bomb that targeted a statue of American President Harry S. Truman (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). While the Free Greeks were able to warn foreign correspondents of an attack against a US target a day prior to the bomb's detonation, the attack claimed on casualty when a police attempting to diffuse the bomb died in its explosion (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008).

The Free Greeks may be classified as a nationalist, royalist group who intended to restore the Greek monarchy, as well as an anti-junta leftist group (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). The Free Greeks opposed the United States and NATO on the basis that the two supported Greece's military regime (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). According to MIPT (2008) and Kenneth Bibb (1976), the Free Greeks sent communiques to foreign correspondents threatening Americans and tourists, as well as urging members of the military to stage coups against the Greek government.

### Geography

The Freek Greeks were responsible for at least one bombing incident that occurred in the urban environment of Athens, Greece (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008).

#### **Organizational Structure**

The Free Greeks organization was composed of approximately ten retired army officers (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). The organizational structure of the group is otherwise unknown (Bibb 1976). According to Kenneth Bibb (1976), a report of an unknown origin contained evidence that the Free Greeks may have been funded by the German Social Democratic Party. The group may have also claimed ties to Greece's former prime minister Constantine Karamanlis (Bibb 1976).

#### **External Ties**

According to Kenneth Bibb (1976), a report of an unknown origin contained evidence that the Free Greeks may have been funded by the German Social Democratic Party. MIPT (2008) reports that the Free Greeks also claimed ties to "Greek exile groups".

### **Group Outcome**

In 1969, Greece's military government arrested over ten former Greek generals for participation in the Free Greeks organization (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). This attempt to dismantle the group was clearly unsuccessful given that one or more incidents of bombing in 1971 were attributed to the group (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008). It is unclear why the group apparently ceased their use of violence following May 1971, but likely that the group ultimately disbanded due to the overthrowing of Greece's military junta (Bibb 1976; MIPT 2008).

III. GREEK ANTI-REGIME MOVEMENT LAOS-11

Torg ID: 1392 Min. Group Date: 0 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

#### Part 1. Bibliography

 "Greeks Anti-Regime Movement." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4035. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43qM-8fx5PTyhFQ/edit

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1974

Group End: The Greek Anti-Regime Movement L.A.O.S.-11 was not responsible for any attempted violence that occurred after June 1974 (MIPT 2008). This presumably occurred due to the fall of Greece's military junta once and for all later in 1974 (MIPT 2008).

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the Greek Anti-Regime Movement L.A.O.S.-11 formed, however, the group was responsible for a single attempted vehicle bombing that occurred in June 1974 (MIPT 2008). It is, however, likely that the group formed during the military regime that ruled Greece from 1967 until 1974 (MIPT 2008). In June 1974, the Greek Anti-Regime Movement L.A.O.S.-11 attempted to bomb a vehicle that belonged to a "high-ranking U.S. Navy officer" who was based in Athens (MIPT 2008).

The attack occurred six months after a dictatorial transition that saw General Ioniddes oust then dictator General Papadopoulos (MIPT 2008). During the military regime, it was not uncommon for armed groups in Greece to perpetrate bombings in order to demonstrate their opposition to the junta (MIPT 2008). Many of these bombings targeted Americans and other foreign establishments that may have backed the military regime (MIPT 2008).

#### Geography

The Greek Anti-Regime Movement L.A.O.S.-11 was responsible for a singular attack that occurred in the urban environment of Athens, Greece (MIPT 2008).

#### **Organizational Structure**

No information can be found about the organizational structure of the Greek Anti-Regime Movement L.A.O.S.-11.

#### **External Ties**

No information would suggest that the Greek Anti-Regime Movement L.A.O.S.-11 maintained any external ties to state or non-state actors.

#### **Group Outcome**

The Greek Anti-Regime Movement L.A.O.S.-11 was not responsible for any attempted violence that occurred after June 1974 (MIPT 2008). This presumably occurred due to the fall of Greece's military junta once and for all later in 1974 (MIPT 2008). It is unclear how the Greek state responded to the June 1974 act of violence.

#### IV. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Torg ID: 1401 Min. Group Date: 0

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: International Revolutionary Struggle, Team Of International Revolutionary Struggle

### Part 1. Bibliography

 "International Revolutionary Struggle." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4061. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h N98DV43qM-8fx5 PTvhFQ/edit

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

Group Formation: This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

Group End: This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

### Geography

This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

#### **Organizational Structure**

This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

#### **External Ties**

This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

### **Group Outcome**

This group is likely an alias for the Fighting Guerilla Formation (T2305).

V. NOVEMBER 25 ANARCHIST GROUP

Torg ID: 1435 Min. Group Date: 0 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

 "November 25 Anarchist Group." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4167. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43qM-8fx5 PTvhFQ/edit

#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1996

Group End: The group did not commit any acts of political violence beyond the singular bombing attack they perpetrated in October 1996 (MIPT 2008). It is common for Greek armed groups to perpetrate one singular attack of violence and then disband (MIPT 2008). It is unclear why this specific group ceased their use of political violence (MIPT 2008).

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

It is unclear when the November 25 Anarchist Group formed, however, the group claimed responsibility for a singular attack that occurred in 1996 (MIPT 2008). The attack involved the group bombing a Wendy's fast food restaurant (MIPT 2008). The group did not issue a statement describing their motivations for the attack, however, it is common

for Greek armed groups to express anti-American ideology (MIPT 2008). According to MIPT (2008), the group's name may be an homage to the day that Colonel Ioannides overthrew George Papadopoulos's regime in order to instate his own dictatorship. Other than a general anarchist and seemingly anti-American target, it is unclear why the group may have chosen to commit political violence (MIPT 2008).

### Geography

The November 25 Anarchist Group was responsible for a singular attack that occurred in the urban environment of Athens, Greece (MIPT 2008).

### **Organizational Structure**

No information can be found about the organizational structure of the group.

#### **External Ties**

No information would suggest that the November 25 Anarchist maintained any external ties to state or non-state actors.

#### **Group Outcome**

The response of the Greek state to the violence perpetrated by the November 25 Anarchist Group is unclear. The group did not commit any acts of political violence beyond the singular bombing attack they perpetrated in October 1996 (MIPT 2008). It is common for Greek armed groups to perpetrate one singular attack of violence and then disband (MIPT 2008). It is unclear why this specific group ceased their use of political violence (MIPT 2008).

#### VI. VNATRESNO-MAKEDONSKA REVOLUCIONERNA ORGANIZACIJA (VMRO)

Torg ID: 281

Min. Group Date: 0
Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (Vmro), Vnatresno-Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija (Vmro)

#### Part 1. Bibliography

 "Macedonian Revolutionary Organization." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 3636. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43qM-8fx5 PTyhFQ/edit

#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: VMRO-NMN

Group Formation: unknown

Group End: According to MIPT (2008), the VMRO-NMN may still be active, however, they have ceased their use of political violence.

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

The Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, or VMRO, is not necessarily a singular group, but rather, is attached to multiple political parties and groups within the country of North Macedonia (MIPT 2008). The name first emerged in reference to groups of rebels within Macedonia that opposed the Ottoman Empire (MIPT 2008). After World War I, VMRO referred to those who wished to reunite Macedonia following its partition (MIPT 2008).

Macedonian nationalism faced a decline during Soviet rule in the Balkans (MIPT 2008). In the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the VMRO acronym was attached to multiple nationalist political parties in North Macedonia (MIPT 2008). The most extreme of these parties is known as the VMRO-NMN, an extremist, anti-Albanian, and ultra-nationalist far-right party (MIPT 2008). The VMRO-NMN also wishes for ethnic cleansing of Albanians within North Macedonia (MIPT 2008).

In 2001, the VMRO-NMN planned riots in order to target a historically Albanian neighborhood in the North Macedonian city of Bitola as an apparent response to the murder of Macedonian soldiers by Albanian rebels (MIPT 2008). The riots resulted in infrastructure damage and personal injury (MIPT 2008).

The party is headed by Ljupco Mircevski-Trepet (MIPT 2008). Along with beliefs in ethnic cleansing, the VMRO-NMN also believes that ethnic Macedonians within the Balkan region should organize in order to form a Macedonian ethno-state (MIPT 2008).

#### Geography

The VMRO-NMN was implicated in ethnically and politically motivated riots that occurred in Bitola, North Macedonia (MIPT 2008).

### **Organizational Structure**

No information can be found about the VMRO-NMN or the number of individuals that participated in the 2001 riots. MIPT (2008) reports that the VMRO-NMN is headed by Ljupco Mircevski-Trepet.

#### **External Ties**

No information would suggest that the VMRO-NMN maintains any ties to state or non-state actors.

### **Group Outcome**

The response of the North Macedonian state to the riots perpetrated in 2001 by supporters of VMRO-NMN is unclear. According to MIPT (2008), the VMRO-NMN may still be active, however, they have ceased their use of political violence.

#### VII. FIGHTING ECOLOGIST ACTIVISM

Torg ID: 344

Min. Group Date: 0
Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Fighting Ecologist Movement (Greece), Fighting Ecologist Activism. Fighting Ecologist Activism (Fea)

#### Part 1. Bibliography

 "Fighting Ecologist Activism." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4369. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. <a href="https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43qM-8fx5">https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43qM-8fx5</a>
 PTyhFQ/edit

#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: unknown

Group End: FEA was not implicated in any other attacks that occurred before or after January 2003 (MIPT 2008). It is unclear whether the state was complicit in disbanding FEA (MIPT 2008). It is unclear why the group ceased their use of political violence (MIPT 2008).

### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group referred to as Fighting Ecological Activism (FEA) formed, however, the group claimed responsibility for a singular attack in January 2008 (MIPT 2008). FEA placed and detonated eleven gas canister explosives at a construction site in Thessaloniki (MIPT 2008). In a statement of responsibility, FEA claimed that the attack targeted "those who burned the forest a few years ago" in order to achieve economic gain (MIPT 2008). Forest fires in Greece are relatively common in the summer months (MIPT 2008).

MIPT (2008) acknowledges that leftist-affiliated armed groups in Greece have been notoriously responsible for starting forest fires in Greece. It's probable that FEA committed their act of violence in order to address what they saw as a lack of effort from the Greek government to address environmental issues within the country (MIPT 2008).

However, the group also states that "the reformist ecological movement cannot stop them" in reference to the Greek government (MIPT 2008). It is unclear whether FEA committed their attack to criticize both the Greek government and the activist movement in Greece (MIPT 2008).

### Geography

FEA was responsible for a singular incidence of violence that occurred at a construction site in Thessaloniki, Greece (MIPT 2008).

### **Organizational Structure**

The organizational structure of FEA is unclear. However, details of the singular attack committed by the organization may provide details about the group's operational capability (MIPT 2008). FEA was able to construct almost a dozen explosives that were composed of fifty gas canisters (MIPT 2008). This may indicate a high level of funding and abilities by the group to organize (MIPT 2008).

#### **External Ties**

While the details of the singular attack committed by FEA may suggest that the group may have claimed a higher level of organizational and operational capability than most armed organizations operating in Greece, their environmentalist ideology suggests that they probably did not claim any external ties to state or non-state actors (MIPT 2008). MIPT (2008) acknowledges that Greek armed groups generally do not attack on behalf of environmental issues.

#### **Group Outcome**

FEA was not implicated in any other attacks that occurred before or after January 2003 (MIPT 2008). It is unclear whether the state was complicit in disbanding FEA (MIPT 2008). It is unclear why the group ceased their use of political violence (MIPT 2008).

VIII. MAKRIYANNIS FIGHTING GROUP

Torg ID: 573

Min. Group Date: 0
Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

- American School of Classical Studies at Athens. n.d. "Makriyannis Wing."
   American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Accessed June 15, 2022.
   https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/about/exhibitions-at-the-makriyannis-wing.
- "Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4212. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. <a href="https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43q">https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gJGf10YDwvdASdU1GEDX9h\_N98DV43q</a> M-8fx5PTyhFQ/edit
- Karampampas, Sotirios. "How Has the Phenomenon of Revolutionary Groups Been Resilient in Greece? A Relational Study of Two Contentious Episodes (1965–2002)." PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 2017.
- "Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA)." FAS. 2003. https://fas.org/irp/world/para/ela.htm

#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1970 (only confirmed attack)

Group End: 1971 (merges with ELA)

Part 3. Narrative

**Group Formation** 

It is unclear when the Makriyannis Fighting Group formed. It is likely, however, that the left-wing group organized sometime during the period of military regime in Greece that lasted from 1967 until 1974. The group was allegedly responsible for multiple bombing attacks around 1970 (MIPT 2008).

According to MIPT (2008), the Makriyannis Fighting Group is known for a single failed bombing attempt that targeted the United States Embassy in Athens that claimed the lives of multiple perpetrators involved. The incident, which occurred on September 2, 1970 resulted in the death of one Greek national and one Italian national (MIPT 2008).

The group most likely targeted the American embassy due to US support of the Greek military junta. The group's name presumably refers to Yannis Makriyannis, a military hero of the nineteenth century fight for Greece's independence from the Ottomans (ASCSA n.d.). According to MIPT (2008), the Makriyannis Fighting Group would go on to merge with the Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group (T386) in May 1971 (MIPT 2008). The Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group is an alias for ELA (T430), a prominent anti-junta organization that perpetrated political violence until the late 1990s (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

### Geography

The Makriyannis Fighting Group was responsible for political violence that occurred in the urban environment of Athens, Greece (MIPT 2008).

#### **Organizational Structure**

No information can be found regarding the organizational structure of the Makriyannis Fighting Group.

#### **External Ties**

During its operational period, there is no evidence that the Makriyannis Fighting Group claimed external ties to state or non-state actors. According to MIPT (2008), the Makriyannis Fighting Group would go on to merge with the Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group (T386) in May 1971(MIPT 2008). The Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group is an alias for ELA (T430), a prominent left-wing anti-junta organization that perpetrated political violence until the late 1990s (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

#### **Group Outcome**

The state response to the attacks carried out by the Makriyannis Fighting Group is unclear. According to MIPT (2008), the Makriyannis Fighting Group would go on to merge with the Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group (T386) in May 1971(MIPT

2008). The Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group is an alias for ELA (T430), a prominent anti-junta organization that perpetrated political violence until the late 1990s (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

#### IX. ANTI-STATE STRUGGLE

Torg ID: 587

Min. Group Date: 0 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

Group Formation: Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

Group End: Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

#### Geography

Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

### **Organizational Structure**

Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

#### **External Ties**

Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

### **Group Outcome**

Anti-State Struggle is likely an alias for Anti-State Action (T62).

### X. RED INITIATIVE

Torg ID: 590

Min. Group Date: 0
Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

Group Formation: The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

Group End: The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

#### Geography

The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

#### **Organizational Structure**

The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

#### **External Ties**

The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

### **Group Outcome**

The origin of this group is unclear. Red Initiative may be an alias for or mistranslation of Red Line (T403).

### XI. REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY GROUP

Torg ID: 591

Min. Group Date: 0
Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

Group Formation: This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

Group End: This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

### Geography

This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

### **Organizational Structure**

This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

### **External Ties**

This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

### **Group Outcome**

This may be an alias for Revolutionary Solidarity (T1896).

#### XII. GROUPS FOR SABOTAGE

Torg ID: 601

Min. Group Date: 0 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: No information can be found about this group.

Group Formation: No information can be found about this group.

Group End: No information can be found about this group.

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

No information can be found about this group.

### Geography

No information can be found about this group.

### **Organizational Structure**

No information can be found about this group.

#### **External Ties**

No information can be found about this group.

### **Group Outcome**

No information can be found about this group.

### XIII. ANARKHIKI OMADHA 20 LOULI

Torg ID: 830

Min. Group Date: 0
Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Anarkhiki Omadha 20 Louli, Anarchy Group Of The 20th Of July

### Part 1. Bibliography

Agnew, Paddy. 2001. Violent protest mars first day of G8 summit: [CITY EDITION]. *Irish Times*, Jul 21, 2001.

http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.proxygw.wrlc.org/newspaper s/violent-protest-mars-first-day-g8-summit/docview/309406035/se-2?accountid=11243 (accessed June 16, 2022).

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July.

Group Formation: No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July.

Group End: No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July.

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July. It is possible that the name of the group refers to the date that a leftist protest was shot and killed by police at the G8 Summit in Genoa, Italy (Agnew 2001). Multiple anarchist groups in Greece protested the death of Carlo Giuliani via political violence.

#### Geography

No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July.

#### **Organizational Structure**

No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July.

#### **External Ties**

No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July.

## **Group Outcome**

No information can be found about the group known as the Anarchy Group of the 20th of July.

# Greece Part 2, 1970-1974 Last Updated: 15 June 2021

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T224	PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA)		1922	2011
T360	PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO)		1964	1995
T173	GRUPO DE RESISTENCIA ANTI-FASCISTA PRIMERO DE OCTUBRE (GRAPO)		1970	2000
T379	POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE, GEN CMD (PFLP-GC)		1970	2010
T108	MUNAZZAMAT AYLUL AL-ASWAD		1971	1976
T386	POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE GROUP		1971	1972
T407	RESISTANCE, LIBERATION AND INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION (AAA)		1972	1972
T1391	GREEK ANTI-DICTATORIAL YOUTH (EAN)		1973	1973
T323	NATIONAL YOUTH RESISTANCE ORGANIZATION		1973	1973
T799	REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (RZ)		1973	1992
T1242	PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE ORGANIZED ARMY		1974	1974
T263	KURDISTAN FREEDOM AND DEFENSE CONGRESS		1974	2012
Т3	ARAB REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL		1974	1998

T586	PANHELLENIC LIBERATION MOVEMENT (PAK)	1974	0
T702503	POPULAR RESISTANCE SABOTAGE GROUP	1974	1974

PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA)

Torg ID: 224

Min. Group Date: 1922 Max. Group Date: 2011

Onset: NA

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

### Part 1. Bibliography

- Kristian Gleditsch, David Cunningham, and Idean Salehyan. "United Kingdom vs. Irish Republican Army." Non-State Actor Dataset Narratives. P. 409-411. PDF (NSAEX)
- GTD Perpetrator 417, Global Terrorism Database, Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Last modified June 2017,

https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=417

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#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Sinn Fein, Oglaigh na hEireann, Direct Action Against Drugs (DADD)

Group Formation: 1969

Group End: 2005 (official end), 2011 (last recognized attack) (disarmament)

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

The Provisional Irish Republican Army, PIRA, was a splinter group, which formed out of the old IRA in December 1969 or January 1970 and acted as an armed wing of Sinn Fein (Global Security n.d.; Reuters 2008; CFR 2010; Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group was a nationalist group as it fought for the geographical and political unity of Ireland and Northern Ireland (FAS 2005; CFR 2010; Mackenzie Institute 2016). Its political aim was to unify Ireland and to use violence to 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 (CFR 2010; GTD 2017).

### Geography

The PIRA conducted of its attacks in places that are typically considered part of the United Kingdom (GTD 2018). The group conducted frequent attacks especially in Northern Ireland (GTD 2018). The PIRA occasionally conducted attacks in Ireland (GTD 2017). PIRA was mainly based in Northern Ireland, but did operate throughout Ireland and Great Britain (GTD 2017). The PIRA was a transnational group.

### **Organizational Structure**

PIRA was the armed wing of the politically driven group, Sinn Fein (FAS 2005). The group had a youth wing known as Fianna Eireann (Schmid and Jongman 1988). Nothing is known about the group's membership. The group was organized under an established Army Council made up of 12 members, which reportedly 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 was Gerry Adams (Global Security n.d). Other leaders included John Stephenson, Rory O'brady, Leo Martin, Billy McKee, Seamus Twomey, and Francis Card (Schmid and Jongman 1988). The group had 300 fighters in 1989 and 250 in 1991 (Non-State Actor Dataset Narratives 2013). The IRA consisted of volunteers who supported the elimination of British influence from Northern Ireland and the unification of Northern Ireland and Ireland (Gleditsch, Cunningham, and Salehyan 2013, 409). 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 funding from the Irish diaspora in the United States (Gleditsch et al 2013). Most group 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 Belfast Agreement or 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). On July 28, 2005, the IRA Army Council announced an end to its armed campaign and began disarmament (CFR 2010). In 2006, the governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland stated the group had ceased conducting meaningful criminal or paramilitary operations (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 (GTD 2017).

#### 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  $\rightarrow$  goes through 2005 (fighting)
- -the PIRA and CIRA/RIRA are divided over different ideologies and resistance to peace talks (ideological)

#### II. PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO)

Torg ID: 360

Min. Group Date: 1964 Max. Group Date: 1995

Onset: NA

Aliases: Palestine Liberation Organization (Plo), Palestine Liberation Oraganization (Plo)

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: PLO

Group Formation: 1964

Group End: 2004 (Arafat's death - Fatah replaces - dissolve)

\*Umbrella

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

The PLO formed in 1964 as a Palestinian nationalist political organization, which sought to form an independent Palestinian state (FAS 1998; Al Jazeera 2009). In 1974, it changed its struggle from an independent state and called for a two-state solution instead (Robinson n.d.). The group's ideology was ethno-nationalist and it first came to attention as a violent group in 1969 following the group's decision to launch an armed struggle (Al Jazeera 2009). It is also primarily secular (FAS 1998). It was partially an umbrella group (FAS 1998).

#### Geography

The group is from the Palestine region (West Bank and Gaza Strip), but has conducted transnational attacks in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Israel (FAS 1998; Al Jazeera 2009; GTD 2017). The group had its base of operations in Jordan until 1974 before Jordan expelled it (Al Jazeera 2009). Its base of operations was in Beirut, Lebanon from 1974 until 1982 (Al Jazeera 2009). The PLO also operated in Tunisia after it left Lebanon (Zanotti 2011).

### **Organizational Structure**

The PLO's leader was Yassir Arafat (Robinson n.d.; Al-Jazeera 2009). He was the leader of Fatah (Al-Jazeera 2008). The PLO leadership was young and middle class (Robinson n.d.). The main faction in the PLO was Fatah (Zanotti 2011, 17). The organization has an Executive Committee and National Council, which mimic the functions of executive and legislative branches of government (Zanotti 2011, 17).

#### **External Ties**

The group was heavily inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood (Robinson n.d.). It clashed with Amal in Lebanon during the "Camps War" in the 1980s due to enmity over Arafat's leadership (Al Jazeera 2009). It also splintered and lost several members during the early 1980s. Israel allegedly sponsored Christian militia groups in Lebanon to fight against the PLO (BBC 1998).

The PLO received "tacit support" from the Jordanian and Syrian governments (BBC 1998).

The PLO is an umbrella organization that is legally recognized by the UN as the representative of the Palestinian people (Zanotti 2011, 17).

### **Group Outcome**

The group originally operated in Jordan, but was forced to leave in 1970 following a massive crackdown by Jordanian forces (BBC 1998). The group clashed with Israeli security forces on several occasion. In 1982, the PLO was forced to leave Lebanon following the Israeli invasion (Al Jazeera 2009). The PLO operated in Tunisia afterwards (Zanotti 2011).

