

Anatomy of a Terrorist Attack:
*An in-Depth Investigation into the
London and Madrid Subway Bombings
of 2005 and 2004*

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7/7 and 11-M – A Study in Home-Grown Terror

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ANATOMY OF A TERRORIST ATTACK

The London and Madrid Subway Bombings of 2005 and 2004

An Initiation of 'Home Grown' Islamic Terror in Europe?

Executive Summary

This report provides a comprehensive analysis of the emergence of a homegrown form of Islamic extremism that is spreading throughout the Muslim communities in both London and Madrid. It also projects wider findings relevant to Europe's confrontation with Islamic terror, as well as findings and recommendations relating specifically to the bombings in the London and Madrid subway systems of 2005 and 2004. This summary is divided into three parts: (1) the European-wide failure to integrate an expanding Islamic population, (2) findings specific to the London and Madrid subway attacks, and (3) recommendations for bringing alienated second and third generation Muslim immigrants into mainstream European societies.

Failure to Integrate the Expanding Muslim Diaspora in Europe

The Muslim population is increasing in Europe, currently estimated to be between 15 and 20 million of an overall population of 450 million Europeans. Assuming continued immigration and high Muslim birth rates, the U.S. National Security Council estimates that Europe's Muslim population will double by 2025. The failure of Europe to integrate its expanding Islamic population, and to provide economic opportunity and social mobility for young Muslims is the subject of three findings:

- 1) **Europe is becoming culturally polarized; in several European nations, Christians and secular Europeans have grown wary of increasing Muslim immigration.** Europe has yet to find effective ways to integrate its Islamic diaspora. Accordingly, many Muslims in Western Europe are alienated and bitter. This is a recipe for additional instances of 'homegrown' terror.
- 2) **Because they feel that there is no way for them to succeed in mainstream European cultures, second and third generation Muslims are embracing radical forms of Islam in an attempt to carve out a separate identity.** These young adults have rejected the more moderate Islam of their parents.
- 3) **A new form of Islam is asserting itself in Europe.** This new, politicized Islam reflects anger and appears to focus on mistreatment of Muslims in European countries as well as Western intervention in diverse regions, for example, Iraq, Afghanistan and Kashmir.

Findings Specific to the London Subway Bombing of 2005

Research into the London bombings, as well as the background concerning the lack of integration of the Muslim communities within London, uncovered a number of specific findings:

- 1) **Second and third generation Muslims are turning to the more rigid, orthodox Deobandi school of Islam.** Perhaps the most widely known adherents of this sect are the Taliban of Afghanistan, but this school is also expanding in Great Britain and Pakistan – drawing children away from the more liberal forms of Islam practiced by their parents. Educated Muslims are finding their way to Deobandism via the Internet, university societies and Islamic bookshops, as opposed to the mosques.
- 2) **Sympathizers of Islamic militants are more deeply embedded in their communities than the bombers sent by the IRA, hence intelligence is more difficult to obtain.** Following 9/11, British authorities were complacent, because they believed that dealing with the IRA for thirty years had equipped them to confront this new threat. The London bombings instantly and radically changed their perspective.
- 3) **Many factors lead authorities to believe that the London attacks were inspired if not directly supported by Al-Qaeda.** Not only did the bombings mimic other Al-Qaeda attacks, but the majority of the perpetrators had prior relations with Al-Qaeda operatives as well as their training and recruiting facilities. They also had connections to other Islamic militant groups, such as Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed.
- 4) **The Internet may have played a major role in the London attacks.** It is believed that the suspects visited Internet sites detailing how to acquire and make explosives.
- 5) **The explosives were low cost and homemade.** Authorities believe that because the bombs were inexpensive and the materials readily available, it is likely that the 7/7 bombers carried out their attacks in the absence of direct outside assistance.
- 6) **Mohammad Sidique Khan may have been the ringleader of the 7/7 bombers.** At the time of the bombings he was 31 years old, 9 years older than the second eldest bomber. It is believed that he became a father figure and mentor to them. British authorities suggest that he used his position at the Hamara Youth Action Point to recruit his accomplices.
- 7) **London's extensive surveillance system was instrumental in reconstructing the July 7 attack.** But its value was only forensic, even though it recorded a trial run by the suspects ten days prior to the actual attack.

Findings specific to the Madrid Bombings of 2004

The terror attack in Madrid, Spain on 11 March, 2004 is likely to have extended implications for democratic political systems. This study is an effort to decipher what such implications might be and what they mean given the complexities of the current post 9-11 global situation. These key findings are outlined below:

- 1) **Members of the Madrid terror cell used drug trafficking to support the Madrid bombings.** The Madrid bombings cost over \$40,000 dollars. They were not financed by a foreign government or terrorist financing organization. This modus operandi differs from past attacks that have relied on complex international financial arrangements.
- 2) **Prior experience with the terrorist organization Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA) in Spain positioned the authorities to respond quickly to the attacks.** However, first responders in Madrid were overwhelmed by the wide area and scale of the attack (13 bombs).
- 3) **The civilian response to the Madrid bombings may suggest that training of civilian ‘first responders’ is an appropriate measure.** In several cases, the Spanish public did not wait for the authorities to arrive, providing immediate assistance to victims.
- 4) **The Madrid subway bombings appear to have involved more transnational activity than the London attacks.** The terrorists were linked to the Moroccan Islamic Combat Group, and their plan included transnational aspects that were crucial to its success. Many perpetrators are still at large.
- 5) **Similar to the London bombing, the Madrid attack appears to have been carried out by a single terrorist cell.** This differs from many terrorist operations that have deployed multiple cells with distinct missions (i.e. reconnaissance, planning, bomb making, financing, etc.). In the case of Madrid (and London), one cell appears to have performed all necessary tasks.
- 6) **The Madrid bombings demonstrated that terrorism could be timed to influence electoral outcomes and foreign policy decisions in democratic states.** Taking place just days before the Spanish elections, the Madrid bombings contributed to the ousting of the current government, bringing the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (PSOE) to power, and ending Spain’s participation in the occupation of Iraq.
- 7) **Immigration policy and guest worker programs in Spain and other European countries appear to be creating an alienated social class of immigrants who are becoming increasingly disillusioned with their host societies.** In the past, Muslim guest workers passed through Spain as day laborers. Now many are staying to serve an aging population. This guest worker system has created a new underclass, which is not being assimilated into Spanish

culture. This appears to have led to home grown terrorism in at least two instances.

Combined Recommendations

The emergence of homegrown mujahideen in Europe threatens the entire continent, as well as the United States. Therefore the following recommendations are structured to address the root causes of the spread of radical Islam in Europe:

- 1) **Citizens Response Training:** In the case of Madrid, citizens responded extremely well and instantaneously to the attack. A well trained citizenry could save lives and even prevent future terrorist events.
- 2) **Re-evaluate the effectiveness of efforts to stop terror financing:** In both Madrid and London, the terrorist cells were unique; in both cases, there was only one cell that did everything from reconnaissance and planning to fundraising and execution. In the London case, the funding needed to accomplish the bombings was trivial.
- 3) **Social Policy to ease integration of Muslim populations:** In both Spain and Britain there is conclusive evidence suggesting that Muslim populations are estranged from the larger societies. Governments should take action to increase assimilation and the possibility of upward social mobility for Muslims, especially for young people.
- 4) **Reform Immigration Policy:** In the case of Spain, as in many European countries, the population is aging rapidly. Reliance on immigrant workers to fill the age gap and meet work force needs is increasing. Adequate support systems and enlightened social policy will be necessary to minimize alienation and stem the emergence of additional home grown terrorist cells.
- 5) **Re-evaluate Foreign Policy:** Western countries have a history of intervention in the Arab and Islamic worlds. A dialogue is increasingly important between the West and the Arab and Islamic worlds, in which the Western states must take a more evenhanded stance on issues of importance to the Middle East.

Thanks / Dedication

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LONDON

London: The Event

The morning of July 7, 2005 began like any other summer morning in London. As the sun rose, people were off on their way to work like any other day. This day was different, however, for four young men, all British citizens would blow themselves up in subway cars and in a bus a few hours after dawn. It was also a day that many wished would never have happened including the relatives of the 52 people who died, and the hundreds that were injured.

Just before dawn, Hasib Mir Hussain, Shehzad Tanweer, and Mohammad Sidique Khan met in Leeds where they were picked up by a hired car. They each had rucksacks filled with explosives. Hussain had come from his parents house when he left that morning. He told them that he was visiting friends in London and would be back later that night. Tanweer left his residence where he attended college at Leeds Metropolitan University. He would leave his parents, younger brother and two sisters that day and never see them again. They were unaware of his activities. Khan left his eight month old daughter and met the other men before embarking on the journey to Luton that would take a little over two hours. It is unknown what the men talked about on this trip. Perhaps there was no talking at all. All of the men had cell phones, but no calls were made. It is believed that the men did not follow the tradition practiced by some suicide bombers of cleansing themselves and praying just before the attack.

They arrived at Luton around 8:10 a.m. where they were joined by Germaine Lindsay, a young man of only 19 years who left his wife and young child that morning to blow himself up and kill 26 innocent people in the process. After the four men met in Luton, they tightened their rucksacks and boarded a train for King's Crossing in

London. They arrived at about 8:40 a.m., and then dispersed, all awaiting different trains throughout the city.

Tanweer boarded Circle line train 204, and headed eastbound towards Aldgate. He was in the second car of the subway train towards the rear. A short time after the train left the Liverpool St. station, Tanweer set his backpack on the floor, and at 8:50 a.m., detonated it, creating an explosion that tore the roof off of the subway car as if it were a tin can. Immediately following the explosion, passengers on the train braced themselves as the subway came to a stop. They saw the smoke and some made their way towards the burning car. Armed with fire extinguishers, they frantically began putting out the fires and listened for the cries of help coming from the over 100 injured. Seven people lost their lives.