In 1987, the first Intifada erupted when an Israeli driver killed Palestinian workers (Al Jazeera 2008). In 1988, Arafat renounced terrorism and violence to achieve the group's goals and tried to steer the PLO towards a diplomatic solution (FAS 1998). The Intifada also helped make the Palestinian issue salient and drive negotiations (Barhoum n.d.). In 1993, the PLO signed the Oslo Accords with Israel (Barhoum n.d.; Robinson n.d.). This helped lead to the creation of the Palestinian Authority, which is a de facto state (Zanotti 2011, 18). The group was particularly active during the Second Intifada from 2000-2004.

In 2002, Israeli forces attacked Arafat's headquarters and forced him to flee to Paris where he eventually died in 2004 (Al Jazeera 2009; Robinson n.d.). Arafat's death led the group to partially disintegrate due to lack of strong leadership to replace it (Robinson n.d.). Today, Fatah remains a prominent organization and main face of the Palestinian Authority (Zanotti 2011, 25-26). The PLO umbrella organization has declined in prominence (Zanotti 2011, 25).

III. GRUPO DE RESISTENCIA ANTI-FASCISTA PRIMERO DE OCTUBRE (GRAPO)

Torg ID: 173

Min. Group Date: 1970 Max. Group Date: 2000

Onset: NA

Aliases: First Of October Antifascist Resistance Group (Grapo), First Of October Antifascist Resistance Group, Grupo De Resistencia Anti-Fascista Primero De Octubre (Grapo)

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#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: GRAPO

Group Formation: 1975

Group End: 2002 (repression)

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

GRAPO formed in 1975, shortly after the death of Spain's dictator General Franco (MIPT 2008; Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661). It formed when it splintered from the Organization of Marxist Leninist Spaniards, which itself had formed seven years prior (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661; Kushner 2002, 139). GRAPO was the armed wing of the Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661; MIPT 2008). The group's goal was to overthrow the government and create a Marxist state in Spain through communist revolution (MIPT 2008). It was also anti-American, objecting U.S. military bases in Spain (MIPT 2008). They also opposed Spain's membership in NATO (MIPT 2008). Their first attack occurred in 1975 in Madrid (GTD 2017). The group quickly became known for its kidnappings and assassinations (El Mundo 2005).

### Geography

The group mostly operated out of Madrid, Seville, and Barcelona (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661). The group has attacked both France and Spain (GTD 2017).

#### **Organizational Structure**

The group had an estimated membership of 300 in 1979 (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661). The group had an estimated membership of around 20 in 2004 as most of the members had been arrested (FAS Intelligence Resource Program 2004). The group's main leader was sentenced to ten years in prison in 2003 (MIPT 2008). One of the leader was Juan Garcia Martin, who was arrested in 2006 (BBC 2006). The group

supported itself financially through extortion and bank robberies (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661). The group formed as the armed wing of the Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661; MIPT 2008). Members originally came from from the Organization of Marxist Leninist Spaniards. Its political wing was the Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (MIPT 2008).

#### **External Ties**

GRAPO openly supported the 9/11 attacks (MIPT 2008). GRAPO has given "operational support" to ETA (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661). Its political wing was the Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (MIPT 2008).

### **Group Outcome**

The group has become more weak as time has gone by, due to large-scale arrests made (MIPT 2008; Schmid and Jongman 1988, 661; FAS Intelligence Resource Program 2004). In 1982, the group offered a ceasefire if Spain were to meet seven demands, but negotiations broke down eventually (El Mundo 2005). In the 1990s, the group was negotiating with the government for disarmament, which eventually fell through in 1998 when the group demanded shorter prison sentences to its members that were incarcerated (Kushner 2002). The group's last known attack was in 2000 or 2001 (GTD 2017; FAS Intelligence Resource Program 2004). The group fell apart between 2000 and 2002 as Spanish and French police arrested remaining members (BBC 2006; Kushner 2002, 139). In March 2004, the political wing of the group was outlawed (FAS Intelligence Resource Program 2004). In 2007, six members of the group were arrested (El Mundo 2007; Libertad Digital 2007).

#### Interesting quote by Kushner:

"The Spanish police have announced that they believe the group to be all but destroyed more than half a dozen times, yet it has always returned to commit more attacks"

### IV. POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE, GEN CMD (PFLP-GC)

Torg ID: 379

Min. Group Date: 1970 Max. Group Date: 2010

Onset: NA

Aliases: Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine, Gen Cmd (Pflp-Gc), Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine - General Command (Pflp-Gc), Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine- General Command (Pflp-Gc)

#### Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Al-Jibha Sha'biya lil-Tahrir Filistin-al-Qadiya al-Ama

Group Formation: 1968

Group End: 2016 (Active)

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

The PFLP-GC formed in 1968 to establish an independent Palestinian state and overthrow the Israeli government (Abu Khalil 1987; Mackenzie Institute 2016). It was a splinter of the PFLP (Abu Khalil 1987). Ahmad Jibril formed the group after coming into conflict with PFLP leader George Habash over whether to increase violent activities (Abu Khalil 1987). It adheres to Marxist-Communist ideology (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It first came to attention in 1970 for bombing a Swiss airliner (Mackenzie Institute 2016).

•

#### Geography

The group was primarily active in the West Bank and Gaza (Mackenzie Institute 2016). Its headquarters were in Damascus, Syria (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It has conducted attacks in Damascus, Lebanon, West Bank, Israel, and parts of Europe (GTD 2017).

#### **Organizational Structure**

The group primarily funds itself through support from the Syrian government (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It is unclear how many members the group has although it is smaller than the PFLP (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group's leader was Ahmed Jibril who was a former Syrian military officer (Mackenzie Institute 2016).

#### **External Ties**

The Syrian government allegedly provides funding, training, and sanctuary to the PFLP-GC as well as its PFLP affiliates (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group also allegedly receives support from Iran although it is unclear what this specifically entails (Mackenzie Institute 2016). In 2001, Israeli forces found an unknown sponsor sending rockets and anti-aircraft missiles to the group (CFR 2005). The group trains and equips other militant groups in the Israel-Palestine area like Hamas and PIJ (Mackenzie Institute 2016).

### **Group Outcome**

The group has clashed with Israeli security forces on several occasions although it has not as frequently (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group has been active in the Syrian Civil War and fighting alongside government forces around Damascus (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It is still active as of 2013 (GTD 2017).

V. 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.

VI. POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE GROUP

Torg ID: 386

Min. Group Date: 1971 Max. Group Date: 1972

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

#### Part 1. Bibliography

 "Popular Revolutionary Resistance Group." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4212. MIPT Knowledge Base. 2008. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

Group Formation: This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

Group End: This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

### Geography

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

### **Organizational Structure**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

#### **External Ties**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

### **Group Outcome**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (FAS 2003; Karampampas 2017).

### VII. RESISTANCE, LIBERATION AND INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION (AAA)

Torg ID: 407

Min. Group Date: 1972 Max. Group Date: 1972

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: AAA; Οργάνωση Αντίστασης, Απελευθέρωσης και Ανεξαρτησίας

Group Formation: 1971

Group End: 1972

Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

The Resistance, Liberation, and Independence (AAA) Organization's first known attack occurred on March 23, 1971, when a bomb exploded in downtown Athens and shattered the windows of a department store owned by a former Greek Finance Minister who was a "special adviser to the Prime Minister" (The Times 1971; Bibb 1976, 60). The group was likely composed of just two members, retired Air Force lieutenant Anastassios P. Minis and pediatrician Stefanos Pandelaki. They committed the attack in protest of the military-backed government, which came to power in a 1967 coup (The Times 1971). In later attacks, the AAA targeted American-owned cars, in protest of the United States' support for the military junta (Bibb 1976, 60; GTD 2019; New York Times 1972).

The junta, led by a group of colonels, seized power in April 1967, a month before the scheduled May elections (Klarevas 2004, 6). Tanks were rolled into Athens and over 10,000 individuals were arrested, and the junta's leader, George Papadopoulous, suspended eleven articles of the Greek Constitution and stripped the Greek people of their civil liberties (Ganser 2005, 221). The colonels had been fearful of a left-wing victory in the upcoming elections, and their authoritarian government espoused an anti-communist, right-wing military ideology, with a strong emphasis on "law and order" and nationalism (Anastasakis n.d., 175). The American government, also fearful of a communist takeover in Greece, provided support to the military government (Kassimeris 2006, 66).

### Geography

The AAA's attacks occurred in Athens, the capital city of Greece (GTD 2019; Parry 2013, 413). Some of the attacks were also carried out in Piraeus, a port city outside of Athens (Parry 2013, 413). There is no evidence of transnational activities.

#### **Organizational Structure**

Anastassios P. Minis and Stefanos Pandelakis were the only two individuals tied to the AAA name, and were likely the only individuals involved with the attacks (Shuster 1973). Minis was a decorated retired Greek Air Force lieutenant, and had fought against the Nazi occupation of Greece, and the Communist forces in the Greek Civil War (Parry 2013, 413; Shuster 1973). Pandelakis was a well-known pediatrician, both in Greece and abroad (Shuster 1973).

The two men contacted foreign news agencies to claim their attacks, likely with the intent of forcing international pressure on the Greek government and getting the attacks publicized in internationally published newspapers, as the Greek newspapers were censored (Kupferberg 1974).

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties the AAA may have had.

#### **Group Outcome**

The AAA name was used to claim approximately 15-20 attacks between 1971 and 1972, and the last attack occurred on April 21, 1972, when Minis and Pandelakis exploded two bombs that damaged American-owned cars (Shuster 1973; Kupferberg 1974). Both men were arrested for their involvement with the bombs, and during their trial, detailed brutal torture at the hands of the military government (Shuster 1973). The trial, and the defendents' description of torture, which was published in the New York Times (Minis 1973), garnered international attention and sparked an outcry by some members of the U.S. government (Shuster 1973; Committe on Foreign Relations 1973, 49). Minis and Pandelakis defended their actions, arguing that the bombs were the only way to protest against the "regime imposed by force," and that they did not injure any individuals (Shuster 1973; Bibb 1976, 60). Pandelakis also stated that he was "prouder of what the indictment says about men than of my war record" (Shuster 1973).

#### Notes for Iris:

- -good example of MIPT missing lots of information (1972 start date, founders)
- -Context: Greece was relatively stable in the 1950s and 1960s following the end of the civil war. King became unpopular after consolidating too much power. Seemingly out of nowhere a group of military officers launched a coup and installed a right-wing dictatorship. King is forced to recognize the coup and then later flees the country.
- -1973: huge student uprising (November 17).

- -1968: king stripped of his powers, 1974: king finally loses rest of its powers
- -NYT published a very graphic description of the junta's brutality which galvanized a lot of opposition (inside the US) against the regime

VIII. GREEK ANTI-DICTATORIAL YOUTH (EAN)

Torg ID: 1391

Min. Group Date: 1973 Max. Group Date: 1973

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Greek Antidictatorial Youth Movement, EAN

Group Formation: 1970

Group End: 1973 (arrest)

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed. The Greek Anti-dictatorial Youth Movement (EAN) may have carried out attacks starting as early as 1970, targeting American-owned cars in protest against Greece's military-backed government and American support for the junta (New York Times 1973). The EAN had conservative, royalist leanings, and likely aimed to return King Constantine to power (Bibbs 1976, 61). The group also had alleged plans to assassinate government officials (New York Times 1973).

Greece's king had fled to Rome in December of 1967, after a failed attempt to overthrow the junta (Andelman 1973). After a failed coup staged by the navy, the junta formally stripped the king of his title, and mass arrests and forced resignations of royalists ensued (Andelman 1973).

#### Geography

EAN's attacks occurred in Athens, Greece (New York Times 1973).

## **Organizational Structure**

The EAN was led by Ippokratis (Hippocratis) Savouras, a former veterinarian for the royal court (New York Times 1973; The Atlanta Constitution 1973). Other members included Ioannis Roubos, a businessman; Kyriakos Spyriounis, a former police superintendent; Nicholas Papanikalaou, a retired colonel; Leonidas Vasilikopoulos, a retired navy officer; and Alexandros Zarkadas, a retired captain (New York Times 1973). Savouras had also claimed attacks under the pseudonym "Colonel Porfyris" (New York Times 1973; The Atlanta Constitution 1973). All the members were "known royalists" (The Atlanta Constitution 1973). The EAN was a politico-military organization. Its' armed wing was called the Greek Liberation Army, led by Spyriounis (New York Times 1973; Bibb 1976, 61).

#### **External Ties**

The EAN may have been tied to an attempted coup by the Greek navy in May of 1973 (The Atlanta Constitution 1973). However, these claims were alleged by the junta, who may have been attempting to avoid prosecuting naval officers under a law that carried a mandatory death sentence (The Atlanta Constitution 1973). Instead, the junta could have prosecuted them under an anti-explosive law, which was used to prosecute members of EAN (The Atlanta Constitution 1973).

The EAN also may have had ties with the Free Greek organization, which was an alias for the ELA (Bibb 1976, 62).

## **Group Outcome**

The EAN claimed responsibility for sixteen bombs. The group's last known attack may have occurred in March of 1973, when the group detonated a bomb that damaged the car of a U.S. government employee (New York Times 1973; GTD 2019). Members of EAN were arrested in May of 1973, near the same time as a government roundup of three dozen naval officers accused of planning a coup (Andelman 1973; The Atlanta Constitution 1973).

#### Notes for Iris:

- -despite its name there are no "youth" or students involved in this group. However a lot of other groups during this period were students.
  - -weird coincidence between naval officer counter-coup timing and this group's round-up

#### IX. NATIONAL YOUTH RESISTANCE ORGANIZATION

Torg ID: 323

Min. Group Date: 1973 Max. Group Date: 1973

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

## Part 1. Bibliography

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1973

Group End: 1973

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the National Youth Resistance Organization formed, the group carried out its first--and only--known attack on April 21, 1973, detonating a bomb that damaged an American-owned car (GTD 2019; Jenkins and Johnson 1975, 42). The attack occurred on the six-year anniversary of the military-backed government that had been installed following a coup (Washington Post 1973). The National Youth Resistance Organization presumably detonated the bomb in opposition to the junta.

## Geography

The National Youth Resistance Organization's only known attack occurred in Athens (GTD 2019).

## **Organizational Structure**

No information regarding the organizational structure of the National Youth Resistance Organization could be found.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties the National Youth Resistance Organization may have had.

## **Group Outcome**

The National Youth Resistance Organization's only known attack was the 1973 bomb that damaged an American-owned car (GTD 2019). It is unclear why the group only committed one attack.

Notes for Iris:

-lots of Greek opposition against US because of speculation CIA involved in junta overthrow

X. REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (RZ)

Torg ID: 799

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

Onset: NA

Aliases: Revolutionary Cells, Revolutionary Cells (Rz)

## Part 1. Bibliography

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary Cells (RZ), Revolutionäre Zellen

Group Formation: The group was founded in 1973.

Group End: 1987 (last attack) Arguments within the group, as well as the disbandment of the Soviet Union, along with the reunification of Germany hindered their cause in the 1990's. According to Mapping Militants, the group is "active," but no evidence of violent activities could be found. The only possible connection was that Rudolf Schindler, a leader within the group, worked until 2011 when he was arrested.

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

Revolutionary Cells formed sometime between 1972-1973 (US State Department 1990; Schmid and Jongman 1988; Mapping Militants 2013). The group had its roots in the German student movements of the 60's and 70's, but formed as a splinter of the RAF, and grew as members of other defunct anti-establishment groups joined the RZ (US State Department 1990; Schmid and Jongman 1988; Amador 2003). There are some

claims that they formed as a reaction to Pinochet's coup d'etat in Chile in September 1973 (Mapping Militant Organizations 2013). The RZ's first recorded act of violence happened on November 17, 1973, where explosives were used to target a US-owned company building in West Berlin (GTD 2019). The group preached revolutionary tactics, and focused on toppling West German capitalist society (Sloan and Anderson 2009, 596). In addition, they also protested against government authoritarianism, while targeting American military installations as a means to express discontent with imperialism (US State Department 1990; Amador 2003). The center-seeking group sought to create a self-ruling society (Mapping Militants 2013). The RZ also associated their extremist activity with various unpopular infrastructure initiatives in Germany, such as the construction of a new runway at an airport in Frankfurt, in addition to voicing concerns against common issues, such as excessive rent, or the use of nuclear energy (CIA 1982). Ideologically, the urban guerilla group followed an array of leftist philosophies, including anarchism, anti-fascism, anti-imperialism, and anti-Zionism (US State Department 1990; Moncourt et. al 2009; Sloan and Anderson 2009; Mapping Militants 2013; Der Spiegel 2007).

## Geography

The group's headquarters were located in West Berlin and Frankfurt, West Germany (US State Department 1990; Bowman 25). The group also allegedly had an international faction, which focused on issues abroad, particularly in MENA and Latin America (Mapping Militants 2013). Primarily, the RZ carried out violent acts of terror in West Germany, in cities such as Berlin, Bonn, Cologne, Dortmund, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, in addition to many others (GTD 2019). The RZ also carried out transnational attacks in Utrecht, The Netherlands, Vienna, Austria, and Athens, Greece (GTD 2019; Der Spiegel 2007). Another notable transnational incident featured two members of the Revolutionary Cells, Wilfried Bosë and Brigitte Kuhlmann, who worked with terrorists from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) to hijack an Air France flight, diverting it to Entebbe, Uganda (Herf 2016; Der Spiegel 2007; New York Times 1976; Moncourt et al. 2009). The Revolutionary Cells also maintained a concealed stash of weapons in the German forest (Bowman n.d., 25).

## **Organizational Structure**

The Revolutionary Cells were led by Christian Gauger, Sonja Suder, Rudolph Raabe, Rudolf Schindler, and Sabine Eckle (Mapping Militants 2013; US State Department 1990; Bowman n.d.). Gauger, one of the founding members of the RZ, was behind numerous attacks against nuclear facilities and various corporations (Mapping Militants 2013). Gauger, along with several other members within the group, were kept in France until 2011, where they were subsequently extradited to Germany (Mapping Militants 2013). Raabe, another key ringleader and activist until 1995, resided in Mainz, and often made speeches criticizing the government (Mapping Militants 2013). Having orchestrated a bombing in 1978, a criminal investigation against the RZ was launched,

and Raabe was soon put on trial for terrorism (Mapping Militants 2013). Sonja Suder, a close friend of Raabe's, was also a prominent figure in the RZ until 1990 (Mapping Militants 2013). Rudolf Schindler, another leader, joined the Revolutionary Cells with his wife, Sabine Eckle, and played an instrumental role as the group's primary recruiter (Mapping Militants 2013). However, he was later sentenced to nine years in prison on terror-related charges (Mapping Militants 2013). The group had its roots in the German student movements of the 60's and 70's, but formed as a splinter of the RAF, and grew as members of other defunct anti-establishment groups joined the RZ (US State Department 1990; Schmid and Jongman 1988; Amador 2003).

Contrary to the 2nd of June Movement and the RAF, the RZ encouraged its members to carry out normal lifestyles while planning and executing acts of violence covertly, rather than solely going underground (Mapping Militants 2013; Moncourt et. al 2009; US State Department 1990; Schmid and Jongman 1988; CIA 1982). Although the group is far less centralized than the RAF, in addition to lacking a clear hierarchy of membership, they favored a structure which called for many independent cells to be dispersed throughout Germany so they could act promptly and attack their intended targets with ease (Mapping Militants 2013; US State Department 1990; Sloan and Anderson 2009). In 1982, the CIA estimated that ten cells existed nationwide, though evidence showed that there were as many as 50-100 cells in the 1980's, amounting to approximately 300-500 members total (Sloan and Anderson 2009; Schmid and Jongman 1988; CIA 1982).

The group was also divided into a domestic and international wing, where one focused on issues such as refugee rights, homeless rights, and West German authoritarianism, while the latter devoted themselves to Eastern European, North African, and Latin American issues (Mapping Militants 2013). The two segments of the group eventually merged together (Mapping Militants 2013). The RZ's primary source of funding came from ransom and kidnapping (Mapping Militants 2013). Most, if not all members of the Revolutionary Cells maintained jobs and looked after their families (Mapping Militants 2013).

#### **External Ties**

The Revolutionary Cells have not received foreign sponsorship by a state (Sloan and Anderson 2009; US State Department 1990). The RZ drew members from smaller, inactive anti-establishment groups, and formed as a splinter of the RAF, due to their differing organizational structure (Mapping Militants 2013; Schmid and Jongman 1988). The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) made contacts with the RZ (Herf 2016, 355). The RZ had unspecified connections to the Irish National Liberation Army and the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), in addition to several other unspecified Marxist organizations in Europe (Mapping Militants 2013; Sloan and Anderson 2009). They loosely worked with the anarchist 2nd of June Movement, though their specific actions are unclear (Mapping Militants 2013). The RZ made contacts with the RAF and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, where they both coordinated a plane

hijacking (Der Spiegel 2007; New York Times 1976; Herf 2016; Moncourt et al. 2009). The international wing of the RZ, specifically, had ties to numerous Palestinian resistance movements until 1987, when the groups feuded over the use of kidnapping (Mapping Militants 2013). More radicalized, anti-imperialist members of the RZ joined forces with an offshoot of the PFLP under the command of strategist Wadie Hadad in South Yemen, which ended up unsuccessful (Moncourt et al. 2009, 438). Furthermore, the group operated under the command of a joint German-Palestinian commando led by terrorist Ilich Ramirez Sanchez of Venezuela, carrying out a raid against the OPEC headquarters in Vienna, Austria, leading to the deaths of a police officer and a diplomat (Moncourt et. al 2009, 438-439). The act was perpetrated in retaliation for OPEC's move to end its embargo against Israel (Moncourt et. al 2009, 438-439). The RZ also eventually splintered, forming the Rote Zora, a leftist women's organization (Mapping Militants 2013; Sloan and Anderson 2009; Moncourt et. al 2009).

## **Group Outcome**

The autonomous, decentralized, nature of the Revolutionary cells proved, to a certain extent, its effectiveness, as a large number of their members avoided arrest and prosecution (Edelmann 2017, 13). Several terrorists have, however, been caught and identified by authorities (CIA 1982). The main leaders started getting arrested by 1999 (Der Spiegel 2007). In response to far-left terror in Germany, the Grenzschutzgruppe 9 (GSG-9) was created in the 1970's, a special anti-terror unit given strategic tactics and specific training (Warnes et al. 2009, 95). The German government took a variety of countermeasures to quash activity from the RAF, Revolutionary Cells, and the 2nd of June Movement, specifically by passing tougher anti-terror legislation, increasing the use and distribution of propaganda, and strengthening investigative and law enforcement agencies with higher enrollment (Amador 2003; 25-42). The group's last prominent act of violence occurred on January 16, 1992, involving bombings at the Berlin Victory Column (GTD 2019). The Rote Zora splintered from the RZ, which carried out many attacks in the 1980's (Mapping Militants 2013; Sloan and Anderson 2009; Moncourt et. al 2009). The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, in addition to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 severely weakened the Revolutionary Cells (Sloan and Anderson 2009; Der Spiegel 2007). The group is allegedly defunct (Sloan and Anderson 2009).

Rudolf Schindler, another leader, joined the Revolutionary Cells with his wife, Sabine Eckle, and played an instrumental role as the group's primary recruiter (Mapping Militants 2013). However, he was later sentenced to nine years in prison in 2011 on terror-related charges (Mapping Militants 2013).

XI. PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE ORGANIZED ARMY

Torg ID: 1242

Min. Group Date: 1974

Max. Group Date: 1974

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: LAOS-8; Λαϊκή αντίσταση οργανωμένος στρατός

Group Formation: 1973

Group End: 1974

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the People's Resistance Organized Army formed, the group may have carried out its first attack in December of 1973, bombing American-owned cars (New York Times 1974). The group carried out an additional attack in February 1974 when it detonated four bombs at an American-owned Dow Chemical plant in Laurion, Greece (GTD 2019; Washington Post 1974; New York Times 1974). The People's Resistance Organized Army justified the attacks in protest of American support for Greece's military-backed government (New York Times 1974).

## Geography

The People's Resistance Organized Army's attack on the Dow Chemical plant occurred in Laurion, a city about 28 miles southeast of Athens (New York Times 1974).

## **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about the organizational structure of the People's Resistance Organized Army.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties the People's Resistance Organized Army may have had.

## **Group Outcome**

The People's Resistance Organized Army's last known attack was the February 1974 explosion at the Dow Chemical plant in Laurion (GTD 2019). It is unknown why the group stopped using violence.

Notes for Iris:

- -lots of Greek opposition against US because of speculation CIA involved in junta overthrow
  - -lots of similarities between this and the Popular Resistance Sabotage Group
  - -LAOS translates well to this group

## XII. KURDISTAN FREEDOM AND DEFENSE CONGRESS

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 Liberation Army Of Kurdistan, Peoples Liberation Army Of Kurdistan (Argk), People's Liberation Army Of Kurdistan (Argk), People's Liberation Army Of Kurdistan (Argk), People's 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. ARAB REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

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, 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. PANHELLENIC LIBERATION MOVEMENT (PAK)

Torg ID: 586

Min. Group Date: 1974 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Pasok, Panhellenic Socialist Movement

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Panhellenic Liberation Movement, PAK, National Liberation Movement, Πανελλήνιο Απελευθερωτικό Κίνημα, ΠΑΚ

Group Formation: 1968

Group End: 1974

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

On the morning of the April 21, 1967 coup that placed Greece under a military dictatorship for seven years, former Greek Prime Minister Georgios Papandreou and his son Andreas were arrested and imprisoned by military forces (McDonald 1968, 62). Eventually, he was released from prison after the Johnson administration took steps to address the 'Andreas Problem.' Andreas Papandreou and his family fled to Paris, and subsequently began a tour of several NATO countries, where Papandreous met with government leaders and Greeks living abroad to "gauge attitudes" towards the coup (Draenos 2014, 31-32).

On February 26, 1968, while in Stockholm, Sweden, Papandreou announced the formation of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK). PAK was a group that aimed to overthrow the junta, release all political prisoners, "achieve national independence, popular rule, social justice and democratic processes" (Draenos 2014, 32; Kitroeff 1997, 16). The group would emerge into a "militant…national liberation movement" that

"advocated armed struggle to free Greece from the 'bonds of American imperialism'." (Grafos 2016, 60). From abroad, Papandreou planned protests, rallies, and hunger strikes to bring attention to the junta and its political prisoners, and to gather support for PAK's goals (Pendakis 2015, 27). Militant activity allegedly connected to PAK also occurred within Greece, and a series of bomb attacks in 1970 may have been the first incident of violence perpetrated by PAK members (Bitsanis 2015).

## Geography

PAK was founded in Stockholm, Sweden, and Papandreou traveled to various European countries and the United States seeking support for the movement (Draenos 2014, 31-32). Papandreou eventually settled in Toronto, Canada, where he conducted much of PAK's political activities and published PAK's newsletter, *PAK News* (Grafos 2016, 94). Toronto had a large Greek population and was a major destination for Greek emigrants, most of whom had left their native country for economic reasons (Draenos 2014, 42).

All of the violent attacks tied to PAK occurred in Athens, Greece, where a "clandestine" branch of the movement had formed (Kitroeff 1997, 16; The Canberra Times 1972; Bitsanis 2015; efsyn 2021; Associated Press 2021).

## **Organizational Structure**

PAK was founded and led by Andreas Papandreou, a prominent Greek politician and member of a powerful political dynasty. His father, Georgios Papandreou, served as Prime Minister of Greece prior to the start of the junta, and his son, also named Georgios, would serve as Prime Minister from 2009-2011 (Kitroeff 1997, 11; BBC 2009; Smith and Kington 2011). The elder Georgios was kept under house arrest until his death on November 1, 1968, and his funeral became one of the first mass protests against the Greek junta (Chrysopoulos 2017).

Andreas had been active in left-wing circles long before the formation of PAK. In 1937, while Greece was under a right-wing dictatorship led by loannis Metaxas, Papandreou joined a trotskyist group "that distributed underground newspapers and pamphlets," for which he was arrested and tortured (Simons 1996; Kitroeff 1997, 8). He was freed thanks to his father's political influence, and in 1940, Papandreou arrived in the United States, where he became a citizen, served in the Navy during WWII, and worked as an economic professor (Simons 1996). In 1959, he returned to Greece to study its economy, and in 1964, he renounced his American citizenship and was elected to Parliament as a member of the centrist Center Union party, and was named the Deputy Minister of Economics by his father, the Prime Minister (Simons 1996). However, in 1965, Greek politics were thrown into disarray when King Constantine dismissed Georgios Papandreou, and attempted, unsuccessfully, to install a more conservative administration (Kitroeff 1997, 13). Meanwhile, Andreas, widely regarded as the leader of the more radical wing of Center Union, had been accused of plotting with left-wing military officers (Kitroeff 1997, 13). Papandreou also refused to support a compromise

that would have seen a center-right administration take power to end the political crisis, which caused a rift in the party (Kitroeff 1997, 13). This crisis laid the groundwork for the 1967 military coup (Kitroeff 1997, 14).

After his exile and the creation of PAK, Papandreou and his family settled in Toronto, Canada in 1969, where he took a post at York University (Grafos 2016, 43). From Toronto, Papandreou, and his American-born wife Margaret, planned and staged protests and rallies (Pendakis 27). In February of 1972, PAK began to publish a monthly newsletter in both Greek and English titled *PAK News*, that "brought Toronto into the centre of anti-dictatorship activity in North America" (Grafos 2016, 94). In May of the same year, PAK staged an event in Manhattan, attended by several notable figures, including Greek actress Melina Mercouri, Senator Eugence McCarthy, and Daniel Ellsberg (Grafos 2016, 95). PAK found some support among American Democrats, especially among those active in the New Left's anti-war protest movement, and among those who opposed American involvement in the Vietnam War (Draenos 2014, 53).

Meanwhile in Greece, a "clandestine" armed wing of PAK formed to carry out violent attacks (Kitroeff 1997, 16). In 1972, eight alleged members of PAK were imprisoned for detonating bombs in Athens (The Canberra Times 1972). Other alleged members included Sifis Valyrakis, who was convicted of several bomb attacks against the junta, and who later led a group of PAK supporters in Italy (efsyn 2021; Associated Press 2021). Valyrakis received training from the Palestinian Liberation Organization (Associated Press 2021). In 1970, Phoebus Koutsikas and three other individuals were arrested in connection with a bomb that exploded outside George Papadopoulos' office, and may have been members of PAK (Bitsanis 2015). Both Valyrakis and Koutsikas would later join the political organization PASOK. In a Toronto speech, Papandreou expressed support for the Greek students who "had begun to agitate against the Greek state" (Grafos 2016, 85).

While exact membership levels in PAK are unknown, the group's rallies and events drew anywhere from 500 to 5,000 individuals (Grafos 2016, 83). PAK's support was concentrated in Greece, of course, but the group had large groups of supporters in Canada, the United States, and in various European countries (Grafos 2016, 95). Support for PAK could also be found in Australia, which had its own anti-junta groups, and where Papandreou visited and met with Prime Minister Whitlam, of Australia's Labour Party (Grafos 2016, 96). Papandreou's visit to Denmark and Norway in 1966 had made him a popular figure there. PAK subsequently received financial support from the Swedish Social Democratic Party (Draenos 2014, 33; The Washington Post 1968). PAK also received funding through donations, galas, and a charity known as the Greek Cultural and Education Fund (Grafos 2016, 89). However, the charity drew scrutiny from Toronto Greeks, Greek embassies, and the Canadian government, and was placed under a formal investigation by the government (Grafos 2016, 89).

#### **External Ties**

The ties between PAK and militant anti-junta activity within Greece are unclear. Alexander Panagoulis, who attempted to assassinate George Panagoulus in 1968,

allegedly met with Papandreou in Paris prior to the attack (Chicago Tribune 1968). In 1972, PAK staged a hunger strike in Toronto in support of Athena Panagoulis, Alexander's mother, who had staged another hunger strike at the American consulate in Athens (Grafos 2016, 85). Alexander was allegedly the founder of the "Greek Resistance" group, which had ties to Paris (Baltimore Sun 1968). In 1968, PAK formed an alliance with the Patriotic Anti-Dictatorial Front (PAM), another Greek resistance organization founded by composer Mikis Theodarakis (Draenos 2014, 57)

In Toronto, Papandreou and PAK made connections with labor unions and other anti-dictatorship groups, such as Rigas Feraios (Grafos 2016, 87). "Friends of PAK" groups also developed (Grafos 2016, 85). In the United States, Papandreou appeared with Robert Kennedy at press conferences during his campaign, and in Europe, Papandreou formed relationships with "social-democratic leaders such as Chancellor Willy Brandt of Germany, Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palmen, and Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky" (Kitroeff 1997, 17). PAK also received funding from the Swedish Social Democratic Party (The Washington Post 1968),

In 1985, Greek police arrested members of Anti-State Struggle, a militant group that had killed a district attorney, and discovered that the group's leader had been active in PAK and PASOK (New York Times 1985).

## **Group Outcome**

After the fall of the junta in July of 1974, Papandreou and other PAK members decided to dissolve PAL and "transform" it into a Greek political party (Kitroeff 1997, 17). Thus, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) was born, which many of PAK's members and supporters subsequently joined (Pendakis 2015, ii). PASOK "dominated the Greek political scene for more than three decades," but began to decline as Greece's debt crisis worsened during the 2008-2009 financial crisis (BBC 2013).

#### Notes for Iris:

- -the political wing operated in exile and the armed wing operated within the country. The junta might have overexaggerated the armed wing's level of activity in order to justify the threat posed by Papandreou (interesting domestic politics and scape-goating)
- -leader's goals change over time. Initially he is very opposed to the Greek junta but he slowly turns into an anti-American/pro-socialist movement
- -Papandreou traveled around North America and Europe to mobilize international support for his political resistance. Tried to mobilize more opposition against the Greek military regime.
- -group disarms in 74 when Greek junta falls. Throughout 1973, the military government had reformed slightly, but then there was a countercoup. New countercoup leader tried to assassinate leader of Cyprus, but didn't kill him → Turkish invasion of Cyprus. 1974: regime starts internally collapsing due to Cyprus conflict and domestic protests. Transition government in summer 1974 reduces grievances for PAK so it disarms. The new transition government triggers mobilization by N17 and ELA.

## XV. POPULAR RESISTANCE SABOTAGE GROUP

Torg ID: 702503

Min. Group Date: 1974 Max. Group Date: 1974

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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   Q/1?accountid=11243

#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1974

Group End: 1974 (disappear)

## Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Popular Resistance Sabotage Group formed, the group carried out their first known attack June 2 of 1974, placing a bomb beneath the car of an American serviceman (GTD 2019; Chicago Tribune 1974). Presumably, the attack was committed in protest of the United States' support for the military-backed

government ruling Greece at the time, which would collapse less than a month after the popular Resistance Sabotage Group's attacks.

# Geography

The Popular Resistance Sabotage Group's attacks occurred in Athens, Greece (GTD 2019).

## **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about the organizational structure of the Popular Resistance Sabotage Group.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties the Popular Resistance Sabotage Group may have had.

## **Group Outcome**

The Popular Resistance Sabotage Group carried out its second, and last, attack on June 12th of 1974, placing a bomb underneath a U.S. Navy's lieutenant's car (GTD 2019; Washington Post 1974). It is unclear why the group stopped using violence.

#### **Notes for Iris:**

- -seems very likely this is an alias for People's Liberation Organized Army
- -is there a translation error here between Popular and Peoples (LAOS?) Unclear if this is an alias or translation error. They engage in the same time period, same target (US cars), same tactic (car bombs), and have similar names (LAOS-8 vs LAOS-11).
- -LAOS ( $\Lambda$ A.O. $\Sigma$ .) is a pun on the Greek word for people
- -unclear what the LAOS-numbering system means. Happened in one day with multiple people. Might just be chapter or faction designations.

# Greece Part 3, 1975-1982 Last Updated: 15 June 2021

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T1537	NATIONAL FRONT (GREECE)		1975	1985
T428	17 NOVEMBER (N17)		1975	2001

T430	EPANASTATIKOS LAIKOS AGONAS (ELA)	1975	1995
T87	ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA	1975	1997
T256	KHRISTOS KASIMIS	1977	1986
T151	DEVRIMCI SOL	1979	1996
T292	MAY 15 ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE	1979	1984
T1894	REVOLUTIONARY POPULAR LEFT	1980	1996
T1011	AUTONOMOUS RESISTANCE	1981	1983
T208	HEZBOLLAH	1982	2012
T273	LEBANESE NATIONAL RESISTANCE FRONT	1982	1991
Т966	4 AUGUST NATIONAL ORGANIZATION	1982	1982

I. NATIONAL FRONT (GREECE)

Torg ID: 1537

Min. Group Date: 1975 Max. Group Date: 1985

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

## Part 1. Bibliography

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

Group Formation: This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

Group End: This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

## Geography

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

## **Organizational Structure**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

#### **External Ties**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

## **Group Outcome**

This is an alias for ELA (T430) (MIPT 2008).

## II. 17 NOVEMBER (N17)

Torg ID: 428

Min. Group Date: 1975 Max. Group Date: 2001

Onset: NA

Aliases: November 17 Revolutionary Organization (N17ro), 17 November (N17), Epanastatiki Organosi 17 Noemvri, Revolutionary Organization 17 November (Ro-N17), Revolutionary Organization 17 November (Ro-N17)November (Ro-N17)

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary Organization November 17, 17N, N 17, RO-17N

Group Formation: 1975

Group End: 2002

Part 3. Narrative

**Group Formation** 

The Revolutionary Organization November 17 (17N) formed in 1975. It carried out its first attack on December 23rd of the same year, when the group assassinated Richard Welsch, the United States' CIA station chief in Athens (Kassimeris 2004, 23).

The group originally formed after the fall of the military dictatorship that ruled Greece from 1967-1974 (Kassimeris 2013, 22). 17N strongly disliked the *Metapolitefsi*, the government that oversaw Greece's transition from Greek military rule to democracy, which the group labeled the "junta by another name" (Kassimeris 2013, 22). The group's name is a reference to November 17th, 1973, the last day of a student uprising against the junta at Athens Polytechnic University that left over 20 individuals dead (Fakitsas 2003, 13). 17N allegedly formed after a 1974 Athens meeting of approximately twenty members of various anti-junta groups, including the People's Revolutionary Struggle Organization (LEA), "Aris," "October 20," and "KO Machitis" (Telloglou 2008). Several of those in attendance decided to establish the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA). Another set in attendance chose to create a more extremist faction known as 17N (Telloglou 2008).

The group would eventually carry out 23 more killings and over 100 attacks before 2002 when police arrested its leaders and remaining members (Kassimeris 2013, 21; GTD 2019). 17N was a Marxist-Leninist "frantically nationalistic" group. It was "anti-Greek establishment, bitterly anti-American, anti-Turkey, and anti-NATO" (Kassimeris 2007, 131). The group aimed to rid Greece of foreign influence and US military bases, as well as removing the country from NATO and the European Union (Kassimeris 2007, 131). In early communiques, N17's stated goals were to remove Turkey's military presence on the island of Cyprus, and to "launch an anti-capitalist popular uprising against the Greek middle and upper-classes" (Council on Foreign Relations 2007; Kassimeris 2007, 132). The group targeted American, British, and Turkish officials, as well as those who had supported and/or been involved with the junta that ruled Greece from 1967-1974 (Kassimeris 2007, 131). 17N also opposed Greece's political establishment, including the KKE and the KKE-Interior, the two communist parties (Kassimeris 2007, 131).

17N operated for nearly thirty years. its goals and tactics evolved alongside Greece's political scene. In 1983, two years after the Panhellenic Socialist Movement's (PASOK) electoral victory, N17 emerged from a two year hiatus to assassinate a U.S. Military Advisor stationed in Greece. It published a communique that "declared war against the Americans and the perceived servants of the ruling bourgeois class and imperialism," and began targeting members of Greece's two main political parties, PASOK and New Democracy (Fakitsas 2003, 17). In 2000, when Greece joined the European Monetary Union, N17 responded with attacks on "multinational companies, American and British banks and businessmen...Turkish diplomats, and ship owners" (Fakitsas 2003, 19).

## Geography

The vast majority of 17N's attacks occurred in Athens, Greece, and the group never made any attempts to expand operations elsewhere in the nation (Fakitsas 2003, 15). The group also may have carried out a few attacks in the Greek cities of Corinth, Atalanti, and Thessaloniki (GTD 2019).

## **Organizational Structure**

17N allegedly formed after a 1974 Athens meeting of approximately twenty members of various anti-junta groups, including the People's Revolutionary Struggle Organization (LEA), "Aris," "October 20," and "KO Machitis" (Telloglou 2008). Several of those in attendance decided to establish the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA), while a more extremist faction chose to create 17N (Telloglou 2008). Among those involved in the foundation of 17N were Alexandros Giotopoulos, also known by the pseudonym "Lambros," meaning bright; Pavlos Serifis, a switchboard operator and the cousin of fellow 17N member Yiannis Serifis; a individual known by the codename "Sardanapalus," who also had ties to ELA members; and an unidentified woman (Telloglou 2008; News Bomb 2018).

Giotopoulos was the alleged leader of the organization and its "chief ideologue (Associated Press 2002; Kassimeris 2007, 130). The son of a "prominent member of the Trotskyist movement" from 1925-1935, Giotopoulos was educated in Paris and joined the LEA during the junta years (News Bomb 2018). He may have traveled to Cuba in 1968 with nine other individuals to "attend training courses on guerrilla warfare," and in 1971 he was sentenced in absentia by the junta for attempting a "violent overthrow" of the regime (News Bomb 2018). In 1972, Giotopoulos participated in an LEA attack on the U.S. embassy in Athens (News Bomb 2018). After the collapse of the regime, Giotopoulos worked as a translator (News Bomb 2018). Members of 17N described it as "'Stalinist' because of the way Giotopoulus managed its internal life" (Telloglou 2008). Giotopoulus also may have had ties to Jean-Paul Sartre, who may have provided financial support (Telloglou 2008).

"Sardanapalus" allegedly worked as 17N's recruiter, and was eventually succeeded in that role by Dimitris Koufontinas, the group's leader of operations (Telloglou 2008; Kassimeris 2007, 129). Koufontinas had been active in PASOK's youth wing as a university student, and was involved in militant leftist activity in the late 1970s (Kassimeris 2013, 22). He then served as 17N's primary hitman (Kathimerini 2003). Other 17N members included brothers Savvas and Christodoulos Xiros, Vassilis Tzortzatos, Iraklis Kostaris, Patroklos Tselentis, Nikolas Papanastasiou, and Yiannis Serifis (Macedonian Press Agency 2002; Kassimeris 2013, 38).

17N's operational history and its internal structure differed from other leftist militant groups active in Europe at the time (Kassimeris 2007, 131). The group "did not begin as a loose network of minor groupings that shared general extreme-left orientations," like Italy's Red Brigades and Germany's Red Action Faction had (Kassimeris 2007, 131). Moreover, 17N's first attack was an assassination, while other European groups conducted years of bombings, kneecappings, and other non-lethal attacks before transitioning to targeted assassinations (Kassimeris 2007, 131). Also,

many of 17N's members were family members or had close personal ties to each other, which "helped explain the group's operation continuity and remarkable resistance to infiltration" (Kassimeris 2013, 3). The group's small size, with approximately twenty-five members, also helped prevent the group from infiltration by police (Council on Foreign Relations 2007). However, 17N drew on some of the ideologies and strategies of other groups, including the Red Brigades, the Toupamaros, and the Greek People's Liberation Army (Kassimeris 2007, 26-27).

#### **External Ties**

17N conducted much of its operations autonomously, and had an established rivalry with the ELA (Telloglou 2008). Giotopoulos was the alleged leader of the organization and its "chief ideologue (Associated Press 2002; Kassimeris 2007, 130). The son of a "prominent member of the Trotskyist movement" from 1925-1935, Giotopoulos was educated in Paris and joined the LEA during the junta years (News Bomb 2018). He may have traveled to Cuba in 1968 with nine other individuals to "attend training courses on guerrilla warfare," and in 1971 he was sentenced in absentia by the junta for attempting a "violent overthrow" of the regime (News Bomb 2018). There are no other reports of state sponsorship (FAS 2004).

## **Group Outcome**

On June 29, 2002, a bomb being transported by 17N member Savvas Xiros exploded unexpectedly. Police were able to gather forensic evidence from the bomb and extract a confession from Xiros, which began a series of arrests that effectively dismantled 17N (Kassimeris 2007, 130; Fakitsas 2003, 5). In December of 2003, fifteen members of 17N were convicted and sentenced to prison, while four other members were acquitted due to a lack of evidence (Kassimeris 2007, 130). Giotopoulos, who received the longest sentence in Greek history at that time, denied having played any role in the group's activities, and claimed that his arrest had been the work of "the Americans, the British, and their collaborators in the Greek government" (Kassimeris 2007, 31; Kassimeris 2007, 286). Koufontinas, who received the second-harshest sentence, claimed full responsibility for the attacks and provided prosecutors with detailed ideological justifications for them (Kassimeris 2013, 22). In January of 2021, Koufontinas began a hunger strike in prison, after he was denied his request to transfer from a high-security prison in central Greece to a prison in Athens (Kitsantonis 2021). Supporters staged large-scale protests in both Athens and Thessaloniki (Associated Press 2021).

Members of 17N may have founded or joined Revolutionary Struggle, a leftist militant group that appeared in 2003 (Council on Foreing Relations 2007; Kassimeris 2007, 291).