From the King's Cross subway station, Khan boarded the Circle line train number 216. He entered the second car, and stood near the first set of doors. The train headed west towards Euston, and then continued toward Edgware Road. Sometime during the trip between these two locations, Khan removed his rucksack and set it on the floor of the train. A few moments after leaving the Edgware Road station at 8:50 a.m., without any warning, Khan detonated his bomb. Six people died and more than 120 were injured on the train.

Shortly after Khan and Tanweer left on their trains, Germaine Lindsay boarded the Piccadilly line train number 311 in the first car and moved to the rear. The train headed south towards Russell Square. At almost 8:51 a.m., only a few seconds after the first two bombs exploded Tanweer detonated his backpack on the floor of the train. The first car was mangled in the explosion and the second car was severely damaged. A

BBC news reporter named Jacqui Head, who was on the train described the situation, "There was immediately smoke everywhere and it was very hot and everybody panicked. People started screaming and crying." This explosion was the most deadly of the four, killing 26 people, and injuring more than 100.

At 8:51 a.m., the British transport police received a call reporting an "incident" on the Metropolitan line somewhere in the vicinity of Liverpool St. and Aldgate. Within the next few minutes more confirmations of the explosions arrived, and emergency personnel were dispatched including subway crews to help remove the cars that blocked access to the dead and wounded. Within 20 minutes, the media reported that there was an explosion on the London subway and that an investigation was underway. Within ten minutes, the transport police released an official statement declaring that an explosion had occurred in the subway system, likely resultant to a collision of two trains or a power malfunction.

About ten minutes later, around 9:33 a.m., the London subway system was shut down indefinitely. Passengers were told in a statement over the intercom that a power fault across the network had occurred. By this time, the international media had begun covering the emergency as a significant incident. Almost immediately following the shutdown of the system, another incident was reported to the transportation police indicating that there was another power surge explosion at the Edgware Road station. Seven minutes later, the transport police issued another statement to the effect that there were power surge problems at five stops along the London Underground. Those five were Aldgate, Edgware Road, King's Cross, Old Street, and Russell Square. Concurrently, the victims of the bombing began to arrive at local

hospitals and medical facilities. No solid reference to terrorism was made at this time, and the consensus still remained that a power surge had caused all three explosions.

For an unknown reason the final bomber, Hussain, did not detonate his bomb at 8:50 a.m. like the others. It is believed that Hussain attempted to board a train that would go north on the subway line, but that construction along the route caused a change in plans. Shortly after 9:00 a.m., cell phone records indicate that Hussain made phone calls to each of the other bombers, presumably to determine if they had detonated their bombs. He took his backpack up to the street in London and boarded a double-decker bus. He sat at the top rear of the bus, with his 4.5 kg of explosives on the floor. At 9:47 a.m., almost one hour after the first three explosions, the number 30 bus blasted apart on Woburn Place right near Travistock Square. The wreckage and debris covered over four square blocks and killed 13 people, injuring hundreds more.

Immediately following the explosion, doctors rushed out of the British Medical Association (BMA) nearby and provided help to the critically injured. It is believed that the coincidence of the explosion being in such close proximity to the BMA saved countless lives until emergency response personnel arrived. At 10:02 a.m., Scotland Yard reported that they were dealing with a "major incident".

Background on Great Britain's Struggle with Terrorism and the Country's Emerging Threat

Explosions rocked the transportation system across central London on July 7, 2005, killing 56 people, including the four bombers. Three of the attackers were ethnic Pakistanis born in Britain, the fourth a British citizen and convert to Islam born in Jamaica. Although this attack came from Islamist militants, British civilians have been coping with the reality of devastating bombings from the Irish Republican Army (IRA) for decades. UK authorities believed that "30 years of Irish terrorism had fully equipped [them] for counter-measures"¹ post 9/11. However, the attack on London has changed the complacent attitudes of the British public, who largely believed that until an atrocity committed on the British mainland occurred, people would remain skeptical of the 'war on terror.'

Great Britain's Struggle with the IRA

July of 1993 was a difficult time for Great Britain. London built the first permanent roadblocks on the streets near the city's financial district. Although commuters complained of congestion, the military police was necessary because hundreds of terrorist attacks were about to erupt in Ireland and Great Britain. During the July 4 weekend, police recorded more than 1,000 separate incidents and thirty people hurt.² The fateful weekend proved to be the start of the 'reign of terror' unheard of in England since the IRA riots of 1972.

¹ War on Terror: Something for everyone? By Jon Silverman. BBC News. October 2003. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/3222193.stm> 2/28/2006.

² IRA Violence Greatest Since 1972, No End in Sight? By Clark Staten, ERRI Analyst. EmergencyNet NEWS Service. Emergency Response & Research Institute. July 1993. <http://www.emergency.com/ira1193.htm> 2/28/2006.

During the month of September 1993, the IRA appeared to concentrate on military targets, such as the machine gun attack on a British Army helicopter, as it was taking off from a base in Armagh, near the Irish border. However, on October 23, 1993 the IRA claimed responsibility for an attack by two men who carried a bomb into a ‘fish and chips’ shop, where it detonated and killed ten people, and injured fifty others.³ Eventually, the IRA agreed to a ceasefire in 1997 and calls to disarm began, but attacks continued. On July 28, 2005, the Provisional IRA Army Council announced an end to its armed campaign, stating that it would “work to achieve its aims using ‘purely and democratic programs through exclusively peaceful means’ and that ‘IRA Volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever.’”⁴ Although Great Britain hoped to be free from the IRA attacks that had terrorized the public for decades, a threat from the “largest single component of the immigrant population in the United Kingdom,”⁵ the European Muslims, had already begun to unleash attacks on a population that had caused them to feel “disenfranchised and disillusioned by the failure of integration.”⁶

The Threat of Islamic Terrorism

Concerning the threat of Islamic terrorism, it is true that “those who sympathize with Islamic militants are more deeply embedded in their communities than [the] bombers sent by the Provisional and Real IRA,”⁷ which makes intelligence information harder to obtain. Unlike Muslims in the United States, who entered a country built by immigrants, most Muslims started arriving in Western Europe only after World War II,

³ Ibid

⁴ Provisional Irish Republican Army. Wikipedia.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Irish_Republican_Army 2/28/2006.

⁵ Europe’s Angry Muslims. By Robert S. Leiken. Foreign Affairs. July/August 2005.
http://www.cfr.org/publication/8218/europes_angry_muslims.html 1/28/2006.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Op cit Silverman

“crowding into small, culturally homogenous nations.”⁸ Unlike American Muslims who are geographically diffused, ethnically fragmented and usually middle class, European Muslims “gather in bleak enclaves with their compatriots: Algerians in France, Moroccans in Spain, Turks in Germany, and Pakistanis in the United Kingdom.”⁹ Host countries in Europe never learned how to integrate newcomers; therefore Muslims in Western Europe are likely to be distinct and bitter. Many say they feel “neither a part of the country of their birth, nor of their parents’ heritage.”¹⁰ When these second-generation children return to Pakistan for family holidays, they realize how little they have in common with their Pakistani born cousins and are often surprised by the Westernization now found in the villages.

There exists a loss of identity amongst the second and third generation Muslims who feel neither British nor Pakistani and so “cling to the third limb of identity, embracing a simplified form of Islam which has none of the ambiguities which trouble their daily lives.”¹¹ Unlike their parents, second and third generation British Muslims have access to scholarly texts, which are often written or translated into English, as well as videos and lectures by leading Imams which are available on the Internet. The Internet has become a source of much propagation and discussion of Islam. Concerning the recent bombing in London, six percent of the Muslim community insists the bombings that occurred on July 7 were justified, 24 percent have sympathy with the feelings and

⁸ Op cit Leiken

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ The Enemy Within. By Bill Powell. TIME Europe. <http://www.time.com/time/europe/magazine/4/1/2006>.

¹¹ British Muslims Terrorists: Causes and Prevention. By: Farmida Bi. Progressive British Muslims. http://home.btconnect.com/PBM/html/british_muslim_terrorists_cau.html 3/30/2006

motives of those who carried them out and 56 percent, whether or not they sympathize, understand why someone might have behaved in this manner.¹²

The 'Homegrown Trend'

There is a 'homegrown trend' of Islamic extremism spreading throughout the Muslim communities in Great Britain that has become alarming. Moreover, poverty is not necessarily an indication of radicalism. Students and young professionals from working and middle-class backgrounds "have also become involved in extremist politics and even terrorism."¹³ Also, being Muslim makes it more difficult for them to become integrated in society. "There has always been this underlying 'otherness' [in the British psyche] about people from the East."¹⁴ According to British Muslims, the schools in Great Britain make almost "no accommodation to their presence. Students are taught almost nothing about Pakistan or Islam's history and traditions."¹⁵ Instead they are "expected to become British,"¹⁶ and many have tried but find it difficult to fit in, because being British has meant "learning to drink, using or selling drugs and losing one's virginity at an early age."¹⁷ Second and third generation Muslims are therefore turning to an extreme form of Islam, different from that of their parents.

¹² One in Four Muslims Sympathises With Motives of Terrorists. By Anthony King. July 2005. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/core/Content/ 2/26/2006>.

¹³ Europe Confronts Changing Face of Terrorism. Bombings in London: Intelligence. By Elaine Sciolino. New York Times. August 1, 2005. Late Edition.

¹⁴ 'Bin Laden is seen as a hero.' Voices of Muslim Youth. By Dominic Casciani. BBC News Community Affairs. <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/ 2/27/2006>.