## Notes for Iris:

-group opposes the transition government that comes into power after the junta

- -they wanted more reforms and socialist governments than what the transition would provide
- -most of the mainstream opposition groups merged to join the ELA, but then a faction split off to join the N17
- -N17 was more extremist in their willingness to use force against civilians. They weren't interested in expanding beyond their core of 25 members (could reduce incentives to not harm noncombatants). ELA was more like the early Red Brigades in organizing and advertising their cause. N17 was more interested in murder.
- -N17 and ELA had a very strong rivalry with each other. The 1974 meeting was Kristos Kasimis and Giotopoulos, but had fallout. (Later rumor that Kristos kasimis group was formed by N17 to undermine ELA.)
- -N17 and ELA both opposed the US from the beginning. polopp==USA and Greece?

## III. EPANASTATIKOS LAIKOS AGONAS (ELA)

Torg ID: 430

Min. Group Date: 1975 Max. Group Date: 1995

Onset: NA

Aliases: Revolutionary People's Struggle (Ela), Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas (Ela), Revolutionary Popular Struggle, The Revolutionary People's Struggle

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary People's Struggle, Epanastatikos Laikos Agonas, ELA, Επαναστατικός Λαϊκός Αγώνας, ΕΛΑ

Group Formation: 1975

Group End: 1995

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) formed in 1975. It carried out its first known attack in April of the same year, staging a firebomb attack against eight cars owned by US servicemen at a military base in Elefsina, outside of Athens (Kassimeris 2013, 59). The group carried out more than 300 attacks during the twenty years it was active, mostly targeting American and European Union owned property (Bossis 2003, 134). Like other militant groups active at the time, including the 17 November Organization, ELA was a leftist group, aimed at removing U.S. military bases and influence from Greece (Bossis 2003, 134). The group was also opposed to NATO, the European Union, and the Greek political establishment, and aimed to violently "overthrow the capitalist regime" (Kassimeris 2013, 135; Fakitsas 2003, 14).

ELA formed after "intensive discussion" by members of various anti-junta as to the direction resistance operations should take after the regime collapsed (Antoniou 2003). A group in favor of creating an "urban guerilla organization," led by Christo Kassimis, formed the ELA (Antoniou-Kathimerini 2003). Others went on to form the

November 17 organization. In its early years of operation, the ELA took care not to cause any casualties, and the group's actions were meant to "mobilize the masses" and draw attention to its messaging (Kassimeris 2013, 59). ELA was also concerned with "establishing a political line that would facilitate revolutionary unity and consciousness inside the working class movement," and worked to mobilize workers and violently confront labor unions, strikebreakers, and business owners (Kassimeris 2013, 68-69).

## Geography

ELA's attacks were concentrated in the city of Athens, Greece. However, the group often targeted Americans and buildings and property owned by Americans and/or the United States government (GTD 2019; Bossis 2003, 134).

## **Organizational Structure**

ELA was founded by Christos Kassimis, who had previously participated in other leftist militant activity (Kassimeris 2013, 59). Kassimis was fatally shot by police in October of 1977, while he attempted to bomb a factory in Piraeus (a port city in the Athens urban area) in protest of the German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to Greece (Kassimeris 2013, 65), After Kassimis' death, Christos Tsigaridas likely took over as the group's leader, although he denied having had any leadership position in the ELA's militant activity during his trial, insisting that he had run the group's propaganda wing and edited its journal (Kassimeris 2013, 60). Tsigaridas had grown up during the Greek Civil War, and his mother had been active in the Greek People's Liberation Army during the Greek resistance (Kassimeris 2013, 60). Tsigaridas had joined the United Democratic Left (EDA), a front for the outlawed Greek Communist Party, while enrolled at Athens Polytechnic University, and he joined an "action committee" during the years of the junta, where he met Kassimis (Kassimeris 2013, 61-65). Tsigaridas left the group in 1989, due to "personal reasons" (Kassimeris 2013, 70). Another prominent member of ELA was Christos Tsoutsouvis, who left the group in the late 1970s and formed Anti-State Struggle (Antoniou-Kathimerini 2003).

ELA was structured horizontally, with "linked autonomous parts, each of which was responsible for divergent tasks" (Kassimeris 2013, 65). The group lacked hierarchy. It was instead divided into "departments," which were then further divided into cells that operated independently from each other "to ensure security and prevent infiltration" (Kassimeris 2013, 67). ELA's political wing was also divided into different sections: "propaganda, participation in the mass movement, revolutionary violence, and political initiatives" (Kassimeris 2013, 67). The group also published an underground journal titled *Counter Information (Andipliroforissi)*, in which the group laid out its strategies and made announcements to its supporters (Kassimeris 2013, 69).

At the height of its operations in the late 1970s, the group had approximately 80 active members, and 200 in "auxiliary roles" (Antoniou-Kathimerini 2003). After Kassimis' death in 1977, the group likely suffered a significant exodus of members, and it wasn't until 1979 that the group "resumed large-scale action" (Antoniou-Kathimerini 2003).

#### **External Ties**

ELA had ties to other Greek leftist militant groups, and often carried out attacks in tandem with other groups (Bossis 2003, 134). The group may have had ties to infamous "international terrorist" Carlos the Jackal (Ekathimerini 2002). Carlos had received support from Stasi, the East German secret police, and the organization's files contained information on 30 ELA members, suggesting a link between the ELA and Carlos (Ekathimerini 2002). Other individuals associated with Carlos, including his wife Magdalena Kopp, had "contact" with ELA members, and taught the Greek group bomb-making techniques (Ekathimerini 2002). From 1990 to 1995, ELA worked with the May 1 Organization, and together, the two groups purposely attacked human targets, marking a break with the ELA's historical strategy of avoiding casualties (Fakitsas 2003, 113). The group had a rivalry with 17N (Telloglou 2008). There is no known state sponsorship (FAS 2004).

#### **Group Outcome**

ELA's last known attack occured in January of 1995, when it detonated a bomb at Athens University of Economics and Business (Antoniou 2003). The group dissolved itself the same month, due to a "political decision" (TVXS 2009). Several splinter groups may have emerged, including Revolutionary Cells (Antoniou 2003).

In 2003, Christos Tsigaridas and four other members of ELA were arrested and four, including Tsigaridas, were imprisoned (New York Times 2004; TVXS 2009).

#### Notes for Iris:

- -unclear what the political decision was but might have been internal politics -group suffered splintering
- IV. ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA

Torq 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 Azatagrutyan 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 aloud 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, occuring 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.

### V. KHRISTOS KASIMIS

Torg ID: 256

Min. Group Date: 1977 Max. Group Date: 1986

Onset: NA

Aliases: Khristos Kasimis Revolutionary Group For International Solidarity, Khristos Kasimis

\*is this a splinter of ELA or an alias for 17N?

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 Q/6?accountid=11243

# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Christos Kasimis, Christos Kasimis Revolutionary Team, Christos Kasimis Revolutionary Group, Revolutionary Group of International Solidarity Christos Kassimis, RGISCK

Group Formation: 1985 (1977?)

Group End: 1985

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

Khristos Kasimis's origins are unclear. The group may have carried out its first attack in December 1977 when it bombed a police radio repair shop in Athens (GTD 2019). Alternatively, the group may have carried out its first attack in 1985 when it bombed a German embassy in solidarity with Germany's Red Army Faction's hunger strikes (MIPT 2008; GTD 2019). Khristos Kasimis opposed any American military presence in Greece, and stated that it would target "any basis, any vehicle, and any US facility" (Schmid and Jongman 1998, 561). The group was named after Khristos (Christos) Kasimis, who led the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) until he was killed in 1977 (MIPT 2008).

There are several competing stories about the group's formation. Schmid and Jongman state that the group was "probably an offshoot of ELA," but the group may have been an alias of the ELA or an alias of the 17 November Organization (17N)--the ELA's rival--through which 17N could plant bombs and "trash-talk" the ELA (Ekathimerini 2015; MIPT 2008; Schmid and Jongman 1998, 561).

### Geography

Khristos Kasimis's attacks occurred in the city of Athens, Greece (GTD 2019). However, the group targeted the German embassy, branches of American-owned banks, and a statue of American President Harry Truman (GTD 2019; MIPT 2008). It may have had members from the ELA or 17N depending on which organization created it.

### **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about Khristos Kasimis' organizational structure. If members splintered from either the ELA or 17N, then they may have had prior combat experience.

#### **External Ties**

Khristos Kasimis may have been affiliated with the ELA or 17N, Greece's two main leftist militant groups at the time MIPT 2008; Ekathimerini 2015).

### **Group Outcome**

The group's last attack may have occurred in 1985, when the group damaged a statue of American President Harry Truman in protest of the American Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to Greece (Schmid and Jongman 1988; MIPT 2008; GTD 2019; Chicago Tribune 1985). It is unclear why the Khristos Kasimis name was not used to claim any other attacks after 1985.

#### Notes for Iris:

-1985 formation makes more sense. 1977 is year Kristos died? No other source other than GTD lists the group in 1977. Multiple sources say the group emerged in 1985

### VI. DEVRIMCI SOL

Torg ID: 151

Min. Group Date: 1979 Max. Group Date: 1996

Onset: NA

Aliases: Dev Sol, Devrimci Sol, Peoples Salvation Party-Front

### Part 1. Bibliography

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- "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C) a.k.a. Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-cephesi; a.k.a. Devrimci Sol; a.k.a. Revolutionary Left; a.k.a. Dev Sol; a.k.a. Dev Sol Silahli Devrimci Birlikleri; a.k.a. Dev Sol Sdb; a.k.a. Dev Sol Armed Revolutionary Units," Global Security, Para-military Europe, n.d.,

http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/dev\_sol.htm

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- Recruitment Process of Terrorist Organizations: A Case Study of Devrimci Halkin Kurtulus Partisi Cephesi (DHKP/C) Revolutionary People's Liberation Party Front (From Understanding Terrorism: Analysis of Sociological and Psychological Aspects, P 161-166, 2007, Suleyman Ozeren, Ismail Dincer Gunes, et al., eds. -- See NCJ-225410)
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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary Left, DHKP, Dev Sol Armed Revolutionary Units; Dev Sol Silahli Devrimci Birlikleri; Dev Sol SDB; Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi; Devrimci Sol; Revolutionary Left; DHKP/C

Group Formation: 1978 (splinter)

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (Active)

Part 3. Narrative

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# **Group Formation**

Dev Sol was founded in 1978 when it splintered from the Revolutionary Youth. It renamed itself, but did not change otherwise, in 1994 to become the DHKP/C (Mackenzie Institute). The group aims to overthrow the Turkish government (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It ascribes to a Marxist-Leninist ideology (Mackenzie Institute 2016). Its first attack occurred in 1979 (GTD 2017).

### Geography

The group is primarily active in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and Adana (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It specializes in urban guerrilla warfare (Canada IRB 1994).

### **Organizational Structure**

Dev Sol was originally led by Dursun Karatas. Turkish forces later arrested Karatas forcing him to live in exile after 1989 (Mackenzie Institute 2016). Today, Karatas' spouse is a key member of the central committee along with Musa Asoglu and Seher Demir Sen. The group originally recruited high school and university students, but has expanded to poor urban neighborhoods today (Mackenzie Institute 2016). It was seemingly well-organized as it conducted surveys of members considering potential promotion (Global Security n.d.). Most of its members come from lower-class families and report belonging to a left-wing political party prior to joining (Global Security n.d.). The group has a central committee, regional committee, and unarmed propaganda and recruitment wings (Ekici 2009, 52-52). It operates through a series of cells in and around Turkey (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The central committee makes decisions then communicates them to cells who have some discretion in execution (Kenville 2000, 57). It finances itself through donations and extortion in the areas it controls (Mackenzie Institute 2016).

The group tried to grow in the early 2000s by imitating Al-Qaeda (BBC 2013).

#### **External Ties**

There is no evidence of external support for the group (FAS 2004).

### **Group Outcome**

After the 1980 military coup, the government engaged in mass arrests and torture which backfired when many released terrorists raised attention about the brutal human rights situation (Kenville 2000, 69). The government engaged in mass indiscriminate violence (Kenville 2000, 71). Dev Sol was also able to launch massive prison breaks several times in the late 1980s which allowed them to replenish their numbers relatively easily.

In 1990, the group began targeting non-Turkish individuals including Americans. Its campaign grew over the next year especially with an increased US presence in the run-up to the Gulf War (Kenville 2000, 80-81). In 1992, Turkish National Police executed a number of Dev Sol members during a series of raids across Istanbul which rallied support and became "a hostile DHKP/C anniversary of sorts" (McHugh 2011, 516).

The group had a large amount of factional infighting in 1994 which led it to change its name (Global Security n.d.). After arresting a large number of Dev Sol members in 1998 and 1999, a group began protesting the "E-type prison" (Canada IRB 1999).

In 2004, a large Turkish counter-terrorism operation led most of Dev Sol's leadership to flee to Europe where it operates out of exile (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group was fairly quiet from 2009-2012 following an alleged power struggle after the death of Dursun Karatas (Global Security n.d.) The group is still active today targeting police officers, Turkish politicians, and even US targets (Mackenzie Institute 2016).

The group was able to survive when many other European left-wing groups fell apart during the 1980s because of its ability to adapt (Kenville 2000, 5).

#### VII. MAY 15 ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

Torg ID: 292

Min. Group Date: 1979 Max. Group Date: 1984

Onset: NA

Aliases: MAY 15 ORGANIZATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE, ARAB ORGANIZATION OF MAY 15

#### Part 1. Bibliography

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- "Profile: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)," BBC, 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30099510

#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1979

Group End (Outcome): "mid-1980s"/1984 (GTD)

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

15 May Organization was formed in 1979 as a splinter of the PFLP Special Operations Group (FAS 1998). It is unknown what its goals are although the PFLP supported the destruction of Israel and the creation of a separate Palestinian state (BBC 2014).

### Geography

The group was active in London, Rome, Istanbul, Athens, Vienna, Rio de Janeiro, Honolulu, and Aleppo (FAS 1998; GTD 2017). It had a base of operations in Baghdad (FAS 1998).

# **Organizational Structure**

The group was led by Muhammed al-Umari who was a known bomb expert in the Palestinian Territories. The group had approximately 50-60 members in the early 1980s. Its members were Palestinian, but there is not much evidence about the organizational structure of the group beyond that (FAS 1998).

#### **External Ties**

The group allegedly received financial support and training from Iraq until 1984 (FAS 1998). It was never affiliated with the PLO (Global Security n.d.)

### **Group Outcome**

The group fell apart in the mid-1980s after the defection of several members to Colonel Hawari's Special Operations Group of Fatah (FAS 1998).

### VIII. REVOLUTIONARY POPULAR LEFT

Torg ID: 1894

Min. Group Date: 1980 Max. Group Date: 1996

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

# Part 1. Bibliography

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  - Revolutionary popular left greece

# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

Group Formation: This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

Group End: This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

### Geography

This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

# **Organizational Structure**

This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

#### **External Ties**

This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

### **Group Outcome**

This is likely an alias for ELA (T430).

### IX. AUTONOMOUS RESISTANCE

Torg ID: 1011

Min. Group Date: 1981

Max. Group Date: 1983

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

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https://www.nytimes.com/1981/12/14/world/chronology-of-events-leading-to-polish-crisis.

### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1981

Group End: 1981; may have carried out an attack in 1983

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when Autonomous Resistance formed, the group carried out its first known violent attack in February 1981, bombing a Nestle-owned building in Athens (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 560; GTD 2019). The group also carried out an attack against the Soviet trade mission in Athens in December of the same year, in protest of the state of emergency that had been declared in Poland (New York Times 1981; Los Angeles Times 1981). Poland experienced mass strikes and unrest beginning in 1980, after the Soviet-supported communist government increased the price of meat (New York Times 1981). The unrest continued and intensified with time, and by February

of 1981, a general was appointed as Prime Minister, which "increased the military's influence at a time of uncertainty and labor unrest" (New York Times 1981). The crisis would culminate in the December 1981 decision by the Polish government to declare martial law (New York Times 1981).

# Geography

All of Autonomous Resistance's attacks occurred in the city of Athens, Greece (GTD 2019). The group targeted Soviet-owned cars and buildings, and Nestle, a Swiss-owned company (GTD 2019).

### **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about Autonomous Resistance's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties Autonomous Resistance may have had.

# **Group Outcome**

The last attack Autonomous Resistance claimed responsibility for was the December 1981 bombing of the Soviet trade mission offices (Los Angeles Times 1981; New York Times 1981). However, the group may have carried out an attack targeting a restaurant near where the Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Tikhonov was eating while on a trip to meet with Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou (GTD 2019).

It is unknown why Autonomous Resistance carried out so few attacks, and why the group stopped using violence.

Notes for Iris:

-martial law in Poland from Dec. 1981-July 1983?

### X. HEZBOLLAH

Torg ID: 208

Min. Group Date: 1982 Max. Group Date: 2012

Onset: NA

Aliases: Hizballah, Hezballah, Hezballah, Hizbollah, Islamic Jihad, Islamic Jihad For The Liberation Of Palestine, Organization Of The Oppressed On Earth, Party Of God, Revolutionary Justice Organization, The Islamic Resistance

Aliases: Hizbullah, Hizbollah, Hezbollah, Hezballah, Hizbullah, The Party of God, Islamic Jihad (Islamic Holy War), Islamic Jihad Organization, Islamic Resistance, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, Ansar al-Allah (Followers of God/Partisans of God/God's Helpers), Ansarollah (Followers of God/Partisans of God/God's Helpers), Al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah (Islamic Resistance), Organization of the Oppressed, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, Revolutionary Justice Organization, Organization of Right Against Wrong and Followers of the Prophet Muhammed, Party of God; Islamic Jihad; Islamic Jihad Organization; Revolutionary Justice Organization; Organization of the Oppressed on Earth; Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine; Organization of Right Against Wrong; Ansar Allah; Followers of the Prophet Muhammed

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#### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Islamic Jihad Organization

Group Formation: 1982

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (active)

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

Hezbollah was formed in 1982, in the midst of the Lebanese civil war, as a splinter of the prominent Shiite political party Amal (Martin 2011, 254; Masters 2014; Christian Science Monitor 2012). It formed in reaction to Israel's invasion of Lebanon (NCTC n.d.; Masters 2014; Global Security n.d.). Hezbollah supported the creation of an Islamic state in Lebanon and the Palestinian fight against Israel (Martin 2011, 254; BBC 2016). It ascribes to a Shiite ideology and believes the eventual Islamic state should also be Shiite (Mackenzie Institute 2016; Global Security n.d.; Al Jazeera English 2016; Christian Science Monitor 2012). The group is strongly opposed to the influence of western countries as well as Israel's involvement in the Middle East (Masters 2014; Al Jazeera English 2016). The group's first violent incident is generally considered to be the bombing of military barracks in Beirut in 1983 (GTD 2017; Martin 2011, 255; Global Security n.d.).

Today, the group is involved in the Syrian civil war; they support the Assad regime (Masters 2014; BBC 2016). The group is also involved in Lebanese politics as a result of the Taif agreement; they competed in the 1992 elections (Masters 2014; Global Security n.d.; BBC 2016). The group has reportedly moved from having deep Khomeinist roots to embodying a greater Islamic nationalist ideal (Masters 2014). The group removed Saad Hariri's government, which was backed by Saudi Arabia and rooted in Sunni ideals (Masters 2014). The group also aims to liberate Jerusalem (Global Security n.d.). The group also reportedly targets Jewish individuals (BBC 2016).

#### Geography

The group came to attention in 1983 with the bombing of US military barracks in Beirut (Martin 2011, 255; Global Security n.d.). The group operates out of Al Biqa' (Bekaa Valley), southern Beirut, and Ba'albek in Lebanon (Masters 2014; Global Security n.d.; Christian Science Monitor 2012). Hezbollah also maintains external bases and cells around the world including Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Europe (Global Security; Masters 2014; Global Security n.d.). The group has also carried out attacks in the Shebaa Farms zone which is disputed by the group and Israel (Masters 2014; BBC 2016). The group has also carried out attacks in Israel (Masters 2014).

### **Organizational Structure**

The group was founded by a man named Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, as well as Imad Fayez Mughniyeh, and Muhammad Hussein (Counter Extremism Project). The group reportedly consists of a seven member council called the Shura Council (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group's initial leader was Sheikh Sobhi Tufeili; he was replaced by Abbas Musawi in

1992 (Martin 2011, 254; Mackenzie Institute 2016). After Musawi was assassinated, Hassan Nasrallah replaced him as the leader of the group (Masters 2014; Mackenzie Institute 2016; Al Jazeera English 2016; Christian Science Monitor 2012). Naim Qassem was second-in-command of the group, and a man named Hussein al-Khalil was a top advisor to the leader of the group politically (Masters 2014). Another official of the group was a man named Imad Fayez Mugniyah, who was killed in 2008 (Masters 2014).

The group has developed a strong political wing which has even engaged in Lebanese politics placing members in Parliament continuously since 1992 (Martin 2011, 254-255). It organized a series of cells across southern Lebanon, but consolidated into a political party organization in 1985 when it released a formal manifesto (CFR 2014). The group gained popular support in the 1980s by fighting against occupying IDF forces in southern Lebanon and other communist militias (Global Security n.d.). Hezbollah is led by the Shura Council including the group's leader, the Secretary General (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group estimates it had 5,000-10,000 different fighters and additional supporters as of 1993, but this has since dropped to about 500 (Global Security n.d.). The group also reportedly has ties with a group called Imam al-Mahdi, made up of youth that eventually join Hezbollah (Global Security n.d.).

#### **External Ties**

The group coordinates with Tanzim, Islamic Jihad, Hamas, and the PFLP (Global Security n.d.). It may have also provided external support to Tanzim in the Palestinian territories to fund their actions. President Reagan publicly agreed to not negotiate with Hezbollah following the events, but privately set up a secure channel and secured an arms-for-hostages deal (Martin 2011, 256). It is well known that the IRGC supports Hezbollah with money, weapons, training, and other aid totaling up to \$200 million/year (CFR 2014; Masters 2014; Global Security n.d.; New York Times 2011). Syria and Iran also support Hezbollah (Global Security; Masters 2014). Syria is a key ally of Hezbollah. providing both a supply of arms into Lebanon and a safe haven for some of the group's leaders (Global Security n.d.). Hezbollah explicitly states their allegiance to Iran, especially to their supreme leader, Ayatollah Khomeini (until his death in 1989), and to the current leader, Khamenei (Counter Extremism Project n.d.). The group also has a charity and collects support through a Shi'a diaspora around the world (Global Security). The EU and the United States have accused the group of receiving support from the Qud Force of Iran (Masters 2014). The group is also reportedly allied with Iraq (Global Security n.d.). The group offers support for the Syrian president (Global Security n.d.; Masters 2014; New York Times 2011; Christian Science Monitor 2012). The group also reportedly has ties with Afghanistan (Global Security n.d.). The group also reportedly has ties with a group called Imam al-Mahdi, made up of youth that eventually join Hezbollah (Global Security n.d.). The group uses tactics such as hijacking, kidnapping, mortar or rocket attacks, tunneling, firearm attacks, suicide bombing, assassination, and explosive devices (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group has also exploited fundraising in Europe, the United States, and Arab Peninsula (Mackenzie Institute 2016; BBC 2016).

# **Group Outcome**

The group's last known attack was reportedly in 2017 when Hezbollah assailants allegedly kidnapped a Saudi citizen living in the Lebanese city Al-Aqiba (GTD 2017). Earlier that year, gunmen opened fire on the Wadi Hamid refugee camp in the town of Arsal, Lebanon, killing three Syrian refugees (GTD 2017). No group has taken responsibility for either of these attacks, but sources agree that it was most likely conducted by Hezbollah (GTD 2017). These were the last reports of Hezbollah allegedly conducting violent attacks. Nevertheless, Hezbollah has allegedly planned numerous attacks since then. For example, it has set up vast networks of cells, who have allegedly planned attacks in places around the globe like the UAE, Venezuela, and New York (Gulf News 2019; FP 2019; Times of Israel 2019). Hezbollah is still active today, primarily by maintaining a strong presence in Lebanese politics (Global Security n.d.). Hezbollah's political wing is recognized as a political party, and it performed well in the 2018 Lebanese elections, with its Shiite bloc gaining a majority in the parliament (The Guardian 2018).

Recently, Hezbollah's leader Hassan Nasrallah has warned Israel and the United States that it has a stockpile of missiles capable of striking targets in Israel, perhaps indicating that Hezbollah still develops missiles and other arms (Haaretz 2019). Various state actors have taken measures to both militarily and diplomatically combat Hezbollah. Israel has conducted airstrikes on Hezbollah's arms supply chain in Syria and fights with them Syria in an attempt to prevent the group's ally Iran from asserting regional hegemony (Counter Extremism Project n.d.; Global Security n.d.). Israel and Hezbollah have a long history of conflict, beginning in the 2006 Second Lebanon War, when the latter employed guerrilla tactics (The Tower 2016). Experts predict that another violent confrontation between Israel and Lebanon is looming and will be more destructive than ever (The Tower 2016). The United Nations passed UN Security Council Resolution 1701 in 2006, which presented a plan to end the war between Israel and Hezbollah, citing the violence and impact on civilians it caused: moreover, it required Hezbollah to disarm (United Nations 2006; Counter Extremism Project n.d.). The resolution had little effect as Hezbollah continued to stockpile weapons (Counter Extremism Project n.d.). The Lebanese government, tasked with the disarmament of Hezbollah, could not control the armed group as it was focused on improving the abysmal economic situation of the country (Global Security n.d.).

In 2015, the United States passed the Hizballah International Financing Prevention Act (HIFPA), which sanctioned organizations, businesses, and people that support or do business with Hezbollah or any of its affiliates (Counter Extremism Project n.d.). Lebanon did not take similar actions because Hezbollah forms a key part of its economy; sanctioning the group would make the poor economic situation worse (Counter Extremism Project n.d).

XI. LEBANESE NATIONAL RESISTANCE FRONT Torg ID: 273

Min. Group Date: 1982 Max. Group Date: 1991

Onset: NA

Aliases: Lebanese National Resistance Front, Jammoul

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: LNRF, Front National de la Resistance Libanaise (FNRL), FNRL

Group Formation: 1982

Group End (Outcome): 1991/1992 (it disappeared with the fall of the Soviet Union, MIPT

2008)

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

The Lebanese National Resistance Front was a network of many different groups that all resisted Israeli occupation of Lebanon that formed in 1982 (Russell 1985; MIPT 2008). Specifically, they were the military wing of the Lebanese Communist Party (MIPT 2008). They preferred/backed the USSR and Syrian influence and therefore viewed Israel as an enemy (Ibid). When Israel invaded Western Beirut in 1982, leaders of the communist party in Lebanon, George Hawi and the Communist labor organization secretary general

of the Communist called for the formation of a "national resistance front" against Israel (Ibid).

#### Geography

The LNRF's main targets were the Israeli defense forces stationed in western Bekaa and Rashaya regions (Afif Diab. 2013). Furthermore, they resisted Israeli influence in Southern Lebanon, Beirut, and the Mount Lebanon area (MIPT 2008).

### **Organizational Structure**

Primarily Lebanese group with members from the Lebanese Communist Party and other communist organizations (MIPT 2008). Initially began as a resistance front against Israel (MIPT 2008). However, in 1984 the group began to splinter to the point where they began to fight each other more than Israel (Ibid). It is unknown how large the group was although reports suggest it was comparatively smaller than other Lebanese militant groups (MIPT 2008). It is unknown who financed the group or who it's direct leadership was. It was the military wing of the Lebanese Communist Party which was led by George Hawi (MIPT 2008).

#### **External Ties**

Initially backed by communist parties in Lebanon as well as pro-Syrian and pro-USSR forces. However, MIPT has some information that states that the PLO was actually behind the LNRF in order to gain popularity among other Lebanese parties to resist Israel.

When the group began to splinter into different factions, different splinters fought LNRF to undermine its support further (MIPT 2008).

According to MIPT, the PLO has claimed that many of the attacks credited to the LNRF were actually committed by PLO cells and other Lebanese leftists that supported the PLO (MIPT 2008). This raises doubts about whether the LNRF was an independent organization or an alias for the PLO.

### **Group Outcome**

The group began to splinter in 1984 (MIPT 2008). In the 1990s, with the fall of the Soviet Union the group virtually dissolved and disappeared (MIPT 2008).

XII. 4 AUGUST NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Torg ID: 966

Min. Group Date: 1982 Max. Group Date: 1982

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

# Part 1. Bibliography

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  - "4 August National Organization"
  - August 4 National Organization Greece
  - August 4 "National Organization" from 1982-03-01 to 1982-03-30

# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1982

Group End: 1982

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the August 4 National Organization formed, the group carried out its first--and only--known attacks in March of 1982, when it detonated bombs at two branches of Citibank in Athens (GTD 2019; Los Angeles Times 1982). On the same day, other bombs exploded in shops and Communist Party offices in northern Greece, although it is unclear if these attacks were related to the Citibank bombings (New York Times 1982).

The group's name is likely a reference to the "4th of August Regime" that ruled Greece from 1936 to 1941 (Keridis 2009, 109). Although its leader, loannis Metaxas, refused to allow Italy and Axis forces to enter Greece, bringing Greece into the folds of

World War II on the Allied side, he abolished Greece's parliament and ruled the country as a dictatorship that "flirted with fascism" (Keridis 2009, 109).

# Geography

August 4 National Organization's attacks occurred in the city of Athens, Greece, and targeted Citibank, an American-owned bank (GTD 2019).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about August 4 National Organization's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties August 4 National Organization may have had.

# **Group Outcome**

August 4 National Organization's sole attacks were the two 1982 Citibank bombings (GTD 2019). It is unclear why the group only carried out these two attacks, and why the group stopped using violence.

# Greece Part 4, 1983-1989 Last Updated: 19 June 2021

torg	gname	onset	min	max
	FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF NORTHERN IPIROS (MAVI)		1983	1983
T1095	GROUP FOR MARTYRED ISAM AS-SARTAWI		1983	1983
T1367	ARMY FOR IRAN'S NATIONAL LIBERATION		1983	0
T1896	REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY		1983	1990
T1539	NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE SALVATION OF LIBYA		1984	1984
Т963	21 NOVEMBER LEAGUE		1984	1984
T1155	NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF KURDISTAN		1985	0

	(ERNK)		
T1161	7 APRIL LIBYAN ORGANIZATION	1985	1985
Т999	ARAB REVOLUTIONARY CELLS	1986	1986
T462	SOCIAL RESISTANCE	1988	1990
T1613	ANARCHIST SOLIDARITY	1989	1989
T1660	CELLS FOR SOLIDARITY AGAINST AUTHORITY	1989	1989
T207	HAWKS OF THRACE (HOT)	1989	0
T588	41395	1989	1992

I. FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF NORTHERN IPIROS (MAVI)

Torg ID: 1086

Min. Group Date: 1983 Max. Group Date: 1983

Onset: NA

Aliases: Front For The Liberation Of Northern Ipiros (Mavi), Northern Epirus Liberation

Front (Mavi)

# Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Northern Epirus Liberation Front, North Epirus Freedom Front, Μέτωπο Απελευθέρωσης Βόρειας Ηπείρου, ΜΑVΙ

Group Formation: 1983

Group End: 1995

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Northern Epirus Liberation Front (Μέτωπο Απελευθέρωσης Βόρειας Ηπείρου, MAVI) formed, the group carried out its first violent attack in 1983, bombing a car belonging to the Albanian Embassy in Athens (GTD 2019; Boston Globe 1983). The group carried out a few attacks between 1983 and 1995--in 1991, MAVI claimed responsibility for bombing the car belonging to the Albanian ambassador to Greece (Pettifer 2001, 11).

"Northern Epirus," a term used by the Greeks to refer to southern Albania, was a disputed territory between the two countries for much of the 20th century (CIA 1994). After Albania declared independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1912, its northern boundary was drawn by the London Conference of Ambassadors in 1913, leaving the southern boundary in dispute until 1925, as Greece claimed the region for its own (CIA

1994). Greece occupied the region in 1940, after the Italian invasion of Greece through Albania (CIA 1994). Greece expressed an intent to unite Northern Epirus with the rest of Greece, but the 1946 Paris Peace Conference upheld Albanian sovereignty (CIA 1994). The two countries technically remained at war with each other (although no state-sanctioned fighting occurred) until 1987, when Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou ended the state of war amid increasing economic and political cooperation between the nations (Minorities at Risk Project 2004).

As the communist Albanian government began to collapse in the early 1990s, many Albanians--a number of whom were ethnically Greek from southern Albania--began to seek refuge in Greece (Minorities at Risk Project 2004). Reports that the Albanian border patrol had opened fire on the refugees sparked protests in Athens against the Albanian government's treatment of the ethnic Greek minority (Minorities at Risk Project 2004). Tensions continued to increase as the Greek government deported approximately 100,000 Albanian illegal immigrants, and maps showing Greece extending into southern Albania circulated in Albania (Minorities at Risk 2004). In 1992, Omonia, an Albania political party representing the Greek minority, was banned from participating in politics, and several attacks on Greek-owned shoppers and Omonia offices were reported in Albania, in retaliation for Greece's deportation of Albanian refugees (Minorities at Risk 2004). MAVI may have been a "fanatical splinter group" of Omonia, or may have been an autonomous "significant political and paramilitary formation" (Pettifer 2001, 17).

Meanwhile, Albania formally accused Greece of attempting to influence Albanian politics and "encouraging ethnic Greek nationalist sentiments" in southern Albania (Minorities at Risk 2004). Tensions reached a peak in 1994, following an attack by MAVI on an Albanian border patrol unit that left two Albanian military officers dead (CIA 1994).

The exact story of MAVI's origin is unclear. The group shares a name with a disbanded right-wing armed group active during World War II that fought against Italian forces during Italy's occupation of Albania in 1943, and also fought against communist Greek forces in 1945 (Minorities at Risk Project 2004; FAS 1995). However, given the time between the attacks, and reports that MAVI was an "unknown organization" prior to its activity in the 1980s and 90s, the two groups were likely unrelated (IHF 1994, 3).

In the fall of 1994, MAVI announced an "armed struggle" against the Albanian government, for their "colonization" of "Northern Epirus" and their violation of the rights of the ethnic Greek minority living in the region (FAS 1995). The group also accused the Greek government of failing to support the ethnic Greeks in southern Albania (FAS 1995). MAVI sought a Greek annexation of southern Albania (Abrahams 2015).

#### Geography

MAVI's attacks occurred at the border between Greece and southern Albania--referred to by some Greeks as "Northern Epirus"--and at the Albanian embassy in Athens (FAS 1995; GTD 2019; CIA 1994).

# **Organizational Structure**

According to Albanian and Greek investigations, MAVI was likely headed by Anastasios Giorgos, who had previously served as a Greek military officer (Pettifer 2001, 17). Albanian police also arrested six individuals in connection with the 1994 border attack: Vangelis Papachristos, the president of Omonia's branch in the southern Albanian town of Saranada, and a member of Saranad's City Council; Panayotis Martos, the president of Omonia's branch in the southern Albanian town of Delvina; Theodoros Bezianis, the president of Omonia's branch in the southern Albanain town of Gjirokastra; Herakles Syrmos, the vice-president of Ononia's branch in Gjirokastra, a member of the Prefecture Council in Gjirokastra, and the president and co-founder of the Association of Former Political Prisoners, a group founded in Athens in 1991 that created a training school in Ioannina, Greece; Costas Kyriakou, a member of the County Council in Giirokastra and the secretary of the Association of Former Political Prisoners; and Costas Tsavos (IHF 1994, 4). The six men were ethnically Greek, and none were linked directly to the attack; however, a Greek government minister admitted that five of them "had very probably been linked to MAVI" (Abrahams 2015, 145; Pettifer 2001, 17). In 1995, after Greek police thwarted another attempt by MAVI to conduct a border raid into Albania, seven individuals were arrested, including a former army officer and a former police official (Smith 1995; Pettifer 2001, 17). In 2020, Albanian police charged Fredi Bejleri, a former head of Omonia, with "terrorist offenses" in connection to the 1994 border raid (Antonopoulos 2020).

In 1995, Greek police discovered that the MAVI members planning a raid into Albania possessed weapons stolen in the 1994 raid (Minorities at Risk Project 2004).

#### **External Ties**

While the Albanian government alleged that the 1994 attack had been committed by "Greek special forces" (IHF 1994, 3), and the Greek press alleged "that the Greek secret service may indeed have been either involved with [MAVI] or had overlooked its activities" (Pettifer 2001, 17), there does not seem to be any credible link between MAVI and the Greek government.

MAVI may have been connected to Omonia, the Albainan political organization representing the interests of the country's ethnic Greek minority (Minorities at Risk 2004). Omonia was founded in 1991, and "maintained ties to several radical Greek organizations which openly advocate the union of 'Northern Epirus' with Greece" (CIA 1994). MAVI may have been a "fanatical splinter group" of Omonia, or may have been an autonomous "significant political and paramilitary formation" (Pettifer 2001, 17).

# **Group Outcome**

In March of 1995, the Greek police arrested seven members of MAVI who had planned to carry out an armed raid into Albania (Minorities at Risk Project 2004). While

this was MAVI's last known planned attack, it occurred during heightened tension between Greece and Albania triggered by MAVI's 1994 attack across the Albanian border. After the 1994 attack, the Albanian government accused the Greek government of having had a role in the attack, which Athens denied (Abrahams 2015, 145). The two countries expelled half of each others' diplomatic staff, and eight days after the attack, the Albanian government arrested over thirty ethnic Greeks and searched the Omonia headquarters (Minorities at Risk Project 2004; Abrahams 2015, 145; IHF 1994, 3). In retaliation, Greek police deported over 20,000 illegal Albanian immigrants, and when five of the ethnic Greeks arrested were sentenced to prison in September of 1994 after a trial riddled with irregularities and condemned by the Albanian branch of Helsinki Watch. Greece deported 70,000 additional Albanians and sealed part of its border with Albania (Minorities at Risk Project 2004; Abrahams 2015, 147). Tensions began to cool in December of 1994, when Albanian president Sali Berlsh pardoned one of the imprisoned Omonia members and reduced the sentences of the other four after Greece "removed its objections to Albania receiving European Union aid" (Minorities at Risk Project 2004). In February of the following year, the Omonia members were freed, which Greece "responded positively" to, and relations further improved with the March arrest of seven MAVI members by Greek police (Abrahams 2015, 148). Later in the month, Greece removed an ambassador to Albania after he was found with separatist pamphlets in his possession, and arrested additional MAVI members who had been connected to the 1994 border raid (Minorities at Risk Project 2004).

#### Notes for Iris:

- -There are attacks between 1983 and 1994 by this group. However Albanian and Greek newspapers censored information about militant activities so inconsistent reporting on their operational activities
- -There was a lot of protests by ethnic Greek in Albania during this time so it was sometimes hard to discern who was a protestor and who was an armed -what was the catalyst for the group's formation? Greece ended "state of war" in 1987 -interesting window of opportunity around Albania's collapse in the 1990s could explain why incidents escalated in 1994

### II. GROUP FOR MARTYRED ISAM AS-SARTAWI

Torg ID: 1095

Min. Group Date: 1983

Max. Group Date: 1983

Onset: NA

Aliases: Group For Martyred Isam As-Sartawi, Group Of Martyred Isam Al-Sartawi

# Part 1. Bibliography

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: The Group of Martyrs of Issam Sartawi

Group Formation: 1983

Group End: 1983

Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Martyrs of Issam Sartawi formed, the group claimed responsibility for their first and only attack in May of 1983, when two bombs exploded in Athens (CIA 1983, 17; Associated Press 1983; Schmid and Jongman 1988; MIPT 2008; GTD 2019). One bomb destroyed a car belonging to the Syrian Embassy, and the other was placed outside a school attended by the children of Libyan government officials (CIA 1983, 17; Associated Press 1983; Schmid and Jongman 1988; MIPT 2008). The group stated that it carried out the attacks "in response to the oppressive regimes of Syrian and Libya" (Associated Press 1983).

The group's name references Issam Sartawi, a moderate leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), who was assassinated at the Socialist International conference in Portugal in April of 1983 by a member of a radical splinter of the PLO led by Abu Nidal (Washington Post 1983; Associated Press 1983). Sartawi had been assassinated for his "moderate views regarding Israel's right to exist" (MIPT 2008).

The attack was also claimed by the Army for Iran's National Liberation (CIA 1983; MIPT 2008).

# Geography

Martyrs of Issam Sartawi's alleged attacks occurred in Athens, Greece; however, the attacks targeted Syrian and Libyan government officials (CIA 1983; Associated Press 1983). The group's country of origin is unclear.

### **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about the Martyrs of Issam Sartawi's organization structure.

#### **External Ties**

Martyrs of Issam Sartawi's ties with other groups and/or individuals is unclear. The May 1983 attack was also claimed by the Army for Iran's National Liberation, which stated that it planted the bombs "to attack allies of Iran," which was led by Ayatollah Khomeini (MIPT 2008). It is unclear if the two groups were related, or which group actually committed the attacks. In a 1983 terrorism review, the CIA stated that it believed the "unsophisticated nature of the attacks" suggested that the bombs were planted by "a relatively obscure group" (CIA 1983).

### **Group Outcome**

Martyrs of Issam Sartawi did not claim responsibility for any additional attacks after the May 1983 bombings (CIA 1983). It is unclear why the group only claimed responsibility for one attack.

#### Notes for Iris:

-interesting context around the group's name which could explain why there's more reporting on it

#### III. ARMY FOR IRAN'S NATIONAL LIBERATION

Torg ID: 1367

Min. Group Date: 1983 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### Part 1. Bibliography

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1983

Group End: 1983

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Army for Iran's National Liberation formed, the group claimed responsibility for its only attack in May of 1983, when two bombs exploded at the Syrian embassy and Libyan school in Athens (MIPT 2008). The group stated that it carried out the attack to "attack allies of Iran" (MIPT 2008). Iran was under the rule of Ayatollah Khomeini, and the group may have "sought to isolate the [Iranian] regime from two of its main allies" while protesting Khomeini's leadership (MIPT 2008).

The attack was also claimed by the Martyrs of Issam Sartawi (MIPT 2008; CIA 1983).

### Geography

The Army for Iran's National Liberation may have carried out attacks in Athens, Greece, targeting Syrian and Libyan government officials (MIPT 2008).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding the Army for Iran's National Liberation's organization structure.

# **External Ties**

The Army for Iran's National Liberation's ties with other groups and/or individuals is unclear. The May 1983 attack was also claimed by the Martyrs of Issam Sartawi, which stated that it planted the bombs "in response to the oppressive regimes of Syrian and Libya" (Associated Press 1983). It is unclear if the two groups were related, or which group actually committed the attacks. In a 1983 terrorism review, the CIA stated that it believed the "unsophisticated nature of the attacks" suggested that the bombs were planted by "a relatively obscure group" (CIA 1983).

### **Group Outcome**

The Army for Iran's National Liberation did not claim responsibility for any other attacks beside the May 1983 bombings (MIPT 2008). It is unclear why the group only claimed responsibility for one attack.

Notes for Iris:

- -Both Martyrs for Issam and Army for Iran National Liberation both claim responsibility for a single attack
- -hard to attribute responsibility to a singular group given the very small amount of information
- -there is slightly more reporting around "Martyrs for Issam" and less around the Army of National Liberation. Unclear which group is real though?!

### IV. REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY

Torg ID: 1896

Min. Group Date: 1983 Max. Group Date: 1990

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

\*is this an alias for Kristos Kassimis group?

### Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary Group of International Solidarity-Christos Kassimis - RGISCK, RGISCK

Group Formation: 1990

Group End: 1990

Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when Revolutionary Solidarity formed, the group carried out its first and only known attack in February of 1990, when it assassinated Korydallos Prison psychiatrist Marios Maratos (GTD 2019; Antoniou 2002). The group accused Maratos of "corruption, bribery, concealment of drug traffickers, false diagnoses, and uncontrolled drug trafficking," and of using inmates in experimental drug trials without their consent (Mhxanh Toy Xponoy n.d.). The group claimed to have carried out the attack in solidarity with the "impoverished inmates of the psychiatric ward of Korydallos prison" (Mhxanh Tou Xponoy n.d.).

The phrase "revolutionary solidarity" was also used by other Greek militant groups, including the Revolutionary Popular Solidarity Group and the Revolutionary Group of International Solidarity Khristos Kassimis (Kostakos 2010, 184-185).

The Revolutionary Popular Solidarity Group was linked to two attacks in 1983 and 1988 (Kostakos 2010, 185; To Bhma 2008). In 1983, the group remotely detonated a bomb (the first such attack in Greece) in a failed assassination attempt targeting the Saudi ambassador in Athens, and in 1988, the group planted a bomb at a the "Oscar" bar in an Athens suburb, frequented by American servicemen (Kostakos 2010, 185). This group may have collaborated with infamous international terrorist Carlos the Jackal, and was likely a splinter of the Revolutionary Popular Struggle (ELA), one of Greece's largest leftist militant groups active at the time (Antoniou 2002; Kostakos 2010, 185).

The Revolutionary Group of International Solidarity Khristos Kassimis may have carried out a few small-scale attacks in the 1980s, targeting the Greek and U.S. governments (Kostakos 2010, 184). The group was named after Khristos Kassimis, a co-founder of the ELA who was killed in 1977 (Kostakos 2010, 184).

# Geography

Revolutionary Solidarity's sole attack occurred in Athens, Greece (Mhxanh Tou Xponoy n.d.).

### **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding the organizational structure of Revolutionary Solidarity.

#### **External Ties**

The distinction between Revolutionary Solidarity and Revolutionary Popular Solidarity Group is unclear. The two groups may have had ties with each other, or may have been the same organization (Matina 2002). Revolutionary Solidarity may have also been a splinter of, or otherwise related to, the ELA (Antoniou 2002).