¹⁵ Seething Unease Shaped British Bombers' Newfound Zeal. By Amy Waldman. New York Times. July 31, 2005. <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/31/international/europe/ 2/27/2006>.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid

The young Muslims' parents and grandparents came to Great Britain for economic opportunity, as guest workers in the boom years of the 1950s and 60s.¹⁸ Their children were brought up to think of themselves as Pakistani, with the expectation that they would only be in Britain until their parents made their fortune. Therefore, it was clear to many of the second and third generation that there was no point in adopting British values.¹⁹ There also exists an inability of the first generation to communicate with the second and third generation within the community, as well as within each family. The children are unable to express their values and hopes to their parents whose vision of the world is entirely different. Moreover, in many cases neither side is able to speak a language fluently that the other can understand.

Parents show a great sense of pride when their children show signs of interest in Islam, because they are worried that the British value system will corrupt their children. However, some second and third generation Muslims believe that their parents only have a superficial knowledge of their religion; they have "learnt the Quran by rote. Their faith is based on hearsay, which is why it is so easy to stir Muslim passions."²⁰ The children and grand-children of the first generation immigrants feel there is no way to integrate fully into society, so they "want to carve out their own identity...Part of the process for some young Muslims is choosing a fundamental form of Islam over the traditional Islam of their ancestors."²¹ This new form of Islam is a "reinvention of the religion, a typically

¹⁸ The Roots of the Riots. By Robert S. Leiken. *Los Angeles Times*. November 9, 2005. <http://www.latimes.com/news/printedition/opinion/la-oe-leiken9nov09> 3/30/2006.

¹⁹ Op cit Bi

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Europe: Integrating Islam. By Esther Pan. *Council on Foreign Relations*. Quote by Olivier Roy. French Scholar and author of *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. 07/13/2005. <http://www.cfr.org/publication/8252/europe.html> 4/2/2006.

born-again phenomenon. It gives a value to their uprootedness; they say it was a benefit to lose the Islam of their grandfathers because the new form is more pure.”²²

The second generation Muslims are turning to a more rigid, orthodox Deobandi school of Islam. The adherents of Deobandism include the Taliban of Afghanistan; they take the literal approach to the faith, as they see it. In Britain, as well as in Pakistan, this school is growing fast – “starting seminaries, producing English-speaking preachers and drawing youths away from the more liberal Islam of their parents.”²³ These educated Muslims are finding their way to this extreme form of Islam through Islamic bookshops, the Internet and university societies, as opposed to the mosques. Islam is becoming politicized as well; “there is a lot of hatred”²⁴ because of Iraq, Kosovo, and Kashmir. Moreover, the effort to create an Islamic identity in British Muslims has been exacerbated by the belief that the West is waging war – a “crusade,” the word President Bush used in 2001 – against Islam, which was strengthened by the invasion of Iraq, a key cause of young Britons turning to terrorism.²⁵

Insiders versus Outsiders in the Muslim Community

There exists a bridge between ‘outsiders’ and ‘insiders’ in Great Britain, as well as throughout Western Europe. According to Robert S. Leiken of *Foreign Affairs*, the outsiders are aliens, usually asylum seekers or students, “who gained refuge in liberal Europe from crackdowns against Islamists in the Middle East.”²⁶ Many of these first-generation outsiders have specifically migrated to Europe to carry out jihad. In Islamist

²² Ibid

²³ Op cit Waldman

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Leaked No 10 dossier reveals Al-Qaeda’s British recruits. By Robert Winnett and David Leppard. Times Online. *The Sunday Times*. July 10, 2005. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/> 4/1/2006.

²⁶ Op cit Leiken

mythology, migration can sometimes be linked to conquest. These outsiders may serve as messengers for jihadist networks and may open their mosques to terrorist recruiters. Moreover, they are often given stipends from Saudi Arabia²⁷ and assisted by legal and illegal residents, such as shopkeepers or petty criminals who carried out the Madrid bombings.

The ‘insiders,’ however, are a group of second or third generation children of immigrants who are alienated from society. Leiken describes them as either unemployed youth from suburbs or former mill towns, who are the “most dangerous incarnation of that staple of immigration literature, the revolt of the second generation.”²⁸ The other type of second-generation recruit is the university educated young adult, such as Omar Khyam, a soccer player and computer student, who was detained for holding half a ton of explosives.

Various organizations bring the two groups together, and it is the outsiders that usually recruit the insiders. People of different backgrounds and nationalities are working together, and those who are European-born or have dual nationalities have an easier time with foreign travel. It is difficult to discern what is mixing hard-core Islamists with petty criminals. The authorities in London have difficulty figuring out if it is the mosque that brings them together, prison, or if it is the neighborhood. School campuses have become a breeding ground as well. Recruiters are not only finding sympathizers among gangs and

²⁷ Every university student receives a monthly stipend of over 160 pounds of sterling per month throughout the period of study until graduation. For those living far away from home the State provides accommodation and fares. For further information see: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia – A Welfare State. Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia. London. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. www.mofa.gov.sa/ 3/30/2006.

²⁸ Op cit Leiken

jails, but heavy recruitment is being performed at university campuses, prep schools and junior high schools.²⁹

Conclusion

The emergence of homegrown mujahideen in Europe threatens the entire Continent, as well as the United States. It is estimated that between 15 and 20 million Muslims now call Europe home, and they make up four to five percent of the total population. Given continued immigration and high Muslim fertility rates, the National Security Council projects that Europe's Muslim population will double by 2025.³⁰ These second-generation educated young adults are continuing to gravitate towards a fundamental and politicized form of Islam, having rejected the Islam practiced by their parents.

There must be an end to the isolation and ghettos, and it must be advocated that the first generation of Pakistanis speak English. Housing policy must encourage mixed communities rather than allowing homogenous communities to develop. Moreover, women should be encouraged to work in order to improve their family's economic condition, as well as to help them integrate. Sons traditionally have extraordinary pressures placed on them to succeed as proof of the family's status, but the value placed on the son is "likely to contribute to the selfishness and narcissism, which are said to be essential qualities of a suicide bomber."³¹

²⁹ Al-Qaeda is secretly recruiting affluent, middle-class Muslims in British universities and colleges to carry out terrorist attacks in this country, Whitehall documents reveal. For more information see: Op cit Winnett and Leppard.

³⁰ Op cit Leiken

³¹ Op cit Bi

London Bombing: Planning

The bombing of the London subway was intricately planned. According to the BBC, authorities recovered nail bombs, peroxide-based explosives, detonators, and a device with orange ball bearings attached from the deadly attacks.³² In fact, the bombs consisted of products such as peroxide indicating that homemade explosives were the weapons used. Several of the bombs were packaged like pancakes or loaded with nails used as shrapnel. Investigation sources told ABC news that twelve additional bombs were found in a car rented by one of the bombers, Shehzad Tanweer.³³ Luckily, the London authorities responded quickly and were able to get to the car before another team of bombers could remove the explosives. Bob Ayers, a London-based terrorism consultant with expertise in demolition stated, “I believe that the explosives left in the car were left for a second strike.”³⁴ If the bombs were indeed left in the car for a second strike, then the original bombers not only created a set plan of attack but also had accomplices to carry out subsequent attacks.

The bombers knew exactly what they were doing on July 7, 2005 because they had conducted a “dry run.” The BBC reported that three of the original bombers- Mohammed Sidique Khan, Germaine Lindsay, and Shehzad Tanweer “met at the Luton station at around 0810 BST on June 28. Video cameras showed them buying tickets before they boarded a train to King’s Cross, where they arrived at 0855 and made their way to the underground network.”³⁵ The bombers eventually returned to King’s Cross and then at Luton, but it remains a mystery to the authorities what happened during the

³² “London Attacks,” *BBC News*, www.bbc.co.uk.

³³ “Sources: July 7 London Bomb Plot May Have Been Much Larger,” ABC News, <http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/LondonBlasts/story?id=979905>

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Op. cit.* “London Attacks,” *BBC News*.

three hours between their engagements back into the subway. This event has been called the bombers' practice run because it matched their exact mission from Luton to King's Cross during the July 7 operation. They obviously practiced their mission because on July 7 the bombers began north of London in Leeds, met the fourth bomber in Luton, split up at King's Cross, and fanned out in three directions at the Tube station causing the three bombs to explode simultaneously on the Tube network.

As investigators began reconnaissance and investigations on the four bombers, the authorities discovered that Khan and Tanweer traveled to Pakistan by way of Turkish Airlines on November 19, 2004 and returned on February 2, 2005. The flights suggest that the bombers had a link or links in Pakistan and someone may have authorized Khan and Tanweer to carry out a terrorist act. However, no details of the trip have come to light as of this writing.

The founder of the group Al-Muhajiroun, Omar Bakri Mohammed faces prosecution under existing laws for allegedly inciting attacks on Britain.³⁶ Since 1996, Al-Muhajiroun developed cells operating around the world, especially in Pakistan where Khan and Tanweer traveled to months prior to the July 7 attacks. The group's leadership claimed to recruit hundreds of young British Muslims to fight the American forces in Afghanistan in 2001.³⁷ Bakri Mohammed's constituency and reliability has dwindled in the Muslim community since the attacks. With a national investigation underway, Bakri Mohammed has become a pariah to his Islamic colleagues because of a growing outcry for legal action to be taken against him and his inconsistent beliefs of both denouncing

³⁶ Severin Carrell, "The Attacks on London: Latest terror suspect to face charges," The Independent on Sunday, 7 August 2005. http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4159/is_20050807/ai_n14862315

³⁷ "Omar Bakri Mohammed and the London bombers," Militant Islam Monitor, 14 August 2005. <http://www.militantislammonitor.org/article/id/967>.

and praising acts of terrorism.³⁸ He has claimed to restrain British Muslims from carrying out suicide attacks as well as promoting terrorism at meetings and on the Internet. His most offensive remark was calling the July 7 bombers “the fantastic four,”³⁹ a comment that eventually led to his investigation.