### **Group Outcome**

Revolutionary Solidarity did not claim any other attacks after the 1990 assassination of Marios Maratos (Antoniou 2002). It is unclear why the group only carried out one attack.

#### Notes for Iris:

- -Revolutionary solidarity is attached to one assassination in 1990. Unusual because the ELA wasn't engaging in a lot of assassination tactics at the time.
- -Khristos Kassimis name may have been an alias, a faction, or a splinter of the ELA

-Revolutionary Solidarity and Revolutionary Popular Solidarity definitely seem like distinct entities

### V. NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE SALVATION OF LIBYA

Torg ID: 1539

Min. Group Date: 1984 Max. Group Date: 1984

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

# Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: October 1981

Group End: 2012 (disarm)

Part 3. Narrative

# **Group Formation**

The group was formed in October 1981 in Khartoum, Sudan. Its initial goals were regime change (overthrowing Moammar Gaddafi's dictatorship) and establishing a democratic form of government (Ashour 2012, Fig. 1). The NFSL carried out its first - most well-known - attack in 1984: a failed raid on Gaddafi's headquarters in Tripoli, at the Bab al-Aziziya military compound in which 15 NFSL members died (START 2016). It was anti-Qaddafi and support a democratic alternative (Schmid and Jongman 1988, 613).

# Geography

The NFSL carried out its most well-known attack in 1984: a failed raid on Gaddafi's headquarters in Tripoli, at the Bab al-Aziziya military compound in which 15 NFSL members died (START 2016). The NFSL operated transnationally. The group broadcast a radio station from Sudan, Egypt and Chad and published a newsletter in the U.S. and U.K. (BBC Monitoring World Media 2005; Vandewalle 1986, 34). NFSL strongholds during the 2011 civil war were Misrata and Tripoli (Ashour 2012, Fig. 2).

### **Organizational Structure**

NFSL members had varying ideological and political backgrounds, including both Islamist and secular, but shared a nationalist ideology and acceptance of democratic reforms (Deeb 1992, 61; Ashour 2012, 2, Fig. 1). Some NFSL co-founders previously belonged to the (still-active) Libyan Muslim Brotherhood, but split from that group because they wanted to be part of a broader, umbrella-like organization — which the NFSL thus became (Ashour 2012, 2). Some NFSL members formerly belonged to the Islamic Association of Libya, which also had ties to the Muslim Brotherhood (Anderson 1986, 232; Deeb 1992, 60). Secular NFSL members often previously served as technocrats in the government, but had become disillusioned by Gaddafi's focus on spreading his revolutionary pan-Arab ideology beyond Libya rather than domestic economic development (Anderson 1986, 231). For example, the founder of the NFSL, Mohamed al-Magarief, was an economist who was the Libyan Ambassador to India when he defected in 1980. Al-Magarief was Libya's interim head of state (Speaker of the National Congress) from August 2012 to May 2013.

### **External Ties**

The NFSL has offshoots that extend to contemporary actors in Libya and internationally. The NFSL received support from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Chad and Iraq (Anderson 1986, 233; Tawil April 2011, 8; Tawil *Brothers in Arms*, 58). The support tended to be providing a refuge for training fighters/media outreach, but sometimes was financial or logistical (Tawil *Brothers in Arms*). This support was not always consistent, for example from 1983-1985 Morocco handed over several NFSL members to the Gaddafi regime (Anderson 1986, 232). It has not been officially confirmed, but some reports say that the U.S. gave covert support to the NFSL (Woodward 1987 363, 411; Ryan 2016; Dörre 2014; Ashour 2012, 2). The allegedly U.S.-backed "Algeria Operation" in 1985 and efforts in Chad between 1986-1990 both failed, due to uneven U.S. commitment and the NFSL's limited capabilities (Ashour 2012, 2; Tawil *Brothers in Arms*; Woodward 1987, 442). *The Washington Post* quoted multiple unnamed former U.S. government officials that Khalifa Hifter (a Libyan general and former NFSL member who split from the group after a failed coup attempt in the late 1980s) was a C.I.A. asset while in the NFSL (Ryan 2016).

Hifter moved to Virginia in the 1990s but returned to Libya during the 2011 civil war (ibid.). In February 2014, Hifter announced he would lead an armed force seeking control of areas in Libya (ibid.). Hifter's military actions were not authorized by the new Libyan government (led by his former NFSL colleague al-Magarief). Hifter took control of territory in eastern Libya by May 2016 and was granted some formal authority by the government, however this has led to power struggles between Hifter and militias in western Libya particularly regarding Sirte (Blanchard 2016, 4-5).

# **Group Outcome**

In response to the NFSL and other opposition, the Gaddafi regime devoted significant resources to a military apparatus — a "parallel army" — whose purpose was to defeat domestic opposition as opposed to another army (Tawil April 2011, 8). This parallel army formed the basis for the Gaddafi brigades (Gaddafi loyalists), military forces loyal to the regime in the

contemporary civil war (ibid.). The group's last known violent attack was in 1987. It disarmed, but continued a peaceful struggle against Qadafi.

The NFSL formally abandoned armed tactics and reorganized as the National Front Party after Gaddafi was killed in 2011, since Gaddafi's dictatorship had ended so the group switched its focus to democratic reform. In May 2012, the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL) announced that it would no longer conduct armed resistance and reorganized into a political party, named the National Front Party (POMED 2012).

VI. 21 NOVEMBER LEAGUE

Torg ID: 963

Min. Group Date: 1984 Max. Group Date: 1984

Onset: NA

Aliases: 21 November League, November 21 Organization

# Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1984

Group End: 1984

Part 3. Narrative

**Group Formation** 

While it is unknown when the 21 November Organization formed, the group carried out its first--and only--attacks on the night of November 22, 1984, when five bombs exploded in Athens (Reuters 1984; Associated Press 1984; GTD 2019). Bombs had been placed at Panteios College, the Athens Bar Association offices, a student restaurant, the dressing rooms of a theatre, and at the offices of conservative newspaper Messimvrini (Reuters 1984). It is unclear why the group committed this attack.

# Geography

21 November Organization's attack occurred in the Greek city of Athens (GTD 2019).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding the 21 November Organization's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found regarding any external ties the 21 November Organization may have had.

### **Group Outcome**

The 21 November Organization did not claim responsibility for any other attacks after the bombings on November 22, 1984 (GTD 2019). It is unclear why the group only carried out one attack.

Notes for Iris:

- -the group called a news agency to claim responsibility for the attack
- -unlikely the group's name is an attribution error because they claimed responsibility
- -Anne did research on November 21 in Greek history and could not find any significance

VII. NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF KURDISTAN (ERNK)

Torg ID: 1155

Min. Group Date: 1985 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: National Front For The Liberation Of Kurdistan (Ernk), Democratic Peoples

Unions

# Part 1. Bibliography

 "ERNK." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4152, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, <a href="https://docs.google.com/document/d/1i-00A0LbKsXW4yPuAyyGOvxy9YQ6qz49aDE4pt-4xSyE/edit">https://docs.google.com/document/d/1i-00A0LbKsXW4yPuAyyGOvxy9YQ6qz49aDE4pt-4xSyE/edit</a>

# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Eniya Rizgariya Netewa Kurdistan, PKK

Group Formation: This is the public relations wing of the PKK (MIPT 2008).

Group End: This is the public relations wing of the PKK (MIPT 2008).

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

This is the public relations wing of the PKK (MIPT 2008).

# Geography

This is the public relations wing of the PKK (MIPT 2008).

### **Organizational Structure**

This is the public relations wing of the PKK (MIPT 2008).

### **External Ties**

This is the public relations wing of the PKK (MIPT 2008).

# **Group Outcome**

This is the public relations wing of the PKK (MIPT 2008).

### VIII. 7 APRIL LIBYAN ORGANIZATION

Torg ID: 1161

Min. Group Date: 1985 Max. Group Date: 1985

Onset: NA

Aliases: Libyan Organization Of 7 April, 7 April Libyan Organization

### Part 1. Bibliography

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- Searched Proquest:

0

\*timing is around Achille Lauro incident?

## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Any additional aliases you may have encountered

Group Formation: What is the earliest year the group was active?

Group End: What is the last year the group was active? Why did it stop using political violence?

#### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

This section is where you would include information about the group's founding date, its initial goals, ideology, and date when it first came to attention as a violent group.

# Geography

This section is where you would include information about the group's operational environment including the names of areas where they operate from, the name of any external sanctuaries, the name of any cities, towns, or neighborhoods where they conduct attacks. You may also provide a generic descriptor if you cannot identify specifically where, but know what the geographic composition of the area was.

### **Organizational Structure**

This section is where you would include information about the group's organizational structure including its leadership, membership, source of funding, and different wings.

#### **External Ties**

This section is where you would include information about the group's ties to other actors including both other armed groups as well as other countries. This includes information about external support, alliances, and splinters.

### **Group Outcome**

This section is where you would include information about the state's response to the group, if any, and how this affects the group. You will also identify whether the group is still active, when it stopped using violence, and what happened to the group to cause it to stop using violence.

IX. ARAB REVOLUTIONARY CELLS

Torg ID: 999

Min. Group Date: 1986 Max. Group Date: 1986

Onset: NA

Aliases: NA

## Part 1. Bibliography

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: ANO, Fatah Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Black September, Revolutionar Organization of Socialist Muslims, Black June, Palestinian National Liberation Movement, Egyptian Revolution, Revolutionary Egypt, Al-Asifa, Al-Iqab, Arab Nationalist Youth Organization, Arab Fedayeen Cells, Palestine Revolutionary Council, Organization of Jund al Haq, Revolutionary Council, Revolutionary Council of Fatah, Al-Fatah Revolutionary Council, Fatah--the Revolutionary Council

Group Formation: 1974

Group End: 2002 (repression)

Part 3. Narrative

**Group Formation** 

The Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) formed in 1974, after its leader, Abu Nidal, left the Fatah movement of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The group splintered due to opposing ideological views as well as Abu Nidal's burgeoning relationship with Iraqi intelligence and leadership (Hudson 2009, 82). ANO evolved from a series of other Palestinian militant groups lead by Abu Nidal, including the Palestine Secret Organization and Fatah Revolutionary Council (Hudson 2009, 82-83). The group was regarded by many as "introducing fledgling terrorist group and the rise of transnational terrorism to the world" (Mackenzie Institutie 2015).

ANO's high degree of centralization around its leader makes determining the date of the organization's first violent attack difficult. On September 5th of 1973, Abu Nidal carried out his first attack, seperate from the Fatah movement of the PLO, which he had been a representative for at the time (Mackenzie Institute 2015; Hudson 2009, 83). Five members of Abu Nidal's group, the Palestine Secret Organization, occupied the Saudi Arabian embassy in Paris and held eleven members of the embassy hostage (Mackenzie Institutie 2015). Iraqi intelligence and leadership later claimed that it had "commissioned" Abu Nidal to conduct the attack (Hudson 2009, 83). However, Abu Nidal was likely still a member of the Fatah movement of the PLO at the time of the attack, and his roque operation in Paris "created a rift between the PLO central command" and Abu Nidal's group, based in Iraq (Mackenzie Institutie 2015; Hudson 2009, 83). After his break with the PLO and the establishment of ANO in 1974, ANO may have carried out its first attack in October of the same year, bombing a TWA flight en route to Greece from Israel, and killing the 88 people on board (Sarasota Herald-Tribute 2002; Mackenzie Institute 2015). In the same year, Abu Nidal attempted to assassinate a PLO leader, for which the Fatah movement sentenced him in absentia to death (Mattar 2005, 12).

While ANO was a secular ethnonationalist Palestinian organization that fought for Israel's destruction through "an international Arab revolution," over 50% of the group's activities targeted Palestinian politicans and militant deemed too conservative by Abu Nidal (65; Seale 2002; Hudson 2009, 83). Attempts, both successful and failed, on the lives of PLO leaders were common throughout ANO's fifteen years of activity (Mattar 2005; 12; Hudson 2009, 83). In January of 1978, ANO killed the PLO representative in London, beginning a string of attacks on PLO representatives in Europe and the Middle East (Mackenzie Institute 2015; Hudson 2009, 83). ANO's Palestinian targets and lack of Israeli targets, along with Israel's failure to conduct operations against ANO led some to speculate that Abu Nidal was an Israeli agent. However, there was little concrete evidence to support this claim (Hudson 2009, 84; Quandt 1992).

Whatever ideology guided ANO in its early years was quickly replaced by Abu Nidal's "personal agenda and greed" (Mackenzie Institute 2015). From 1983 to 1986, ANO was employed by the Syrian government as a "hired gun" to "intimidate Arafat and King Hussein, who were considering taking part in peace plans that excluded Syria, and to assassinate Jordanian representatives" (Hudson 2009, 83). After ANO was expelled from Syria, Abu Nidal moved his group to Libya, where he received support from Quaddafi (Council on Foreign Relations 2009). By the time the ANO had begun its decline in the 1990s, the group had become "focused on destroying the PLO, or where money directed its actions" (Mackenzie Institute 2015).

# Geography

ANO was first headquartered in a "secret location" in Baghdad, Iraq, where Abu Nidal received support from the Iraqi government (Mattar 2005, 11; Hudson 2009, 83). Abu Nidal also carried out attacks on behalf of the regime, and this relationship between Iraq and ANO continued until 1983, when pressure from Iraqi allies in the war against Iran--including the United States--caused Saddam Hussein to expel Abu Nidal (Hudson 2009, 83). ANO then moved to Damascus, Syria, where Abu Nidal formed a similar relationship with Hafiz al-Assad's government to the one he had with Iraqi leadership (Hudson 2009, 83). ANO's time in Syria came to an end in a similar fashion as it had in Iraq. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain placed pressure on Assad to "end terrorism," which meant removing Abu Nidal and his organization from the country in 1987 (Hudson 2009, 83; Worman 2013, 63). After its expulsion from Syria, ANO then moved its headquarters to Libya, where Abu Nidal was "publicly received" by Muammar al-Qadhafi (Mattar 2005, 12). Once again, ANO received support from its host state, and carried out attacks on its enemies in return (Hudson 2009, 83).

Although ANO maintained headquarters in one place, the group conducted operations elsewhere. While his organization was headquartered in Baghdad, Abu Nidal worked to organize cells throughout the Middle East and Europe (Hudson 2009, 83). Later, while his organization was headquartered in Libya, Abu Nidal worked to "bolster his organizational structure" in Lebanese refugee camps during the country's civil war (Mattar 2005, 12). The group assassinated PLO leaders in Europe, and maintained cells of members across the world (Hudson 2009, 83). ANO also had "sleeper cells" in the United States, Mexico, and South America (Siers and Mastors 2017, 124).

### **Organizational Structure**

Abu Nidal, an alias that means "father of the struggle" was born Sabri al-Banna, the twelfth child of a wealthy Palestinian orange grower and the only child of a sixteen-year-old Syrian servant girl (Hudson 2009, 82; Mattar 2005, 11; Worman 2013, 58). When Abu Nidal's father died in 1948, his mother was forced to return to Syria, and Abu Nidal was left a "bastard child in a family that neglected his upbringing" (Worman 2013, 58). When Israel was created in 1948, the al-Banna land was confiscated, and the family was forced off their 6,000 acre plantation and into a refugee camp in Gaza (Hudson 2009, 82). The family then moved to the West Bank, and in the mid-1950s, Abu Nidal began working as an electrician in Jordan (Hudson 2009, 82; Mattar 2005, 11). While working in Jordan, Abu Nidal joined the "authoritarian Arab nationalist and violence-prone" Ba'ath Party, and moved to Saudi Arabia in 1958, where he became politically involved with other Palestinians and increasingly active in the Ba'ath Party (Hudson 2009, 82). He was subsequently imprisoned and tortured by the Saudi government, and then returned to the West Bank (Hudson 2009, 82).

In 1967, Abu Nidal created the militant Palestine Secret Organization in response to the Six-Day War, in which Israel gained control of the West Bank (Hudson 2009, 82).

As his group's militant activity increased throuhgout 1968, Abu Nidal joined Yasir Arafat's Fatah group of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which was the "largest of the Palestinian commando organizations" and which controlled the PLO at the time (Hudson 2009, 82; BBC 2011). From within the PLO, Abu Nidal watched as Israel retaliated against attacks from militant Palestinians and their host states, including Jordan (Worman 2013, 60). In an effort to end the attacks from Israel, Jordan's King Hussein drove out the PLO, leading to armed clashes between the PLO and the state that had once offered it refuge (Worman 2013, 60). In 1969, Abu Nidal was named Fatah's representative in Sudan--a position that "earned him the charge of cowardice," as he had been asked to leave Jordan in the midst of the fighting--and then later became the organization's representative to Saudi Arabia and Iraq (Worman 2013, 60; Hudson 2009, 82; Mattar 2005, 11).

In 1970, while in Iraq, he established a relationship with Iraqi intelligence agencies, the "Baathist intelligence apparatus, and the Iraqi leadership" (Mattar 2005, 12). Both the Iraqi government and Abu Nidal opposed any peaceful solution to the Arab-Israel conflict, while the Fatah-led PLO "implicitly accepted the two-state solution" in 1974 (Mattar 2005, 12). Iraq also attempted to "lure the PLO into working for it," and used Abu Nidal, while he was the PLO's representative, to secure the alliance (Worman 2013, 62). When the PLO refused the alliance and instead moved to Lebanon, much to Abu Nidal's chagrin, he began to publicly express his anger with the organization and Arafat (Worman 2013, 62). The PLO subsequently expelled Abu Nidal, and Abu Nidal retaliated by attempting to assassinate a PLO leader (Worman 2013, 62). For this, Abu Nidal was sentenced to death in absentia by the PLO, and "his hate for Israel, in general, was supplanted by this new greater hate for the PLO and Yassar Arafat" (Worman 2013, 62-63).

With assistance from Iraq, Abu Nidal formed the Fatah Revolutionary Council in 1974 (Hudson 2009, 83; Worman 2013, 63). The group was founded as an ideological "rival" to the Fatah-led PLO, but many of its targets were PLO representatives and enemies of the Iraqi state (Mattar 2005, 12). When ANO later moved its base of operations to Syria, and then Libya, Abu Nidal continued his pattern of attacking PLO leaders and those who his host state wanted dead (Hudson 2009, 83).

ANO's time in Libya highlighted Abu Nidal's dictatorial control over his organization (Worman 2013, 64). Incredibly paranoid and violent, Abu Nidal murdered roughly 600 members of his own group (Worman 2013, 64). He believed his wife was a CIA agent, kept the different branches of ANO separate and ignorant of each other, not even allowing members to interact with each other outside of their work for the organization (Worman 2013, 64; Mackenzie Institute 2015). He killed his own family members over personal disputes, and frequently changed locations while avoiding phone calls and consuming any food or drink offered to him (Mackenzie Institute 2015; Siers and Mastors 2017, 122). Abu Nidal attempted to exercise complete control over ANO, and all members needed to get his approval before embarking on any trips, and were to return all passports to him upon their return (Siers and Mastors 2017, 122). However, as ANO grew, it became increasingly difficult for Abu Nidal to manage the

organization as he previously had (Siers and Mastors 2017, 122). In ANO's early years, many of its members were young Palestinain men "on scholarships in Europe" (Hudson 2009, 81). These students were trained at camps in the Middle East, then sent back abroad as "sleeper cells" to "activate when needed" (Hudson 2009, 81). Later, ANO began to recruit from Palestinian refugee camps, in addition to recruiting individuals from the families and hometowns of its existing members (Hudson 2009, 81). Membership in ANO was "selective," and Abu Nidal promised potential recruits "education, career prospects, and families" in exchange for near-blind loyalty to ANO (Hudson 2009, 81). The group boasted roughly 500 members by 1984 (Hudson 2009, 81), and may have had as many as 1,200 members when the group was based in Libya (Worman 2013, 64). This level of membership proved too large for Abu Nidal's paranoia and micromanaging, and ANO began to suffer from disorganization and internal conflict (Siers and Mastors 2013, 122).

Not only was Abu Nidal motivated by his personal conflict with the PLO, but he was also concerned with making money. Abu Nidal acted as a mercenary for several different states, and laundered money through several different channels--including the SAS Foreign Trade and Investment Company, a front company based in Poland that invested money in real estate and sold weapons to various armed groups, such as the IRA, Iraq, and Iran (Siers and Mastors 2013, 123). By 1988, ANO had amassed roughly \$400 million, \$50 million of which was kept with the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, which would later be described as the "largest bank fraud in world financial history" (Siers and Mastors 2013, 123).

### **External Ties**

Abu Nidal and ANO received support from Iraq (1973-1983), Syria (1983-1987), and Libya (1987-1999) (Worman 2013, 63; Siers and Mastors 2017, 123; Hudson 2009, 83). Iraq may have provided ANO sanctuary again in 1999 or 2000, once Quadaffi had expelled the organization from Libya (Worman 2013, 65).

## **Group Outcome**

ANO began to suffer from internal divisions and disorganization during its time in Libya (Siers and Mastors 2013, 122). At the same time, the CIA was targeting his group, causing Abu Nidal's suspicions and paranoia regarding the loyalty of ANO's members to deepen (Siers and Mastors 2017, 126). One night in 1987 in Beirut, Abu Nidal massacred over 170 members of ANO, and killed another 156 members in Tripoli between 1988 and 1989 (Siers and Mastors 2017, 126). "Purges" like these, the result of Abu Nidal's paranoia, wrecked his organization from within and triggered a mass exodus of members to the PLO (Siers and Mastors 2017, 126). ANO continued to suffer throughout the early 1990s, as more members left for the PLO after Abu Nidal unsuccessfully "tried to wrest control of the refugee camps in Sidon from Yasir Arafat" (Mattar 2005, 12). In 1999, after Qaddafi expelled ANO from Libya, Abu Nidal went to Egypt to seek medical care; however, he soon sought refuge in Iraq (Worman 2013, 65).

He continued to receive medical care in Iraq, and did not carry out any attacks while in Egypt or Iraq (Clarke 2018, 1). In August of 2002, Iraqi forces announced that Abu Nidal was dead, claiming that he had shot himself after the place where he had been staying was attacked by Iraqi intelligence agents (Worman 2013, 66; Clarke 2018, 2). However, this is doubtful, given that he had four gunshot wounds in his head (Worman 2013, 66). There was also speculation that Saddam Hussein had ordered Abu Nidal's death to "protect his position," given the United States' interest in ending Hussein's regime, and to "deter other prospective internal enemies" (Worman 2013, 66). Nevertheless, Abu Nidal's death was the death of ANO.