Another important factor in planning the operation in the London subway was the budget and costs of the bombs used. Since the weapons were homemade (built with nails and peroxide-based ingredients), the terrorists did not have to spend a lot of money or smuggle more deadly weapons into Britain. In fact, the BBC reported that “an investigation by the BBC World Service into the cost of the London bombings last July has revealed that they cost no more than a few hundred pounds to carry out.”⁴⁰ This fact indicates that terrorism can be very cheap and incredibly hard to stop, with even the best security measures. As soon as the identities of the bombers were established, the London authorities began investigating the possible financing for the attack. Mohammed Sidique Khan worked as a teaching assistant and gave money to the other bombers to buy the materials.⁴¹ The men later paid off some debts as they prepared for a suicide mission. Compared to the cost of the Madrid bombings, the attacks on the London subway cost over ten times less than the estimated cost of \$10,000 in Madrid. Now the Madrid bombings are estimated to be around \$50,000. In essence, the London bombers planned a very successful and horrific event by taking advantage of the deadly force of cheap and homemade weaponry. No details have been discovered about who made the bombs or the origins of the homemade bombs left in the car. However, Egyptian chemist Magdy

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Michael Buchanan, “London bombs cost just hundreds,” *BBC News*.

⁴¹ Ibid.

el-Nashar was questioned and suspected as a possible bomb-maker. Nashar was a graduate student at Leeds University and came under suspicion “because he had lent the keys to his apartment to one of the men who carried out the July 7 bombings, and he left for Egypt 10 days before the blast.”⁴² He insisted he went to Egypt for vacation and Scotland Yard later stated that Nashar was no longer a suspect after questioning.

⁴² Raymond Bonner, Stephen Grey, and Don Van Natta Jr, “British Inquiry Shifts Away From Foreign Aid for Plots,” *New York Times*, 31 July 2005.

London Aftermath

The aftermath to the London subway bombings on 7/7 served to illustrate a number of parallels between the act of terrorism and its immediate effects, national reaction and preparedness, as well as its effects on a country's economy and political agenda.

Immediate:

Immediately following the explosions on the London Underground, emergency personnel, subway crews, and citizens alike took action by extinguishing fires and clearing debris, in order to free survivors. Doctors from the British Medical Association (BMA) also rushed to the scene providing immediate on site care to the injured. Their actions saved countless lives.

However, two incidents demonstrate the severe limitation of British authorities in the weeks following the attacks. The first was an attempted bombing nearly a week later. This bombing was not stopped by the authorities, but by a technical failure⁴³. The bombs were able to be detonated but with low-level force, producing only a single injury. Then on July 22, mistaken for a possible terrorist, Jean Charles de Menezes was shot and killed by metropolitan police in the London Underground.⁴⁴

⁴³ Source: Parson, Robert. 2005. U.K.: London Subway Shooting Comes As Terrorist Manhunt Continues. RadioFreeEurope, RadioLiberty <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2005/07/f57747c1-cfa0-4379-bccf-c99f09440e96.html> Access April 10, 2006

⁴⁴ *Home Town Buries Shot Brazilian* (BBC.com, Friday July 29, 2005) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/4726613.stm>

Economics:

Economic effects from the 7/7 attacks were felt throughout the United Kingdom. Within the ninety minutes following the bombings the FTSE100 fell 3.5 percent, its steepest decline since the British invasion of Iraq. The bombings also caused the price of crude oil to jump, the value of European bonds and gold to decrease, and a continued depreciation of the British pound.⁴⁵

Downtown London retail businesses felt the harsh economic impacts of the attacks as well. A report published by the London Retail Consortium found that shop sales in central London decreased by 8.9 percent following the bombings. Shortly following the attacks a study conducted by Lloyd's TSB reported that 40 percent of businesses were pessimistic about the outlook for the United Kingdom's economy through October of 2005, compared to only 26 percent in June of that year.⁴⁶ Immediately following the attacks economic implications were felt throughout the UK, but they were fortunately short lived. In the days and weeks after the bombings the stock market rebounded, and the hardest hit sectors, such as the airline industry and insurance firms recovered.⁴⁷

Political:

In the days immediately following the bombings there was an increase in anti-Muslim violence in retaliation for the attacks. But with the cooperation of the British

⁴⁵ *Markets Recover from UK Bombings* (BBC.com, Friday July 8, 2005)
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4663125.stm>

⁴⁶ *London Attacks Hit Business Mood* (BBC.com, Monday August 15, 2005)
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4152454.stm>

⁴⁷ *Markets Recover from UK Bombings* (BBC.com, Friday July 8, 2005)
<http://news.co.uk/2/hi/business/4663125.stm>

government, police, and community leaders within and outside of the Muslim community joined in condemning both the attacks and any retaliation for them which significantly curbed any further violence.⁴⁸

The anti-terror protections that were in place prior to the bombings were among the most extensive in the free world⁴⁹. The London underground has over 6,000 closed circuit videos cameras that turned out to be instrumental in determining what happened, even though authorities were unable to stop the attacks.

Aware that more needs to be done, British officials as well as other European Union member states have been working on plans to address Muslim isolation, and how to successfully integrate them into western society.⁵⁰ The initiative would have two main focuses, one, how to strengthen community coercion, and two, how to integrate minority communities. The British government has also begun a consultation process with Muslim community leaders on how to achieve greater integration. The government's post 7/7 focus has been to understand radicalism fully, what it is, and how it is spread, especially among its young Muslim population. The British government is moving towards operations that are designed to identify the individuals that are being groomed for terrorism and to shift from solely focusing on only one ethnic group.⁵¹

British authorities have outlined numerous steps that need to be taken in the future to prevent such an attack from occurring again, they have stepped up the emphasis on combating domestic threats, as well as working closely with liaison partners overseas,

⁴⁸ *Prompt Response by EU Governments and Muslims to London Bombings Praised by EUMC* (EUMC, November 10, 2005) <http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/material/pub/London/MR%20194-03-05-05-EN.pdf>.

⁴⁹ Source: Economist, July 9th.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Intelligence and Security Committee Report into the London Terrorist Attacks on 7 July 2005* (May 2006). http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Politics/documents/2006/05/11/isc_7july_report.pdf.

and increasing their recruitment efforts within the intelligence field.⁵² They are also increasing efforts to find the “Unknowns” by taking a proactive approach on identifying possible threats, by working with local municipalities and increasing the cooperation and communication among government agencies.⁵³

The aftermath of the 7/7 terrorist attacks had far reaching implications that ranged from the initial first response from not only trained professionals, but ordinary British citizens as well. The attack crippled the economy in the short –term, and brought a new wave of political debate and activism in the government. In order to prevent another terrorist attack, authorities are working on numerous levels to find new successful ways to integrate Muslim populations and to combat the spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

MADRID

Madrid: The Event

During the early morning hours of March 3 2004 a group of terrorists initiated the final stages of what would become known as the worst terrorist attack in Spanish history. By 10:30 a.m., a little less than three hours after the initial blast, 201 innocent civilians were dead with over 1,400 injured. There was initial speculation that the attack had been perpetrated by the Basque separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA). This was due to the history of violence against the Spanish people by ETA. The Madrid bombings had characteristics similar to those of an ETA attack: It occurred prior to a major political event; the attack was not perpetrated by suicide bombers; and initial reports about the types of explosives seemed consistent with ETA practices. In other respects, the attacks differed from ETA's trademark style of bombing. First, there was no advanced warning. Second, ETA had never carried out such a large scale attack with so many casualties. Finally, ETA adamantly denied involvement in the attack. In the first hours after the attack, Spanish authorities remained insistent that ETA was to blame. However, the ongoing investigation soon implicated members of the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM) in the planning and execution of the attack.

The exact events leading up to the attack are speculative, but the broad outlines are now well known. Spanish authorities believe that about six individuals were involved in the loading of the bombs onto the trains. News sources indicate that Jamal Zougam, Mohammed Oulad Akcha, Rachid Oulad Akcha, Naima Oulad Akcha, Abdennabi Kounjaa, and Basel Ghayoun were responsible for loading the ten rucksacks which

contained the bombs onto the four trains.⁵⁴ After loading the rucksacks onto the trains, the terrorists got off the trains and returned to one of their safehouses.

The first train (c-2/17305ca) left the Alcala de Henares train station at approximately 7:00 a.m. local time and carried three explosive devices in the third, fourth and sixth carriages. The second train (c-1/21431) left the Alcala de Henares train station at 7:05 a.m. and contained four explosive devices in the first, fourth and sixth carriages. The third train (c-1/21435) left Alcala de Henares at 7:10 a.m. and carried within it two explosive devices within the fourth and fifth carriages. The fourth and final train (c-7/21713) left the Alcala de Henares station at 7:15 a.m. and contained a single explosive device within the fourth carriage.⁵⁵

The devices within the first and second trains detonated almost simultaneously at approximately 7:39 a.m. local time. The first train had just pulled into the Atocha station, and the second train, which was two minutes behind schedule, was about 500m from the Atocha station when the devices detonated. Police located three other explosive devices, which had not been detonated, at the station. Had the second train been on schedule and the three other devices detonated properly it is believed by officials that the effect would have caused catastrophic damage to the station possibly collapsing the roof and increasing the death toll. The combined explosions from the first and second trains claimed 108 lives and injured hundreds more.⁵⁶

Three minutes after the first detonation (7:41 a.m.) the devices on the third train exploded while it traveled through the El Pozo station. Approximately 67 innocent people were killed. The final explosion took place at 7:42 a.m. while the train was traveling

⁵⁴ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3560603.stm>

⁵⁵ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/flash/0,5860,1167380,00.html>

⁵⁶ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3504912.stm>

through the Santa Eugenia station. The final blast was the least deadly as it claimed only 17 lives.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Background Madrid Train Bombings

On March 11, 2004 a series of ten explosions from improvised explosive devices detonated aboard four commuter trains killing 191 people in Madrid. The Basque armed separatist group known as ETA was quickly identified as the prime suspect. However, ETA denied responsibility for the attack. Usually ETA claims responsibility for its attacks which are typically of less magnitude. Given the circumstances, it was not the work of ETA but of al-Qaeda or another group acting on its behalf. One group under suspicion is the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (MICG) with which the bombers are said to have ties.

Spain, like all Western European nations, has a sizeable Muslim population. Unlike other Western European countries, however, Spain was actually part of the Arab caliphate from 711 until 1492. Spain's rich history as part of the Islamic caliphate ended with the forced expulsion, conversion, and deaths of Muslims during the Inquisition. Today, Muslims living in Spain are either immigrants or converts. Islam in Spain was officially recognized by the government in 1989. There are about 490,000 Muslims living in Spain, of which 260,000 are Spanish nationals and 230,000 are immigrants. According to Spanish traditionalists, it is not the heritage of Islam in Spain that is on Spanish minds, but the new fundamentalist variation.⁵⁸ Islamic extremists call for the liberation of al-Andalus, the medieval name for Spain.

Immigration is a major issue facing Spain and the European Union. Most immigrants in Spain are from North Africa. Illegal immigration is a major problem where migrants from North Africa find their way into Europe. The Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the coast of Morocco are common entry points into Europe.

⁵⁸ "Al-Andalus Revisited," *The Economist*, 30 July 2005.

Traffickers use the ports to ferry illegal immigrants into Europe. In 2004 nearly 16,000 illegal immigrants traveling on 740 boats were detained.⁵⁹ This is important because this is a possible way for radical Islamists to infiltrate Europe. Abdelmajid Bouchar, a Moroccan, in custody suspected in the bombings has ties to MICG. Many Moroccans and Spaniards of Moroccan origin were questioned by authorities after the attacks.

Similar to the European Islamic extremists responsible for the London subway bombings, some Muslims living in Spain have joined the call to radicalize. Unlike Muslims in the United States, most European Muslims are economically disadvantaged, poorly integrated, and tend to cluster in insular communities. Some hold the Marxist view that the Islamic world's poverty is the result of the West. Another explanation is the gap between Islamist traditionalists and modernity. Young European Muslims feel out of touch with the societies in which they live. They struggle with their immigrant background and Muslim culture while trying to live in a society that does not reflect their way of life. The mosque is a place where these young Muslims find a sense of community. As a result, they look to pro-terrorist sentiments that are preached by al-Qaeda. In these mosques, the youths learned about the problems Muslims face in places such as Palestine and Chechnya, which are also seen by them as results of Western malfeasance.

Before September 11, Al-Qaeda was a terrorist organization led by Osama bin Laden. The ruling Taliban militia provided safe haven in Afghanistan for his organization. The lead hijackers of the airplanes on September 11 were young Muslim Saudi extremists who had lived and studied in Hamburg, Germany. They displayed the

⁵⁹ Marie-Noelle Valles, "Spanish-Moroccan Summit to Address Immigration, Western Sahara," Agence France Presse, 28 September 2005.

typical characteristics of disenfranchised young European Muslims and attended the same mosque together. The cell received funding from bin Laden and trained in Afghanistan for jihad. Members of the cell obtained student visas to attend flight schools in the United States. Al Qaeda came under unremitting attack after 9/11. As a result, it has transformed into more of an ideology in which groups claim their terrorist actions in its name. The use of the Internet further helps to keep al-Qaeda afloat now that it is decentralized and fractured. Radical Internet postings, blogs, bomb making instructions, and videos can influence sympathetic young Muslims looking for al-Qaeda. The virtual realm is the final safe haven for the group.

Planning

The Initiation

The plan for the Madrid train bombing can be traced to Istanbul, Turkey. Sometime during February 2004, delegates from the Libyan, Tunisian, and Moroccan Islamic Combat Groups met in Istanbul to discuss the strategy of their respective movements. During these meetings, it is believed that the decision was made that the groups would join the Jihad against the infidel not in far foreign lands such as Iraq or Afghanistan but rather within each group's area of operation. The result of that decision was the Casablanca market bombing and the Madrid train bombings.⁶⁰

The exact date that the Madrid train bombing was first conceived is currently unknown. However, there is some evidence to suggest that the planning for the attack took place prior to September 18, 2003. On that date Emilio Suarez Trashorras (herein referred to as Emilio), Carmen Toro, Antonio Toro, Jamal Ahmidan (El Chino) Rafa Zouhier, Rachid Aglif, and Mohamed Oulad Akcha met at a hamburger shop close to the Gomez Ulla hospital in Madrid. This meeting is significant because those in attendance included members of both the Madrid cell responsible for the attack as well as the group from Aviles (in the region of Asturias) responsible for the theft and sale of the explosives used in the attack. The inclusion of members from both groups tends to indicate that the initial plan had already been conceived and had progressed to the point in which outside assistance was needed for the acquisition and preparation of the explosive materials.⁶¹

Search for Explosives

⁶⁰ Decision to carry out Madrid bombings taken in Istanbul, *Madrid El Pais* (Internet version) in Spanish 0000 GMT 22 Dec 04.

⁶¹ 3/11 may have been planned months earlier than thought, *Madrid ABC* (Internet version) in Spanish 0000GMT 15, Oct 04.

Information regarding the theft and sale of the explosives by Emilio is readily available due to testimony of a witness whose identity has been protected due to his age. This minor is known in the press as G.M.V. (a.k.a. El Gitanillo and a.k.a. the Little Gypsy). According to G.M.V., the theft and delivery of the explosives took place between the first week of January and the third week of February 2004.⁶²

The explosives were stolen from the Conchita Mine (near the town of Pravia) by a miner who was an acquaintance of Emilio. The miner would register the expenditure of more explosives than were actually used and then would store the excess explosives in the hills near the mine. Emilio arranged for the explosives to be delivered by two different methods.

The first delivery was made by coach-line by a 23 year old named Sergio Alvarez (a.k.a. Amocachi). Alvarez transferred a small duffle of explosives from Aviles to Madrid via the Alsa coach service in exchange for two 200 gram slabs of hashish. The value of the two slabs was approximately 1,000 euros.⁶³

The second delivery was made by a youth named Jimmy. Like Alvarez, Jimmy was to transfer a bag of explosives from Aviles to Madrid via the Alsa coach service. Jimmy was also supposed to deliver an unidentified sum of money to the cell in Madrid. Allegedly, Jimmy kept the money which led to problems with the Madrid cell and to the end of Jimmy's participation in the delivery of the explosives.⁶⁴

⁶²Coach services were used to transport explosives for Madrid attack, *Madrid El Mundo* (Internet version) in Spanish 0000 GMT 17 Jun 04.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid. (It remains an unanswered question why the Aviles group would be sending money to the Madrid cell. The exchange of money should have been going in the other direction. Since this fact can not be verified out side of this one source it remains a point of question.)

The final delivery made via the coach service was made by G.M.V. who picked up a small bag weighing between 15-20 kg from Emilio's house. Emilio then drove G.M.V. to the Oviedo coach station. From there G.M.V traveled via the Alsa coach service to the Mendez Alvaro station in Madrid. G.M.V. then arranged via telephone to meet with the members from the Madrid cell at the Virrey bar near the coach station. He delivered the explosives to Jamal Ahmidan (aka El Chino or the Chinaman, herein referred to as El Chino).⁶⁵

The final transfer of explosives from Aviles to Madrid was made by the Madrid cell. On Saturday 28th of February, 2004 El Chino and another member of the Madrid cell drove to Aviles in a black VW Golf. With the assistance of Emilio it took the members from the Madrid cell approximately five hours to retrieve the five bags of explosives from the hiding spot near the Conchita mine. The explosives were then driven back to Emilio's house and transferred into blue bins. On the following day, G.M.V accompanied the members from the Madrid cell back to the mine and waited for them to retrieve the final load of explosives. All of the explosives were loaded into the trunks of the VW Golf and a Toyota and driven to Madrid.⁶⁶

The total amount of explosives stolen and sold to the Madrid cell is believed to be approximately 210 kilos of Goma 2 and 260 copper detonators. Investigators have been unable to locate a financial transfer from the Madrid cell to the Aviles group as a form of payment for the stolen explosives. Hence it is believed that the Madrid cell paid for the explosives in two ways. First, it is generally believed that a Toyota Corolla stolen in Madrid on September 18th, 2003 was included as partial payment. The majority of the

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

payment however was made in the form of illegal drugs. The Madrid cell exchanged 25-30 kilos of hashish for the explosives. The estimated street value of the hashish was between 1,275 and 1,500 euros a kilo for a total value somewhere between 31,875-45,000 euros.⁶⁷

Financing

The Madrid train bombings were completely financed by the Madrid cell itself. More accurately, the bombings were financed almost completely by El Chino. Prior to his conversion to radical Islam, El Chino was a fairly successful drug trafficker. Upon joining the Moroccan Islamic Combat Group, El Chino continued his old business but with a new purpose. El Chino's new trafficking network gained assistance from his new ideological allies. Trafficking hashish and ecstasy between Morocco, the Netherlands, and Spain, El Chino was able to amass the capital needed to finance the Madrid train bombings.⁶⁸

Estimated Cost

The cost of the Madrid train bombings is estimated to be between 41,000 and 54,000 euros. This amount far exceeds the earlier estimate of 10,000 euros. Even so the Madrid cell, more specifically El Chino, had amassed approximately 1.6-2 million euros in capital and drug stockpiles. Though any other attacks planned by the Madrid cell were foiled before they could be carried out, the cell had acquired the resources necessary for a protracted campaign against the Spanish government and people.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Spanish police identify financial mastermind of Madrid bombings, *El Pais* Tuesday, May 17, 2005
T15:20: 35Z.

⁶⁸ Spanish daily details links between Madrid bombers and drug dealing, *ABC* Thursday, March 17, 2005
T19:23: 56Z

⁶⁹ Spanish police identify financial mastermind of Madrid bombings, *El Pais* Tuesday, May 17, 2005
T15:20: 35Z.