#### Notes for Iris:

- -Abu Nidal coup-proofed his organization to limit internal challenges
- -Abu Nidal also brutally controlled members within his own organization. He would purge members and controlled members via intimidation/coercion
- -he studied Jewish militant groups in the 30s and decided the biggest threat to groups achieving their aims was internal fighting. As a result when Fatah began in-fighting he decided to splinter. He was paranoid about letting factions develop which could then divide the organization
- -really interesting case about psychology of terrorism (sociopath?)
- -purge strategy ultimately backfires and he can't maintain any members. The group's peak is probably in the mid to late 80s when he's still in Syria

### X. SOCIAL RESISTANCE

Torg ID: 462

Min. Group Date: 1988 Max. Group Date: 1990

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Social Resistance Group (?), 17N, 17 November (MIPT 2008) (but unclear)

Group Formation: 1987 (?), 1988

Group End: 1990

### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

In September of 1987, an organization calling itself "Social Resistance Group" claimed responsibility for bombs that exploded under a police bus and at a state-owned bank in retaliation for "the crimes committed by policemen" (United Press International 1987) In November of 1988, the group carried out a more prominent attack when it bombed the car of a government official, the apartment of Greek billionaire Yiannis Latsis, and the offices of New Democracy Party deputy Stephanos Manos (Associated Press 1988; The Times 1988). The attack occurred in the midst of the Bank of Crete's financial scandal, in which Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) government was accused of bribery and embezzlement of state funds (The Times 1988).

Social Resistance was active during the "second wave" of leftist militant activity in Greece (Fakitsas 2003, 16-18). After a quiet period from 1983-1985, where Greece's two most infamous militant organizations, Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) and Revolutionary Organization of 17 November (17N) granted the newly-elected PASOK government a "grace period" to implement its various campaign promises (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 6), militant activity increased with the weakening economy, the Bank of Crete scandal, the Turkey-Greece crisis in the Aegean Sea, and the Gulf War (Fakitsas 2003, 18). Like many of the other violent groups active during this time, Social Resistance was a left-wing organization. It often targeted Greece's conservative New Democracy Party, and carried out attacks to protest the "oppression of Third World countries" (The Times 1988; United Press International 1990). The name "Social Resistance" may have been an alias for 17N (MIPT 2008).

### Geography

All of Social Resistance's attacks occurred in the city of Athens, Greece (The Times 1987; Associated Press 1988; Associated Press 1990; GTD 2020). However, in 1990, the group targeted cars owned by the Syrian, Soviet, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, and Bulgarian diplomats to Greece, as well as a car owned by the Palestine Liberation Organization's representatives in Greece (Associated Press 1990).

### **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding Social Resistance's organizational structure.

### **External Ties**

Social Resistance may have been an alias for 17N (MIPT 2008).

## **Group Outcome**

Social Resistance carried out four bombings on December 5, 1988, targeting the offices and cars of New Democracy Party MPs, as well as PASOK offices (GTD 2020; Associated Press 1988).

The group's last known attack occurred in March of 1990, when it bombed the cars of several Eastern European and Middle Eastern diplomats (Associated Press 1990). In a phone call to an Athens newspaper, Social Resistance stated that it carried out the attack in protest of the "oppression of Third World countries" (United Press International 1990). The attack occurred twelve days before the Greek general elections. It was believed to have been carried out "to discourage voting" in the elections (United Press International 1990).

#### Notes for Iris:

- -is this group an alias for 17N as MIPT suggests? The name is very generic. MIPT is the only source that attributes this group as an alias
- -timeline of group activity was during second wave of 17N when it was changing its tactics anyway, but seems to occur during larger shift in political tensions and activity -this group's aims to protest third world countries is much grander than 17N's more limited political aims
- -this group engaged in bombings while 17N signature was primarily assassinations (different attack signature)

## XI. ANARCHIST SOLIDARITY

Torg ID: 1613

Min. Group Date: 1989 Max. Group Date: 1989

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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  - Libya airlines greece from 1989-12-01 to 1989-12-31
  - o "Bomb" and "Athens" from 1989-12-01 to 1989-12-31
  - "Athens" and "attack" from 1989-12-01 to 1989-12-31

# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1989

Group End: 1989

### Part 3. Narrative

# **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when Anarchist Solidarity formed, the group may have carried out its first attack on December 6 of 1989, bombing a car and the offices of a water supply company (GTD 2019).

# Geography

Anarchist Solidarity's only known attacks may have occurred in Athens, Greece (GTD 2019).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding Anarchist Solidarity's organizational structure.

## **External Ties**

No information could be found regarding any external ties Anarchist Solidarity may have had.

# **Group Outcome**

Anarchist Solidarity's only known attacks were the December 1989 bombings (GTD 2019). It is unclear why the group did not claim responsibility for any other attacks.

# XII. CELLS FOR SOLIDARITY AGAINST AUTHORITY

Torg ID: 1660

Min. Group Date: 1989 Max. Group Date: 1989

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

# Part 1. Bibliography

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  - Cells for Solidarity Against Authority greece from 1989-09-01 to 1989-12-31

# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1989

Group End: 1989

### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Cells for Solidarity Against Authority formed, the group may have carried out its first--and only--known attack in September of 1989, attacking the offices of Greece's New Democracy Party (GTD 2019). At the time of the attack, the conservative New Democracy Party was part of a governing coalition with the Communists (New York Times 1989). The day prior to the attack, the government announced that Parliament had charged former Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, with "violating Greek citizens' constitutional right to privacy" and ordered him to stand trial (New York Times 1989).

# Geography

The Cells for Solidarity Against Authority's sole attack occurred in the city of Athens, Greece (GTD 2019).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding the Cells for Solidarity Against Authority's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found regarding any external ties Cells for Solidarity Against Authority may have had.

## **Group Outcome**

The Cells for Solidarity Against Authority's only known attack was the September 1989 attack on the New Democracy Party offices in Athens (GTD 2019). It is unclear why the group did not claim credit for any other attacks.

XIII. HAWKS OF THRACE (HOT)

Torg ID: 207

Min. Group Date: 1989 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Hawks Of Thrace, Hawks Of Thrace (Hot)

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Support for Ocalan--the Hawks of Thrace

Group Formation: 1989 (?), first attack by group in 1996 or 1999

Group End: 1999

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

It is unclear when the Hawks of Thrace formed. The group claimed responsibility for its first known attack on February 8th, 1999, when it attempted to bomb the Turkish consulate in the northeastern Greek city of Komotini in Thrace (GTD 2019; MIPT 2008; BBC 1999a). However, news reports from the time of the attack stated that Hawks of Thrace had been active in the region ten years prior to the 1999 attack (BBC 1999a). In 1996, the Hawks of Thrace's leader, Yeoryios (Georgios) Sinanidhis, and other "fanatical" Greeks attacked the offices of two Turkish candidates for Thrace's seats in the Greek Parliament (BBC 1996).

Thrace, officially regarded as "Eastern Macedonia and Thrace," is Greece's northernmost region, bordering Bulgaria to the north and Turkey to the east (Anagnostou 2001, 101). The region is home to a sizable Muslim minority, composed mainly of Turks, as well as Pomarks and Romani (Borou 2009, 3). The Muslim minority's status in Greece was often complicated by Greece and Turkey's contentious relationship (Anagnostou 2001, 102). Greece officially recgonized the presence of a Muslim minority with the adoption of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, but as relations between Turkey and Greece crumbled in the wake of Greece's military junta's actions in Cyprus and Turkey's restrictive actions against Istanbul's Greek minority, the Muslim minority's rights were "thoroughly curtailed" (Anagnostou 2001, 102). In the late 1980s, the minority's demand for self-determination gained political momentum as the European institutions became increasingly involved in human rights activism (Anagnostou 2001, 102). As the minority began to push for its designation as a "Turkish minority"--which was strongly opposed by the Greek government--candidates began to run on the basis of asserting the minority's "distinct ethnic Turkish consciousness" (Anagnostou 2001, 102). When Ahmet Sadik, a prominent minority politician, refered to the Muslim minority as "Turkish" during his campaign, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison (Ergener 2006, 106). However, by the late 1990s, the minority had shifted away from uncompromising calls for self-determination and towards a "conciliatory and pragmatic approach" to protecting and improving the minority's status within Greece, while still insisting on designation as a "Turkish minority" (Anagnostou 2001, 103).

The Hawks of Thrace was a Greek nationalist, anti-Turkish group, and were "notorious" in Thrace for their "rioting and vandalism" targetting the region's Muslim minority and politicians (BBC 1996; MIPT 2008). After the group's 1999 attempted attack, the Greek foreign ministry stated that the group "aimed to create instability" and "strain Greek-Turkish relations" (Associated Press 1999).

In a call to a Greek radio station, the Hawks of Thrace stated that it planned the attack in support of Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) (MIPT 2008). Given the historical tension between Turkey and Greece and the PKK's opposition to the Turkish government, Greek public opinion had generally been

supportive of the PKK (Radu 1999). The Hawks of Thrace likely supported Ocalan for his opposition to the Turkish government (MIPT 2008). Interestingly, the Hawks of Thrace's failed attack occurred eight days prior to Ocalan's arrest by Turkish officials in Kenya, where he had been hosted by the Greek embassy (Weiner 1999, Radu 1999). Ocalan had been seeking asylum since late 1998, when he was forced out of Syria, and had subsequently traveled to Russia, Italy, before arriving in Greece at the invitation of a retired military (Weiner 1999). The Greeks then flew Ocalan to Nairobi with a Greek Cypiriot passport (Zaman 1999). The links between the Greek government and the PKK are unclear; however, during his trial in Turkey, Ocalan claimed that the PKK had received training and support from the Greek government (Irish Times 1999).

# Geography

The Hawks of Thrace operated in Thrace (officially Eastern Macedonia and Thrace), a region in northeast Greece that borders Turkey to the east and Bulgaria to the north (Anagnostou 2001, 101). The region is home to a sizable Muslim minority, many of which are Turkish (Borou 2009, 3). The Hawks of Thrace's attempted bombing in 1999 occured in Komotini, a city in Thrace (GTD 2019).

# **Organizational Structure**

Little is known about the Hawks of Thrace's organizational structure. In 1996, the Hawks of Thrace's leader was Yeoryios Sinanidhis, who led an attack with other Greeks against the offices of two Turkish candidates for Thrace's seats in the Greek Parliament (BBC 1996). It is not clear if this attack was conducted with other members of the Hawks of Thrace. Sinanidhis also attacked and threatened other Turkish officials in Thrace, including Ahmet Faikoglu, a Turkish MP in the Greek Parliament (BBC 1996).

#### **External Ties**

The Hawks of Thrace expressed support for PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan "based on shared antipathy toward the Turkish authorities" (Mincheva and Gurr 2012, 61).

## **Group Outcome**

The Hawks of Thrace's last known attack was the 1999 attempted bombing of the Turkish consulate in Komotini (MIPT 2008). It is unclear why the group did not carry out any other attacks.

### Notes for Iris:

-unclear information about group's first attack. The 1996 attack might have been a lone actor attack by the group's leader or part of the organized group's early activity

-interesting that this attack pre-dates Ocalan arrest. Similar PKK-related violence this year all post-dates arrest and is perceived as retaliatory

- -Thrace borders Turkey slightly and has a large Turkish population which is why HoT operated there (targeting Turkish)
- -Ocalan was traveling around Europe a bit before his arrest so that could explain why the attack predated his arrest. It's unclear whether the timing of the attack is coincidental or related to his travels.
- -Ocalan says that Greek supported the PKK, but there was no acknowledgement of PKK-HoT ties.

XIV. 41395

Torg ID: 588

Min. Group Date: 1989 Max. Group Date: 1992

Onset: NA

Aliases: 1-May, "1 May", 41395, 1-May, 1-May

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary Organization of May 1st, 1 May, Revolutionary Organization 1 May, May 1 Revolutionary Organization, Revolutionary Militant Left (EMA), EMA

Group Formation: 1985 (EMA), 1987 (as May 1 organization)

Group End: 1990 (merged with ELA), 1995 (last known attack carried out as a part of ELA)

### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

The origins of the Revolutionary Organization of May 1st (May 1st) are unclear. The group may have begun as the Revolutionary Militant Left (EMA), which formed in 1985 and carried out a few attacks the same year (Antoniou 2003; GTD 2020, perpetrator 5128). However, the EMA disappeared after 1985, and may have renamed itself the Revolutionary Organization of May 1st in 1987 (Antoniou 2003). Regardless of its origins, the group carried out its first attack with the "May 1st" name in June of 1987,

when it attempted to assassinate the president of the General Confederation of Greek Labor, Giorgos Raftopoulos (Associated Press 1987; Schmid and Jongman 1988). May 1st was a leftist militant group--its name was likely a reference to International Workers' Day, celebrated on the first of May (Greek News Agenda 2019). The group opposed the socialist government, and criticized the "left party mechanisms that control sections of the working class" (Lampropoulos 2008). The group likely targeted Raftopoulos for his "insistence that labor unions support the government [austerity] program," an unpopular decision among radical leaders on the left and in labor unions (Associated Press 1987).

May 1st emerged after a period of relatively low levels of political violence in Greece (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 6). The late 1970s and the first years of the 1980s were marked by high levels of left-wing violence, perpetrated by two main groups: Revolutionary Organization November 17 (17N), and the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA) (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 2). However, from 1982-1985, both groups "were rather dormant," as they granted a "grace period" to the newly elected socialist government (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 6). A second wave of violence began in the mid 1980s, in which May 1st emerged (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 6).

# Geography

May 1st's attacks were concentrated in the Greek cities of Athens and Thessaloniki (GTD 2020).

# **Organizational Structure**

After the collapse of the junta that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974, the various resistance organizations that had fought against the regime went through a period of restructuring (Antoniou 2003). Some individuals who had been active in the (often violent) resistance operations decided to cease their activity, while others, including Christos Kassimis and Alexandros Yotopoulos, founded new "urban guerrilla organizations" (Antoniou 2003). Kassimis and Yotopoulos founded Revolutionary People's Struggle and Revolutionary Organization of November 17th, respectively (Antoniou 2003). A third individual, known by the code name "Parkinson" joined the ELA, but after a "love affair made it impossible for him to remain in ELA," he joined 17N (Antoniou 2003). This third individual may have later founded the EMA and May 1st, after taking weapons from 17N and creating a safe house for his organization (Antoniou 2003).

Little is known about May 1st's membership composition and levels. Greek Counter-Terrorism Service officials believed that the group had just three or four members (Lampropoulos 2008). Greek prosecutors accused Michalis Kassimis, the brother of ELA founder Christos Kassimis, of being a member of May 1st and partaking in the 1987 assassination attempt on George Raftopoulos (Lampropoulos 2008). Giannis Serifis was also accused (Lampropoulos 2008), but both men were later had their charges cleared (BBC 2005).

From its emergence in 1987 until 1990, May 1st operated as an autonomous group and carried out a handful of attacks, and assassinated a Greek Supreme Court prosecutor (GTD 2020). In 1990, the group merged with the ELA, and the two groups began to claim collective responsibility for attacks (Antoniou 2003). May 1st may have decided to join the ELA after May 1st's safe house was raided by 17N member Dimitris Koufontinas, who took back the group's weapons (Antoniou 2003). In 1991, May 1st and the ELA carried out approximately twenty attacks together (U.S. State Department 1999). The ELA's merger with May 1st marked a change in the way the group operated, as it carried out more "blind" attacks with better-made explosives (Matina 2003; Antoniou 2003).

### **External Ties**

May 1st's founder may have had ties with both 17N and the ELA, Greece's most prominent leftist militant groups during the 1970s and 80s (Antoniou 2003). In 1990, May 1st merged with the ELA, and the two groups carried out attacks together until the ELA dissolved in 1995 (Antoniou 2003; In.gr 2003).

## **Group Outcome**

In 1990, May 1st merged with the ELA, and the two groups carried out attacks together until the ELA dissolved in 1995 (Antoniou 2003; In.gr 2003). The group may have merged due to a lack of weaponry. May 1st carried out attacks with the ELA until the ELA disbanded in 1995 (In.gr 2003). The group's last known attack occurred in January of 1995, when the ELA bombed the Athens University of Economics and Business (GTD 2020; In.gr 2003). The ELA suffered a "premature death" in 1995, as Greek police were able to use East Germany's secret service Stasi files to investigate the activities of Greece's leftist militant groups (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 7). The ELA and May 1st may have stopped using violence once they learned the Greek police had gained access to the Stasi files (Antoniou 2003).

### Notes for Iris:

- -if this is alias for EMA, the group splinters from ELA, joins 17N to get weapons, becomes independent, and then merges/rejoins ELA in 1990
- -interesting example of group leaving a parent organization and then later rejoining it
- -blind attacks might refer to use of indiscriminate violence

Greece Part 5, 1990-1996 Last Updated: 19 June 2021

torg	gname	onset	min	max

T1810	MIKHAIL KALTEZAS ANARCHIST ORGANIZATION	1990	1990
T1876	POPULAR RAGE	1990	1990
T1807	May-36	1991	1991
T1870	PEOPLE'S REBELLION	1991	1991
T1720	GREEK ANARCHISTS' UNION	1992	1992
T2209	ANTIFASCIST ACTION	1994	1994
T2101	ETHIOPIANS	1995	2001
T57	ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT NUCLEUS	1995	1995
Т60	ANTI-EXOUSIATIKI PALI	1995	0
T2305	FIGHTING GUERRILLA FORMATION	1996	1998
T333	NIHILISTS FACTION	1996	2009
T335	NOVEMBER'S CHILDREN	1996	1999
T426	REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (GREECE)	1996	2000

I. MIKHAIL KALTEZAS ANARCHIST ORGANIZATION

Torg ID: 1810

Min. Group Date: 1990 Max. Group Date: 1990

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1990

Group End: 1990

Part 3. Narrative

# **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Mikhail Kaltezas Anarchist Organization formed, the group carried out its first known attack in March of 1990 when it bombed a police vehicle in Athens, Greece (GTD 2020). It is unclear if the group had any political aims other than to protest the police.

The group is named after Mikhail (Michalis) Kaltezas, a 15-year-old boy who was fatally shot by Greek police on November 17, 1985. The shooting occurred during Greece's annual protests commemorating the anniversary of the November 17th Polytechnic student uprising, which had sparked riots across Athens (Associated Press 1985). In retaliation for Kaltezas' death, 17 November bombed a police bus a week after the incident (Kassimeris et al. 2013, 84). The police officer who shot Kaltezas was acquitted of the charges against him in January 1990 (Eleftherotypia 1996). This could partially explain the timing of the incident.

In August of 1995, the group claimed responsibility for starting a forest fire in the wealthy Mt. Pendelikon suburb of Athens, along with fellow anarchist groups Anti-Power Struggle and Enraged Wolves (Agence France Presse 1995).

# Geography

The Mikhail Kaltezas Anarchist Organization's attacks occurred in the city of Athens, Greece and the surrounding areas (GTD 2020; Agence France Presse 1995).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding the organizational structure of the Mikhail Kaltezas Anarchist Organization.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found regarding any external ties the Mikhail Kaltezas Anarchist Organization may have had.

# **Group Outcome**

The Mikhail Kaltezas Anarchist Organization's last known attack was the August 1995 forest fire in Mt. Pendelikon (Agence France Presse 1995). It is unclear why the group only claimed responsibility for two attacks, and if the group operated autonomously.

Notes for Iris:

-no clear claim of responsibility/political aims

II. POPULAR RAGE Torg ID: 1876

> Min. Group Date: 1990 Max. Group Date: 1990

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Popular Rage Group

Group Formation: 1990

Group End: 1990

### Part 3. Narrative

# **Group Formation**

While it is unclear when Popular Rage formed, the group may have carried out its first known attack sometime in June of 1990 (United Press International 1990). In July of 1990, the group claimed responsibility for bombs that destroyed three cars in Athens, and stated that it was also responsible for "15 other bomb explosions over the past month" (United Press International 1990; GTD 2020). Popular Rage was likely a leftist militant group (Oxford Analytica 1991), and one of the cars destroyed in the July bombings belonged to a member of Greece's conservative New Democracy party (United Press International 1990).

Roughly a decade and a half later, an attack that occurred prior to the 2004 Athens Olympics was claimed by a group also calling itself Popular Rage (Agence France-Presse 2010). This group may have then changed its name to Popular Will (Greek for "Narodnaya Volya," the name of Lenin's brother's group established in Russia before the czar was overthrown), and began to carry out attacks by mailing bombs to targets (Agence France-Presse 2010). Popular Will was active in the early 2000s, and carried out high-profile attacks in 2009 and 2010 (Agence France-Presse 2010; Reuters 2009). It is unclear if the Popular Rage group that appeared in the 2000s was actually Popular Will's predecessor, and if either of the new groups were connected to the Popular Rage that claimed attacks in 1990.

# Geography

Both Popular Rage and Popular Will's attacks occurred in the Greek city of Athens (GTD 2020; Agence France-Presse 2010).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about Popular Rage's or Popular Will's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

It is unclear if the Popular Rage active in 1990 was connected to the Popular Rage active in the 2000s, or Popular Will.

# **Group Outcome**

Popular Rage did not claim responsibility for any attacks after the July 1990 car bombings (GTD 2020). However, Popular Will's last known attack may have occurred in 2010 (Agence France-Presse 2010). Although the groups had similar names, the time between Popular Rage and Popular Will's last attacks makes it unclear whether the group had any ties to each other.

III. May-36

Torg ID: 1807

Min. Group Date: 1991 Max. Group Date: 1991

Onset: NA

Aliases: "May 36", 13271, May-36, May-36

# Part 1. Bibliography

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- Search Proquest
  - "May 36" greece from 1991-07-01 to 1991-07-31
  - Friends of america bombing greece from 1991-07-01 to 1991-07-31
  - may 36 bombing Thessaloniki from 1991-07-01 to 1991-07-31

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: ELA and May 1st

Group Formation: 1991

Group End: 1991

### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

This seems like an alias for ELA (T430) (Associated Press 1991). The only reference to the July 17, 1991 attack by "May 36" in Thessaloniki (GTD 2020) was claimed by the ELA and May 1st (Associated Press 1991).

# Geography

This seems like an alias for ELA (T430) (Associated Press 1991).

# **Organizational Structure**

This seems like an alias for ELA (T430) (Associated Press 1991).

### **External Ties**

This seems like an alias for ELA (T430) (Associated Press 1991).

# **Group Outcome**

This seems like an alias for ELA (T430) (Associated Press 1991).

### IV. PEOPLE'S REBELLION

Torg ID: 1870

Min. Group Date: 1991 Max. Group Date: 1991

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

# Part 1. Bibliography

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- Search Proquest
  - people's rebellion Thessaloniki
  - Lufthansa Thessaloniki from 1991-07-01 to 1991-07-31
  - o "People's rebellion" from 1991-07-01 to 1991-07-31

## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Popular Insurrection, Popular Uprising

Group Formation: 1991

Group End: 1991

#### Part 3. Narrative

# **Group Formation**

The group name "Popular Insurrection" was used once, to claim an attack on Lufthansa offices in Thessaloniki, Greece, in July of 1991 (GTD 2020; Associated Press 1991). The attack occurred four days prior to United States President George H.W. Bush's visit to Greece, although he was not scheduled to visit Thessaloniki (Associated Press 1991). 17 November, one of Greece's most active militant groups at the time, had attacked other German-owned businesses two months before the Lufthansa attack, and had stated that Lufthansa was on "its target list" (Orlando Sentinel 1991).