Property

The cell had three bases of operation. The first was a house in Morta de Tajuna in Madrid. The cell paid 2,520 euros a month in rent and paid 2,901 for work done on the property by Mustapha el Haddar, Hamid Ahmidan and Othman el Gnaout. The second base was a safe house in Albolote that was never used. The house was rented on March 6 2004 by Kounjaa and Rachid Ouldad. They paid 800 euros in advance for the property. The final base was the house in Leganes that was rented by Mohamed or Youssef Belhadj for 1,800 euros a month.⁷⁰

Contingency Fund

The cell also had set aside a contingency fund of approximately 52,295 euros. In El Chino's home 7,650 euros were found. In a home owned by relatives of El Chino investigators found the largest stockpile of drugs and a large sum of money. The house located on Cerro de los Angeles Street in Madrid contained 19,010 euros, 59.2 kilos of hashish and 125,800 ecstasy tablets. As previously indicated, the value of a kilo of hashish was between 1,275-1,500 euros and the ecstasy tablets sold for 10 euros a tablet. The street value of the drugs alone was between 1,353,677-1,537,663 euros.⁷¹

A review of 125 bank accounts owned by the members of the Madrid cell uncovered a number of interesting trends. First and foremost there was no evidence of international transfers to indicate a foreign source of financing. Second, the accounts were all characterized by low balances and in many cases overdrafts. When considering

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

the amount of capital available to the cell, some believe that this trend is indicative of poor financial management and planning.⁷²

Weapons

Though the date is uncertain, it is known that the cell purchased a number of weapons which were used later during the Leganes raid. The cell purchased three British made sterling automatic rifles and one, Czech made, Astra handgun, that was reported stolen from a soldier in 1997⁷³. Investigators believe that the weapons were purchased by a Bulgarian with ties to the Bulgarian mafia.⁷⁴

The bombs used in the attack were of an extremely simple design that has been popular both in attacks against Israel and Syria. The devices consisted of four components: an explosive, a detonator, a timer, and shrapnel. As previously stated, the explosive used was Goma-2 and the detonator was a simple copper detonator. The timer used was a cell phone set either to detonate upon an alarm going off or upon receiving a call.⁷⁵ The shrapnel used were regular nails. Investigators believe that the Madrid cell learned how to handle the explosives safely and construct the bomb from the Aviles group. According to G.M.V. when El Chino and his associate were picking up the explosives Emilio reminded them, “Don’t forget the nails.”⁷⁶

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Bulgarian sold guns to cell behind 11 March attack, *Madrid ABC* (Internet version) in Spanish 0000 GMT 4 May 04.

⁷⁵ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/europe/05/madrid_bombings/html/2.stm

⁷⁶ Coach services were used to transport explosives for Madrid attack, *Madrid El Mundo* (Internet version) in Spanish 0000 GMT 17 Jun 04.

Aftermath

The terrorist attacks on the Madrid railway system of March 11, 2003 influenced a range of affairs from international politics to economics. The following is a chronicle of the events following the Madrid bombing.

Immediate

The response of the Spanish authorities to the attack was swift and precise. The last bomb exploded at 7:42 a.m. By 8:00 a.m., a cordon operation was in effect. This operation was designed to stop terrorists from leaving the city and interrupted the flow of traffic in, out of, and around the city.⁷⁷ The plan reflected an awareness of the Spanish government that such an attack might one day happen in Spain.

The Spanish Emergency Medical Response Team, staffed with both professionals and volunteers, reacted quickly and efficiently to the attacks.⁷⁸ The first emergency responders arrived 10 to 15 minutes after the attack commenced. Prior to their arrival, the Spanish commuters that had escaped the attack unscathed began working to free the survivors from the wreckage and to assist the wounded.

The number of emergency personnel was initially sufficient. After the third and fourth bombs detonated, however, the number of personnel was somewhat deficient. This was due to the vast area that all of the attacks covered as well as the overwhelming number of casualties.

The immediate response of the commuters was so impressive that it spawned new conversation about training the public in how to handle such situations. As a result, a

⁷⁷ Wikipedia, 11 March, 2004 Train Bombings, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March_11,_2004_Madrid_attacks

⁷⁸ NRC Conference, *Lessons Learned from Recent Terrorist Attacks: Building National Capabilities and Institutions*, <http://www.nato.int/docu/conf/2005/050727/index.html>

group of disaster experts have begun to call for a new disaster paradigm based on a grass roots first approach.⁷⁹ This approach would focus on training communities and businesses on how to be first responders in a more organized and efficient way. To date, this remains theory and no such training has yet materialized.

Political:

The attacks came on the penultimate day of campaigning just three days before the Sunday elections.⁸⁰ As it turned out, the bombings influenced the result of the elections. This is primarily because the Spanish involvement in the Iraq War was widely unpopular in Spain. It was an issue for which the majority of the Spanish people held the government of Jose Maria Aznar accountable. After it became evident that the ETA was not responsible for the bombings and that bombings were perpetrated by Islamic extremists, new concerns were raised about Spanish foreign policy. This new concern surfaced in the elections that followed the bombings by three days. For many of the Spanish people, there was a definite connection between Spanish involvement in Iraq and the bombings of March 11. This perspective suggested that if Spain was not involved in Iraq, a war the vast majority of Spanish citizens viewed as illegal and illegitimate, then the attacks would not have occurred.

Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, the socialist opposition candidate for prime minister, recognized the emotion of the Spanish people following the March 11 attacks. Already opposed to the war, he made the war in Iraq a central issue in his platform.

⁷⁹ Christian Science Monitor, *The Real First Responders: Citizens?*, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0714/p03s01-ussc.html>

⁸⁰ Wikipedia, 11 March, 2004 Train Bombings, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March_11,_2004_Madrid_attacks

Zapatero promised that he would bring home Spain's 1,300 troops from Iraq by June unless the United Nations took control of Iraq.⁸¹

The ensuing election was a historical one with a record 77% turnout of Spanish voters. The election resulted in a socialist victory with the socialists receiving 43% of the vote while the conservatives received 37.6% of the vote. It was the first time a government that supported the invasion and occupation of Iraq would be voted out of office. Zapatero became the newly elected prime minister of Spain and did, in fact, make good on his promise to withdraw all Spanish troops from Iraq by June.

It is difficult to assess the ramifications of these events. If the goal of the terrorist attacks was to get the Spanish military out of Iraq, then the attacks were indeed successful. There is, however, no conclusive evidence to support the claim that that was the intention of the terrorists. What is known is that the attacks definitely left the world with the perception of a goal accomplished by terrorism. This may create some motivation for future terrorist attacks to achieve political goals.

National:

The events of March 11 have raised new questions about the place of the Islamic community in Spanish society. There are approximately 600,000 Muslims in a population of 40 million, the vast majority of whom are Roman Catholic.⁸² The terrorist attacks prompted new conversations about the presence of Muslims in Spain, and what if any social and legal ramifications there may be for the future of the Islamic community in Spain.

⁸¹ Armando Doronila, *Political Aftermath of Madrid Bombings*, Manila Times, http://www.inq7.net/opi/2004/mar/17/text/opi_amdoronila-1p.htm

⁸² Al-Amin Andalusi, Spanish Muslims "Rediscovered in 2004", Islam Online, <http://www.islam-online.net/English/News/2004-12/31/article04.shtml>

Historically, Muslims have not stayed in Spain. The Muslims in Spain tend to be migrants, just passing through staying only to work for a short while. This is no longer the case. Due to Spain's aging population, it is now necessary for the Spanish to import workers to offset the problem of employment for this age bubble. For this reason, many Muslims are now staying as permanent residents in Spain.

The Islamic community is not well integrated into Spanish society. Many Spanish Muslims feel alienated from a society that is becoming increasingly antagonistic towards their presence. The Madrid bombings only served to increase this skepticism throughout Spain and left the Muslims in an increasingly compromised position. Many new measures have been proposed to deal with Spain's suddenly evident Muslim population. This was done in an attempt to calm the Spanish public as well as to defuse any possible violent backlash against Spanish Muslims. The Spanish government proposed and even took many measures:

- The Spanish government unveiled an international campaign, now taken up by the UN, to encourage dialogue between Western and Islamic nations.⁸³
- The Spanish government also hired more police officers specialized in Islamic extremism rather than launching a broad crackdown on immigrants.⁸⁴
- The Zapatero government is negotiating with two major Spanish Islamic organizations in an attempt to integrate Muslims into mainstream society as a

⁸³ Daniel Woolls, Muslims in Spain Under Cloud of Suspicion, Guardian Unlimited, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/worldlatest/story/0,-5673126,00.html>

⁸⁴ Daniel Woolls, Muslims in Spain Under Cloud of Suspicion, Guardian Unlimited, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/worldlatest/story/0,-5673126,00.html>

way to prevent radicalization and reduce the alienation that feeds extremism and violence.⁸⁵

- The government also established a \$4 million dollar fund for three “minority” religions -- Islam, Judaism, and Protestantism -- and scrapped a previous administration’s plan to make Catholic curriculum mandatory in public schools.⁸⁶
- Under discussion: A plan to have all mosques register with the government.⁸⁷
- Under discussion: A plan to license imams due to complaints from several Spanish Muslim groups that there are not enough Spanish speaking imams and that Saudi Arabia had excessive influence over Spain’s mosques.⁸⁸
- A decision to legalize the status of illegal Muslim immigrants in Spain.⁸⁹
- For the first time the government has permitted the teaching of Islamic subjects in schools.⁹⁰

Although not all of these measures have been implemented, they definitely reflect the concern of the Spanish government over the future of Spanish Muslims. Furthermore, popular Spanish resentment toward Muslims still exists in Spain. It is a social problem that cannot be addressed with legislation but one that will likely complicate this issue for years to come.

⁸⁵ Tracy Wilkinson, *In Granada, once the center of a rich Muslim culture, adherents are trying to reassert their historic role amid a climate of suspicion*, LA Times: January 18,2005,

http://www.amp.ghazali.net/html/in_granada.html

⁸⁶ Wilkinson, http://www.amp.ghazali.net/html/in_granada.html

⁸⁷ Wilkinson, http://www.amp.ghazali.net/html/in_granada.html

⁸⁸ Wilkinson, http://www.amp.ghazali.net/html/in_granada.html

⁸⁹ Al-Amin Andalusi, Spanish Muslims “Rediscovered in 2004”, Islam Online, <http://www.islam-online.net/English/News/2004-12/31/article04.shtml>

⁹⁰ Al-Amin Andalusi, Spanish Muslims “Rediscovered in 2004”, Islam Online, <http://www.islam-online.net/English/News/2004-12/31/article04.shtml>

Economics:

The economic ramifications are not new for Islamic terrorist organizations. Al Qaeda, for example, seeks to accomplish two goals; 1) to create a disruption in the stability required for moving the economic system toward development and 2) to withdraw, or force the withdrawal of, foreign capitals from the local market.⁹¹ Although these goals are specifically mentioned in an Al Qaeda terror manual released days after the March 11 attacks, they are recognized by many other terror organizations around the world.

Spain suffered a substantial economic loss due to the Madrid bombings. Following the Madrid attacks, the markets reacted badly and the Euro fell vis-à-vis all major currencies. European stocks plummeted all over the world, and a climate of uncertainty tainted the confidence of international market operators in the Spanish economy.⁹² Thus the economic repercussions were great not only for Spain, but for the whole European economy as well.

Lessons Learned:

In the summer of 2005 the NATO-Russian council held a conference in Ljubljana, Slovenia concerning lessons learned from recent terrorist attacks. At the conference the Spanish national briefing team presented lessons learned by the Spanish government from the Madrid terrorist attacks in 2004. They were reported by the Spanish briefing team as follows:

⁹¹ Loretta Napoleoni, *Terror Incorporated: tracing the dollars behind the terror networks*, (Seven Stories Press New York, NY: 2005), p. 209-210

⁹² Napoleoni, p. 210

- The need to devote serious effort to long-term monitoring and analysis of the link between terrorism and common crime, as well as of the process of radicalization of fringe elements;
- The need to re-examine existing immigration laws;
- The need for sufficient communication between members of the emergency response teams; and
- The need for enhanced international law enforcement cooperation.⁹³

These lessons are ones that continue to be relevant for all Western countries attempting to address these same problems. The conclusions offered by the Spanish government offer insights that can only be gained through experience. It is valuable information that may assist various European authorities in their attempts to address the difficult realities of home grown Islamic terror in Europe.

⁹³ NRC Conference, *Lessons Learned from Recent Terrorist Attacks: Building National Capabilities and Institutions*, <http://www.nato.int/docu/conf/2005/050727/index.html>

Appendix

London Terror Suspects

The London subway bombings that occurred on July 7, 2005 were carried out by a group of four Muslim men who had links to numerous extremist Islamic groups, including Al-Qaeda. In recent years Europe has seen an increase in young Muslims turning to radical Islam as a response to discrimination and community alienation, growing Muslim unemployment in European countries, European involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq, and easy accessibility of radical propaganda on the Internet.⁹⁴ The four London bombers shared similar religious views and felt that Muslims around the world and Islam in general were being attacked by the West. Three of the four men grew up in Leeds, almost three hours north of London, were of Pakistani descent, and frequented the same community center and mosques. Lindsay, the fourth bomber, grew up in Aylesbury, southwest of London. Their feeling of alienation allowed them to be swayed by the rhetoric preached by Al-Qaeda and other radical Islamic militant groups.

With an estimated 15-20 million Muslims living in Europe, coupled with the growing fear of terrorism, young second and third generation Muslim Europeans are feeling the brunt of discrimination and unwillingness to assimilate them into Western society; this is directly leading to an increasing acceptance of extremist ideologies within European Muslim communities.⁹⁵

British authorities are certain that four men were responsible for the transit bombings killing 56 and injuring 700. Three of the four were British natural citizens, and

⁹⁴ Bill Powell *The Enemy Within* (Time Magazine, October 31, 2005).

http://www.time/Europe/html/051031/story_2.html

⁹⁵ Robert S. Leiken *Europe's Angry Muslims* (Foreign Affairs, July/August 2005).

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/front/faqs/>

second generation Pakistani descendents, the fourth man grew up in Britain, but was born in Jamaica. All the men were Muslim, all were from middle class families, and all were active in the community.

Mohammad Sidique Khan was born in Britain in 1974, of Pakistani descent. He worked at the Hamara Youth Access Point (HYAP) in Leeds, where it is believed that he recruited Tanweer and Hussain to assist in the terrorist plot. Khan's discontent over the mistreatment of Muslims may have emerged through his work with poor Muslim youths in the inner-city school in which he also worked, and their lack of social mobility.⁹⁶ During an investigation in 2004, Khan was scrutinized by MI5, the British internal security unit, but was never placed under surveillance for his connections with a foiled bombing attempt on a London nightclub.⁹⁷ Khan is also a known acquaintance of Mohammed Junaid Babar, who pleaded guilty in 2004 of supplying material support to Al-Qaeda.⁹⁸ In February 2003, Khan made a twenty-four hour trip to Israel during which a local bar in Tel Aviv was bombed.⁹⁹ Officials believe that the July 7 bombings were related to the Luton Cell that was dismantled in August 2004. Plans detailing an attack on the London subway were found in a laptop of the captured Al-Qaeda leader, Naeem Noor Khan. French Defense Ministry officials believe that the men responsible for the

⁹⁶ Russell Jenkins, Dominic Kennedy, David Lister, and Carol Midgley *The London Bombers* (Times Online, July 15, 2005). <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,22989-16937,00.html>

⁹⁷ David Leppard *MI5 Judged Bomber "No Threat"* (Times Online, July 17, 2005) <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-1697562,00.html>

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Luke Harding, and Rosie Cowan *Pakistan Militants Linked to London Attacks* (The Guardian, July, 19, 2005). <http://www.guardian.co.uk>

July 7 bombings may have been activated by Al-Qaeda after the Luton Cell was uncovered.¹⁰⁰

On July 7, 2005 Khan detonated the bomb on the Edgware train, killing 7 people. Two months after the attacks Al-Jazeera released a video featuring Ayman al-Zawahiri, Al-Qaeda's second in command, and a segment including Khan illuminating his motives for the attacks. Khan stated that "Your democratically elected governments continually perpetuate atrocities against my people all over the world."¹⁰¹

The second bomber, Shehzad Tanweer born December 15, 1982, was also of Pakistani descent. Tanweer frequented the HYAP where Kahn worked, as well as the Stratford Street Mosque where Khan and Hussain worshiped. In 2004 after traveling to Pakistan to study Islam, Tanweer returned radicalized, and obsessed with bin Laden and with becoming a martyr for Islam.¹⁰² In November 2004 Khan and Tanweer traveled to Pakistan for a three month stay. Investigators believe that while visiting Pakistan, Tanweer stayed at several madrassas, including one operated by Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), a Pakistani militant group, with known links to Al-Qaeda.¹⁰³ LeT is known to have taken over recruiting for Al-Qaeda in the wake of 9/11, due to the pressure placed on Al-Qaeda by the United States. Officials have also linked Tanweer to the terrorist group, Jaish-e-

¹⁰⁰ Brian Ross *London Bombers Tied to Al-Qaeda* (ABC News, July 14, 2005).

<http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/LondonBlast/story?id=940198&page=1>

¹⁰¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Sidique_Khan

¹⁰² Daniel McGregory, and Zahid Hussain *Cousin Listened to Blasts About Suicide Mission* (Times Online, July 22, 2005). <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,22989-1704235,00.html>

¹⁰³ Luke Harding, and Rosie Cowan *Pakistan Militants Linked to London Attacks* (The Guardian, July, 19, 2005). <http://www.guardian.co.uk>

Mohammed.¹⁰⁴ Tanweer detonated the bomb on the number 204 train that runs on the Circle Line between Liverpool Street and Aldgate, killing seven people.¹⁰⁵

The third bomber, also a British citizen of Pakistani descent was Hasib Mir Hussain. Hussain was born on September 16, 1986, and was the youngest of the four bombers. He attended the same high school as Khan and frequented the youth center where Khan worked.¹⁰⁶ Hussain also traveled to Pakistan in 2003, returning from his trip a devout Muslim.¹⁰⁷ Authorities found TATP explosive residue in a flat rented by Hussain and Egyptian chemist Magdy Mohammound Mastafa el-Nashar, who has since been cleared of any charges.¹⁰⁸ Hussain detonated the bomb on the number 30 bus in Travistock Square, killing 13 people.¹⁰⁹

The fourth bomber Germaine Maurice Lindsay, also known as Abdullah Shaheed Jamal was born in Jamaica in 1985, but Lindsay's family moved to the UK when he was less than one year old. By the age of 15 Lindsay had converted to Islam. U.S. officials stated that Lindsay was already on a terrorist watch list and that he was under surveillance by the FBI in 2001. Authorities also suspect Lindsay in connection with the same attempted London nightclub bombing as Khan.¹¹⁰ Friends of the other three

¹⁰⁴ Gethin Chamberlain *Investigators Reveal London Bomber's Link to Al-Qaeda* (The Scotsman, July, 16 2005). <http://news.scotsman.com.uk.cfm?id=1637382005>.