### Geography

The "Popular Insurrection" name was used to claim a single attack in the northern Greek city of Thessaloniki, which was also called Salonika or Salonica (GTD 2020; Associated Press 1991).

### **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about Popular Insurrection's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties Popular Insurrection may have had.

## **Group Outcome**

The "Popular Insurrection" name was only used to claim the 1991 attack on the Lufthansa offices in Thessaloniki, Greece (GTD 2020). It is unclear why the name was only used once, and if Popular Insurrection was an autonomous group.

### Notes for Iris:

- -the incident occurs in the midst of Bush visit to Greece
- -Anne thinks this might be an alias for 17N because 17N had previously threatened to target Lufthansa, 17N conducted other attacks during the Bush visit
- -the name is very generic so it's hard to get leverage on particular group details

### V. GREEK ANARCHISTS' UNION

Torg ID: 1720

Min. Group Date: 1992 Max. Group Date: 1992

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

# Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1992

Group End: 1992

### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

The "Greek Anarchists' Union" was likely not a single organized group, but rather a descriptive term used to reference the protestors that clashed with police on the nights of November 16th and 17th of 1992 in Athens (The Globe and Mail 1992; GTD 2020). Athens experiences annual protests on November 17, marking the anniversary of the 1973 student uprising at Athens Polytechnic University against the military junta that ruled Greece at the time (Overseas Security Advisory Council 2020). These protests are usually staged by Greek anarchists and members of left-wing organizations, and include a "traditional march" from the Polytechnic University to the United States Embassy in Athens (Nellas 2019). Clashes with police are also a regular occurrence during the protests (Nellas 2019).

## Geography

The annual protests on November 17th center around Athens's Exarchia neighborhood, an "anarchist haven and counterculture center" and the site of the Polytechnic University (Nellas 2019).

# **Organizational Structure**

At least "200 youths" clashed with police during the November 17, 1992 protests (The Globe and Mail 1992). It is unclear if these individuals were affiliated with any left-wing and/or anarchist groups.

### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties the protestors may have had.

### **Group Outcome**

Athens continues to experience the November 17 protests (Overseas Security Advisory Council 2020). In 2020, 5,000 police were deployed to monitor the protests, which occurred despite the COVID-19 ban on gatherings of over four people (U.S. News 2020).

Notes for Iris:

- -there's an area in Athens where there's an annual anarchist protest. It always escalates into riots, people get shot, etc. In 2008, another boy was shot by police
- -there were 500 anarchists protesting, but no clear organization
- -this is an annual occurrence and not targeted violence

## VI. ANTIFASCIST ACTION

Torg ID: 2209

Min. Group Date: 1994 Max. Group Date: 1994

Onset: NA

Aliases: Anti-Fascist Action (Afa), Antifascist Action, Anti-Fascist Action

\*just code AFA in Greece?

## Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1994 (?)

Group End: 2006 (?)

Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when Anti-Fascist Action formed, the group may have carried out its first attack in May of 1994, attacking a theater in Athens (Xinhua 2006; GTD 2020). The group allegedly carried out several arson attacks during the subsequent years, and three members of the group were arrested in 2006 (Xinhua 2006).

While little is known about Anti-Fascist Action, the group operated during the rise of Greece's anarchist movement in the 1990s. The anti-fascist movement began in the 1990s; it attracted those disillusioned with mainstream politics--especially left-wing politics (Dalakoglou 2009). With the rise of the anti-globalization movement, Greek anarchists participated in the 2001 protests at the G8 summit in Genoa, and at the 2003 EU summit in Thessaloniki (Dalakoglou 2009). The state began to "repress" the "ever-growing anarchist movement" in the late 2000s, and clashes between anarchists and police became increasingly violent (Dalakoglou 2009).

# Geography

Anti-Fascist Action's attacks occurred in the Greek city of Athens (GTD 2020; Xinhua 2006).

# **Organizational Structure**

Anti-Fascist Action may have had at least three members, as three individuals allegedly associated with the group were arrested in July of 2006 (Xinhua 2006). Two of the individuals had been arrested previously, and the fingerprints of one of the individuals were found at the site of an arson attack that had occurred two days prior to the July arrests (Xinhua 2006).

### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties Anti-Fascist Action may have had. The group's actions occurred amidst the larger rise of an anarchist movement in Greece during the 1990s and early 2000s (Xinhua 2006).

### **Group Outcome**

Anti-Fascist Action's last attack may have been a July 2006 arson attack on a National Bank of Greece ATM in Athens (Xinhua 2006). It is unclear why the group did not carry out any additional attacks, and if the three individuals arrested in connection with the group were Anti-Fascist Action's sole members.

Notes for Iris:

- -despite the "anti-fa" name, the antifa movement was not really active yet. The anarchist movement didn't really start until 1999 when Greece passed a new law and there was a huge backlash against the G-7 summit in 2000.
- -the group is operating more during the transition period between the end of the ELA and the start of the new anarchist group.
- -probably unrelated to the autonomist movement
- -no likely connection to the Anti-Fascist Action Movement in the UK.
- -there's a 12 year gap in attacks although Xinhua references several attacks in the intervening years. This might imply it's the same group.

### VII. ETHIOPIANS

Torg ID: 2101

Min. Group Date: 1995 Max. Group Date: 2001

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

# Part 1. Bibliography

# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: This name is too vague for research.

Group Formation: This name is too vague for research.

Group End: This name is too vague for research.

### Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

This name is too vague for research.

### Geography

This name is too vague for research.

### **Organizational Structure**

This name is too vague for research.

## **External Ties**

This name is too vague for research.

## **Group Outcome**

This name is too vague for research.

VIII. ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT NUCLEUS

Torg ID: 57

Min. Group Date: 1995 Max. Group Date: 1995

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Anti-State Nuclei

Group Formation: 1995

Group End: 1995

Part 3. Narrative

### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Anti-Establishment Nucleus formed, the group claimed responsibility for its first attack in August 1995 when two bombs exploded outside a Citibank branch and an American Express office in Athens (GTD 2020; Associated Press 1995; MIPT 2008). In a call to an Athens radio station, the group stated that it had carried out the attacks in protest of Mumia Abu-Jamal's death sentence, which had recently occurred (Associated Press 1995). Abu-Jamal, an American former member of the Black Panther Party, had been convicted of murder for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia policeman, and his sentence and trial had been labeled unfair by "many political and professional groups in Greece" (Associated Press 1995; MIPT 2008). The attack occurred around the same time the "Freedom for Mumia Abu Jamal" conducted a similar attack in Germany (Germany Cases).

# Geography

Anti-Establishment Nucleus' attacks both occurred in the city of Athens, Greece, and targeted American-owned businesses (GTD 2020).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about the organizational structure of the Anti-Establishment Nucleus.

### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties the Anti-Establishment Nucleus may have had.

# **Group Outcome**

The Anti-State Nucleus did not claim responsibility for any attacks after the August 1995 bombings (GTD 2020; MIPT 2008). It is unclear why the group only carried out two attacks.

Notes for Iris:

-look at Mumia Jamal attacks in Switzerland cases as well

IX. ANTI-EXOUSIATIKI PALI

Torg ID: 60

Min. Group Date: 1995 Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Anti-Exousiatiki Pali, Anti-Power Struggle

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary Organization for Anti-power Struggle, Anti-Power Revolutionary Struggle, Anti-Power Struggle Organization, Anti-Power Struggle

Group Formation: 1987 (?)

Group End: 1999

### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when Anti-Power Struggle formed, the group may have carried out its first attack in December 1987, when it claimed responsibility for a bombing at the Athens Chamber of Commerce "to protest the chamber's cooperation with Socialist government austerity measures" (Associated Press 1987; The Globe and Mail 1987). One of its earliest known attacks also targeted a bank (MIPT 2008).

Regardless of the date of its first attack, the Anti-Power Struggle Organization operated throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, and claimed responsibility for attacks meant to

"criticize specific government policies" (MIPT 2008; Agence France Presse 1993, 1995; Associated Press 1999; Deutsche Presse-Agentur 1997).

Anti-Power Struggle was an anarchist group; its attacks targeted a Greek Army camp, a college, the Athens Chamber of Commerce, the Environment Ministry, and the Greek Olympic Committee, among others (Deutsche Presse-Agentur 1997; Agence France Presse 1993; Associated Press 1987, 1999; New York Times 1987). The group was also described as leftist and "strongly anti-capitalist" (MIPT 2008). In 1995, along with two other left-wing anarchist organizations, Anti-Power Struggle claimed responsibility for starting a forest fire in the Mount Pentelikon suburb of Athens, and stated that they wished to "burn the villas of the fat, lazy bourgeois" (MIPT 2008; Agence France Presse 1995). The group also targeted religious leaders; it threatened the leader of the Greek Orthodox Church, Archbishop Christodoulos, and attacked the Ecumenical Patriarchate in protest of the planned visit by the leader of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II (MIPT 2008).

## Geography

Anti-Power Struggle's attacks occurred in and around the Greek city of Athens (Deutsche Presse-Agentur 1997; Agence France Presse 1993; Associated Press 1987, 1999; New York Times 1987).

## **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding Anti-Power Struggle's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

In August of 1995, Anti-Power Struggle, along with fellow left-wing anarchist organizations Enraged Wolves and the Michalis Kaltezas Anarchist Group, claimed responsibility for a fire that destroyed 4,000 hectares of forest in the areas surrounding Athens (The Globe and Mail 1995). The groups collectively stated that they started the fire to "punish the rich," and threatened to burn the wealthy Athens suburb home to Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou (The Globe and Mail 1995).

## **Group Outcome**

Anti-Power Struggle's last attack occurred in January 1999, when the group exploded a bomb outside "New York College" in Athens and threatened Gerasimos Arsenis, the minister of education; Theodoros Pangalos, the minister of foreign affairs; and Archbishop Christodoulos, the leader of the Greek Orthodox Church (Associated Press 1999). Archbishop Christodoulos, who was elected to his position in 1998, was a

controversial figure and brought the Orthodox Church further into secular political affairs (Alivizatos 1999, 23).

It is unclear why Anti-Power Struggle did not carry out any other attacks after 1999.

#### Notes for Iris:

- -unconventional use of forest fires as a tactic (similar to contemporary Palestinian group)
- -there might have been precedent for this tactic within the larger Greek anarchist movement (also set forest fires)?
- -this group's attacks followed a similar practice. A new law was past  $\rightarrow$  new attack.
- -do eco-anarchist groups commonly set fires? The Ecological Activism group formed to protest other militant groups that were setting forest fires

## X. FIGHTING GUERRILLA FORMATION

Torg ID: 2305

Min. Group Date: 1996 Max. Group Date: 1998

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Fighting Guerrilla Formation, AMS, MAS, Machitikós Antartopólemos Schimatismós, Struggling Guerrilla Faction, Fighting Guerrilla of the Cities

Group Formation: 1996

Group End: 1998

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

While it is unclear when the Fighting Guerrilla Faction formed, the group may have carried out its first attack in November of 1996. That day, it exploded a bomb at the Athens Polytechnical University a few days prior to the November 17th annual protests (GTD 2020; Irish Times 1996).

A left-wing group, Fighting Guerrilla Faction later targeted Greece's Peruvian embassy in 1996 as an expression of solidarity with the Tupac Amaru, a Marxist group holding 83 hostages at the Japanese ambassador's home in Lima (Irish Times 1996). The group was also associated with attacks against Greek government offices in protest of planned mining project in northern Greece (The Northern Miner 1997); and the Athens offices of an Italian-owned airline in protest of Italy's deployment of trips to Albania (Federal Aviation Administration 1997, 21).

## Geography

The Fighting Guerrilla Faction operated in the Greek city of Athens (GTD 2020). However, in one attack, the group targeted the Peruvian embassy (GTD 2020; Irish Times 1996). In another attack, the group targeted the Italian-owned Alitalia airline (GTD 2020; Europa World Year Book 1 2004).

## **Organizational Structure**

Little is known about the Fighting Guerrilla Faction's organizational structure. The group may have had around fifteen members; in January of 1998, fifteen alleged members of the group were arrested, which police claimed "broke up" the group (The Irish Times 1998). In 1998, Nikos Matziotis was arrested by Greek police after explosives and weapons were discovered at his house (Zikakou 2014; Associated Press International 1998). Police raided nine other houses, and arrested sixteen other individuals in connection with militant activity (Associated Press International 1998). Police speculated that those arrested, including Matziotis, were tied to Fighting Guerrilla Faction (Associated Press International 1998).

#### **External Ties**

Fighting Guerrilla Faction targeted Greece's Peruvian embassy as an expression of solidarity with the Tupac Amaru, a Marxist group holding 83 hostages at the Japanese ambassador's home in Lima (Irish Times 1996). However, there is no evidence of explicit coordination between the MRTA and MAS.

In 1998, Nikos Matziotis--who was first arrested in 1991 for refusing military service--was arrested by Greek police after explosives and weapons were discovered at his house (Zikakou 2014; Associated Press International 1998). Matziotis was later arrested for his involvement in Revolutionary Struggle, another left-wing militant group that emerged in 2003 (National Counterterrorism Center n.d.).

## **Group Outcome**

Fighting Guerrilla Faction's last known attack may have been the December 1997 attack on the Greek Interior Ministry offices in protest of the planned mining project in northern Greece (The Northern Miner 1997; Agence France Presse 1998; Associated Press International 1998).

In 1998, Nikos Matziotis--who was first arrested in 1991 for refusing military service--was arrested by Greek police after explosives and weapons were discovered at his house (Zikakou 2014; Associated Press International 1998). Police raided nine other houses, and arrested sixteen other individuals in connection with militant activity (Associated Press International 1998). Police speculated that those arrested, including Matziotis, were tied to Fighting Guerrilla Faction (Associated Press International 1998). However, police claimed that Fighting Guerrilla Faction had been "broken up" after the 1998 arrests (The Irish Times 1998).

Matziotis was later arrested for his involvement in Revolutionary Struggle, another left-wing militant group that emerged in 2003 (National Counterterrorism Center n.d.). The group's last suspected known attack was in February of 1998 when two McDonalds in Athens were bombed. Police speculated the attacks may have been linked to the arrest of Matziotis, and had been carried out by the Fighting Guerrilla Formation (Whiq 1998; BBC 1998).

#### Notes for Iris:

- -unclear if there's an overarching political aim here. Their attacks seem to target particular policies that they disagree with.
- -not a lot of politicized opposition to Peru (more solidarity with MRTA).
- -Matziotis arrested several times. He was a figure in the radical far-left movement in Greece. Arrested in 1998 due to ties with MAS. MAS is not an alias for Revolutionary Struggle (which emerged years after MAS disappeared). Look at him when doing Revolutionary Struggle profile.
- -possible the 90s is a period where a lot of former ELA/N17 supporters start or join these smaller groups.

#### XI. NIHILISTS FACTION

Torg ID: 333

Min. Group Date: 1996 Max. Group Date: 2009

Onset: NA

Aliases: Nihilists Faction, Fraxia Midheniston

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

eb-413a-8d24-97414ec39363

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1996

Group End: 1996 (one hit wonder)

#### Part 3. Narrative

#### **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when the Nihilists Faction formed, the group claimed responsibility for its first attack in April 1996, when it allegedly bombed the home of an Athens district attorney (UPI 1996). The Nihilists Faction made this claim during a phone call to a Greek newspaper, in which they also took credit for the May 28, 1996 bombing of the IBM offices in Athens (UPI 1996). The IBM bombing caused significant structural damage to the building (FAS 1996; UPI 1996). The Nihilists Faction's targets suggest that the group was a militant anarchist and anti-capitalist organization (MIPT 2008).

## Geography

The Nihilists Faction's attacks occurred in the Greek city of Athens, and targeted an American-owned company (GTD 2020; UPI 1996).

# **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found regarding the Nihilists Faction's organizational structure.

### **External Ties**

No information could be found regarding any external ties the Nihilist Faction may have had. Although a later group known as the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire-Nihilist Faction emerged (and was often referenced as the Nihilist Faction), there is no evidence these groups were the same or connected. The timeline of the groups does not line up. While both the Nihilist Faction responsible for the 1996 IBM bombing and the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire were Greek anarchist groups, it is unclear if the two groups had connections to each other, as their attacks occurred more than a decade apart.

## **Group Outcome**

Nihilists Faction did not claim responsibility for any other attacks after the May 1996 IBM bombing (MIPT 2008). However, in 2009, the "Nihilists Faction" name re-emerged, as the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire-Nihilist Faction claimed responsibility for several attacks targeting the Greek Orthodox Church, security vans, and a government official (Associated Press 2009; Agence France Presse 2009). In 2014, the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire-Nihilist Faction claimed responsibility for an attack on the Greek consul in Germany (BBC 2014). While both the Nihilist Faction responsible for the 1996 IBM bombing and the Conspiracy of the Cells of Fire were Greek anarchist groups, it is unclear if the two groups had connections to each other, as their attacks occurred more than a decade apart.

Notes for Iris:

-this is probably a one hit wonder, but the sophistication of the bomb made police question the group's sudden disappearance (seemed to convey a higher level of operational capabilities)

XII. NOVEMBER'S CHILDREN

Torg ID: 335

Min. Group Date: 1996 Max. Group Date: 1999

Onset: NA

Aliases: Children Of November, November's Children

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## Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Children of November, Anarchist Group-November Children

Group Formation: 1996

Group End: 2001

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

While it is unknown when November's Children formed, the anarchist group carried out its first known attack on November 17, 1996 when it targeted a government-owned building in Athens (Agence France Presse 1996; GTD 2020). The name "November's Children" is likely a reference to November 17th, the date of the 1973 student uprising against the military junta that ruled Greece at the time, which is marked with annual protests in Athens (Agence France Presse 1996). November's Children claimed responsibility for several more attacks between 1996-2001. These attacks targeted the offices of Greek political leaders, including those from both the conservative New Democracy party and the Communist party (TANEA 2001; Political Handbook of the World 2008; Agence France Presse 2000).

## Geography

November's Children's attacks occurred in the Greek city of Athens (GTD 2020; TANEA 2001; Political Handbook of the World 2008; Agence France Presse 1996, 1998, 2000)

## **Organizational Structure**

No information could be found about November's Children's organizational structure.

#### **External Ties**

No information could be found about any external ties November's Children may have had.

## **Group Outcome**

November's Children may have carried out its last known attack in May of 2001, when the group detonated a rudimentary explosive device outside the offices of Dimitris Sioufas. Sioufas was a member of the Greek parliament from the New Democracy party (TANEA 2001). It is unclear why the group did not carry out any additional attacks.

## XIII. REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (GREECE)

Torg ID: 426

Min. Group Date: 1996 Max. Group Date: 2000

Onset: NA

Aliases: Revolutionary Nuclei, Epanastatiki Pirines, Revolutionary Cells, Revolutionary Cells (Greece)

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# Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Revolutionary Nuclei, RN, Revolutionary Cores

Group Formation: 1995 or 1996

Group End: 2000

#### Part 3. Narrative

## **Group Formation**

After the ELA dissolved in 1995, due to the release of the Stasi files to the Greek police, "disgruntled" members of the ELA formed the new organization (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 7; Agence France Presse 2003). The group carried out its first known attack in December of 1996, exploding a bomb outside a Citibank branch in Athens (Agence France Presse 1996). Revolutionary Cells is believed to be the successor to the Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA), one of Greece's most infamous leftist militant organizations, which carried out over 100 attacks from 1975 to 1995 (Konstandopoulos and Modis 2005, 6).

Like its predecessor, Revolutionary Cells was a left-wing militant group. It was an anti-establishment group, and opposed the United States, the EU, and NATO (United States Department of State 2001; FAS 2004). The group "filled the void left by the ELA,

particularly as lesser groups faded from the scene" (FAS 2004; Malamidis 2021, 69). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Greece saw the rise of the anti-globalization movement and a backlash to the "social-democratic orientation of the mainstream Left," with large-scale protests at the 2003 Thessaloniki EU convention, and the creation of alternative media networks such as Athens Indymedia (Malamidis 2021, 69). The ELA opposed these institutions.

In April 1999, the group bombed the Intercontinental Hotel in Athens. At the time, the hotel was scheduled to host a political and economic conference attended by leaders from Britain, the United States, Greece, and other countries (The Irish Times 1999). In a letter to a Greek newspaper, Revolutionary Cells stated that it had carried out the bombing to protest the "macabre invasion of euro-Atlantic assassins and their chief, Clinton," and specifically cited the NATO bombings in Yugoslavia (Agence France Presse 1999).

## Geography

Revolutionary Cells operated in the Greek city of Athens (GTD 2020). However, some of the group's attacks targeted businesses owned by Americans and Britains (GTD 2020).

## **Organizational Structure**

Little is known about the organizational structure of Revolutionary Cells. The group was likely composed of former ELA members, who, "disgruntled" after the collapse of the ELA in 1995, formed the Revolutionary Cells (Agence France Presse 2003). Like the early ELA, Revolutionary Cells did not aim to kill people, and made calls warning of its planned attacks (FAS 2004; Antoniou 2003). The group also used unexploded World War II bombs in its attacks, like the ELA had, suggesting that the group may have "inherited part of the [ELA's] armament" (Antoniou 2002; Antoniou 2003). Revolutionary Cells conducted most of its attacks during the night and early mornings, and used "rudimentary timing devices" in its explosives (FAS 2004). The group likely had few members--certainly less than the ELA--and was financially "self-sustained" (FAS 2004).

#### **External Ties**

Although the extent of Revolutionary Cells' ties with the ELA is unclear, the groups shared members and had similar ideologies and tactics (FAS 2004). Revolutionary Cells also may have had ties to Revolutionary Struggle, another Greek militant group that emerged in the early 2000s (Agence France Presse 2004). A leader of Revolutionary Cells may have later joined the Conspiracy of the Nuclei of Fire, an anarchist group that appeared in 2008 (BBC 2010).

## **Group Outcome**

In 1997, Revolutionary Cells was designated a foreign terrorist organization by the United States, and was delisted in 2009 (Rollins 2019). Revolutionary Cells carried out its last known attack in November of 2000, carrying out three bombings targeting a Citibank branch, a Barclays branch, and the studio of a Greek sculpter "whose statue of Gen. George C. Marshall is displayed at the U.S. Embassy" in Greece (United Press International 2000; United States Department of State 2001). It is unclear why Revolutionary Cells stopped carrying out attacks.

## Notes for Iris:

- -some research calls this group a splinter or a spin-off of the ELA
- -similar political aims as ELA but a bit more anarchist than their predecessors. They mostly just opposed imperialism/capitalist but didn't want to set up a new government.
- -Revolutionary Cores has an attack attributed in the GTD that suggests it operates after 2000, but all other sources suggest it ends in 2000.
- -members of the group may have joined other militant groups as Greece's anarchist movement began to grow. This is speculative, but might have occurred because the anarchist movement was picking up around this time and there was no record of arrests.