¹⁰⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shehzad_Tanweer

¹⁰⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasib_Hussain

¹⁰⁷ Luke Harding, and Rosie Cowan *Pakistan Militants Linked to London Attacks* (The Guardian, July, 19, 2005). <http://www.guardian.co.uk>

¹⁰⁸ *Chemistry Grad Linked to London Bombings Denies Involvement* (CBC, July 15, 2005). <http://www.cbc.ca/news>

¹⁰⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasib_Hussain

¹¹⁰ David Leppard *M15 Judged Bomber "No Threat"* (Times Online, July 17, 2005) <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-1697562,00.html>

bombers reported seeing Lindsay several times in Leeds.¹¹¹ He detonated the bomb on the Piccadilly Line train killing at least 25 people.¹¹²

Many factors lead authorities to believe that the London attacks were inspired if not directly supported by Al-Qaeda. Not only did the bombings mimic other Al-Qaeda attacks, but the majority of the London bombers had prior relations with Al-Qaeda operatives as well as training and recruiting facilities. They were also known to be acquaintances of other Islamic militant groups. Following the London attacks, Al-Qaeda released a video claiming responsibility. If the London group was an Al-Qaeda cell it would have been one of the numerous independent cells which make up the terrorist network, different from that of a traditional hierarchy establishment. Al-Qaeda finds its strength in decentralization. It is believed that smaller attacks, such as the one in London are only funded and possibly provided logistical support for by the core, but the majority of the planning and personnel are done on an independent level locally. Larger scale assaults, such as the 9/11 attacks are thought to be carried out by the core network, including bin Laden and those close to him.¹¹³

Unfortunately for the 'war on terror' Al-Qaeda has evolved from a recognizable organization into a movement, where individuals inspired by the radicalism of the terrorist group independently take up arms in the name of Al-Qaeda. This makes it increasingly difficult for authorities to immobilize Al-Qaeda, and makes the removal of top officials less significant.

¹¹¹Russell Jenkins, Dominic Kennedy, David Lister, and Carol Midgley *The London Bombers* (Times Online, July 15, 2005). <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article.0..22989-16937.00.html>

¹¹² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamal_Lindsay

¹¹³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Qaeda

Terror Suspects: Madrid

ETA: Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Fatherland and Liberty)

History:

ETA's main aim is to form an independent socialist government in areas of Spain and France inhabited by Basque people. ETA is also demanding the release of all of its members that are imprisoned or are awaiting trial.

ETA was formed in 1959 by a group of Basque students. As an organization it supports independence of all Basque territories in Spain and France. It was founded as a response to the repressive regime by Francisco Franco who tried to destroy Basque nationalism. The Basques sided with the Republican government in the Spanish Civil War; later Franco forbid all expressions of Basque national identity (flag display, celebration of Basque holidays, even speaking the Basque language in public). During this period, ETA enjoyed widespread public support.

When Spain became a democracy in 1975, the support for the group weakened, leading to ETA splitting into two different organizations; one that decried violence and transformed into a political organization and the other that kept the name and pursued its goals using violence. It is interesting that the level of violence grew with the Spanish transition to democracy. That resulted in the formation of the government backed paramilitary secret group Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberacion (GAL). GAL used the same methods as ETA and today is on the list of terrorist organizations like ETA. Between the 1980s and late 1990s, many peace negotiations between the Spanish

government and ETA failed¹¹⁴. After two political assassinations carried out by ETA, public support for the group reached a new low, which caused the number of their attacks to diminish. A truck with over 500 kg of explosives was found only weeks before the March 11, 2004 Madrid bombings. Two ETA members were imprisoned. For that reason, ETA was the prime suspect. Later investigations linked bombings to Islamic Terrorist groups. In the last week of March 2006 ETA officially declared a “permanent ceasefire”.¹¹⁵

Tactics:

ETA uses assassinations and kidnappings as their preferred methods of protest. It assassinates victims with car bombs or a single gun shot to the head. Their targets are usually pre-selected politicians, members of the Spanish police and military, judges, Basques that are loyal to Madrid, and journalists. On rare occasions they target innocent civilians or foreign tourists. ETA often informs officials before bomb detonation to allow time for evacuation. It uses anonymous threats as one method of intimidation.¹¹⁶

ETA funds its operations by racketeering local business in Basque country. It is the so called “revolutionary tax”. ETA also reportedly profits from drug and arms trafficking. It is thought that ETA was using French territory for storing arms and explosives.

Cooperation with international terrorist organizations:

¹¹⁴ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theissues/article/0,6512,780872,00.html>

¹¹⁵ The Economist, March 25th 2006

<http://www.eitb24.com/portal/eitb24/noticia/en/politics/effective-on-march-24-eta-cease-fire?itemId=D20829&cl=%2Feitb24%2Fpolitica&idioma=en>

¹¹⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ETA>

Of all the international terrorist organizations, ETA had the closest ties with the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Since both organizations had separatist tendencies, they were supportive of each other's political goals. ETA's ties to the Palestinian movement forced the Spanish government to recognize Israel in 1986.

As a left wing organization, ETA was supported by many similar pro-communist organizations throughout Europe and Latin America, which helped to supply ETA. Several countries in Latin America provided political asylum to some ETA members. The Colombian government accused ETA and IRA members of training Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia–Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP - Spanish for "Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia–People's Army") guerilla.¹¹⁷

Following the March, 11 2004 bombings in Madrid, investigators tried unsuccessfully to establish evidence of possible cooperation between Basque and Islamic terrorist groups.

Al-Qaeda (إدعاقلا - “the foundation”, “the base” in Arabic)

History:

¹¹⁷ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ETA>

Al Qaeda is a terrorist group thought to be behind many terrorist attacks on civilians, military forces and objects, financial institutions, etc. The group is led by Osama Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. Bin Laden prefers to use the term “International Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders”¹¹⁸ to Al-Qaeda. The name “Al-Qaeda” was used before 2001, but was formalized then because the U.S. government decided to prosecute Bin Laden in absentia using an anti-Mafia law. According to this law the criminal organization must be named.¹¹⁹

Ultimately Al Qaeda seeks to recreate the Caliphate all over the Islamic world; to overthrow Western supported governments and to destroy Israel. Western governments, especially the United States’ are anti- Islamic, according to Al Qaeda, and the organization, according to its leaders, will operate until Western troops withdraw from the Middle East.¹²⁰

Tactics:

Al Qaeda mainly uses bombs and explosives. The deadliest attack was 9/11 in which hijacked planes were flown into buildings in NYC and Washington, D.C. Suicide bombers are often used. The organization’s favorite targets are civilians, diplomatic and financial offices, military personnel and facilities, tourist centers, infrastructure and mass transportation systems.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda>

¹¹⁹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda>

¹²⁰ <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/terror-qaeda.html>

¹²¹ http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/misc/janes010928_1_n.shtml

Major attacks:¹²²

November 1995 - Bombing of a U.S. military facility in Riyadh

June 1996 – Khobar Towers bombings

August 1998 – Bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar el Salaam, Tanzania, killing more than 200 people

October 2000 – USS Cole bombing

September 11, 2001 – Four planes were hijacked, three reached their designated targets: the first two into the World Trade Center and the third into the Pentagon. The fourth crashed in Pennsylvania. These were the deadliest of all terrorist attacks in history with close to 3,000 dead.

March 11, 2004 - Madrid commuter train bombings, but the link to Al Qaeda is only suspected. 191 people died.

July 7, 2005 – London subway bombings, 56 people died. Al Qaeda connection is found but the level of involvement in the attacks remains unknown.

July 23, 2005 – Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt bombings; car bombs killed approximately 90 people.

Cooperation with other terrorist organizations:

Al Qaeda evolved from a side organization that was supportive of Islamic rebels to a major terrorist world organization. No one can determine exactly how large Al Qaeda is. Bin Laden and Al-Zawahiri merged their organizations and Egyptian Islamic Jihad came under the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders. This organization initially had ties with several Islamic regimes, but after the first major

¹²² <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9126/>

terrorist attacks, these same regimes renounced Al-Qaeda¹²³. It depended on Taliban hospitality. When the Taliban regime was overthrown, Al Qaeda took a great hit.¹²⁴

Al Qaeda as an organization does not have a strong hierarchical structure. Through many links it is connected with other Islamic terrorist groups. One example is Al Qaeda's connection with the Indonesian Islamic group Jemaah Islamiyah that was responsible for the 2002 Bali bombings.¹²⁵ The Madrid and London bombings had ties with Al Qaeda although to this day it is unknown to what extent. There is suspicion that after a terrorist attack, many groups use Al Qaeda's name despite the fact that they have little connection to this organization.

Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (Group Islamique Combattant Marocain – GICM)

History:

GICM is thought to have been established in the 1990s. The primary goal of this terrorist organization is establishing the Islamic State in Morocco. Its area of operation is Northern Africa. This group is the prime suspect in the March 11, 2004 Madrid bombings.¹²⁶ Many of the members of this terrorist group fought against the Soviets or later trained in camps in Afghanistan. The origins of this group lie in the Moroccan group Shabiba Islamiya.

¹²³ http://terrorismfiles.org/organisations/al_qaida.html

¹²⁴ <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9126/>

¹²⁵ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda>

¹²⁶ <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/gicm.htm>

Tactics:

GICM uses exclusively bombings and suicide bombings. The group is specialized in the falsification of travel documents, and presumably arms trafficking.

Major attacks:

May 16, 2003 - Casablanca, Morocco – five simultaneous bombs that killed 45, including 12 bombers.¹²⁷

March 11, 2004 – Madrid commuter train bombings, 191 dead. This was not a suicide attack. GICM is the prime suspect although other organizations may have been involved.

Connections with other terrorist organizations:

GICM is a very mysterious organization and experts cannot precisely determine its size or influence. The Madrid attacks proved that the organization's intentions are not only to operate in Morocco but in Western Europe as well. Because of large Moroccan emigration in all parts of Western Europe, it is thought that the group is well connected. Many group members have close ties with their co-fighters from Afghan wars, which is one of the primary reasons for the belief that this group is connected with Al Qaeda, as well as with other radical Islamic groups.

¹²⁷ "Fighting Back; The hunt for terrorists in Spain and France," *The Economist*, April 7, 2004.