

Negotiating Hostage Crises with the "New Terrorists"



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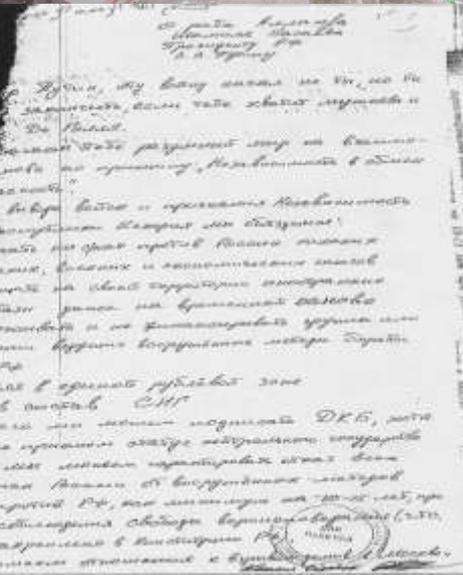
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The Setup



Characteristics of a negotiable hostage incident (FBI)

1. The desire to live on the part of the hostage taker
2. The threat of force by the police
3. The hostage taker must present demands for release of hostages.
4. The negotiator must be viewed by the hostage taker as someone who can hurt but desires to help
5. The negotiator needs time to develop trust with hostage takers.
6. The location must be contained and stabilized to support negotiations
7. The hostage taker and negotiator must have a reliable means of communication, either by phone or face to face
8. The negotiator must be able to "deal" with the hostage taker who controls the hostages and makes the decisions



The Dubrovka Hostage Crisis



Day 1

- October 23, 2002
- 21:15 – takeover
- Securing location
- Orders to call
- Cordon
- 30 hostages released



A person wearing a dark hoodie and dark pants is sitting on the floor, leaning forward and using a laptop. The person's face is partially obscured by shadows. The background is a plain, light-colored wall. In the bottom left corner, there is a black rectangular box containing the text '®Imam' in white.

®Imam

Day 2:

- Aslakhhanov contact
- Hostage call to NTV
- Media demand
- Kadyrov offer
- 1 AM: green path offer
- Ransom statement
- Chechens from Moscow



Day 2 contn'd

- By 4 AM over 150 hostages released
- Woman enters theatre
- Self-imposed deadline for release of foreigners
- 6 AM “drunken policeman” incident
- 10:20 – negotiators demanded



Day 2 contn'd

- 13:00 – Kobzon enters
- 15:00 – Kobzon and Hakamada
- 18:35 – shots inside
- Late evening:
Interview



Day 3

- 3 AM: Roshal and NTV
- Hostages released
- Another deadline for release of foreigners
- Water pipe
- 10-11 demonstration demand, execution deadline
- Noon: 8 children released
- Broadcast, release cancelled
- 15:00 Politkovskaya
- 16:00 Kremlin meeting, statement
- Execution threat
- 22:00 Azeri hostages released
- 23:20 Kazantsev call
- 23:30 Roma, more shots fired

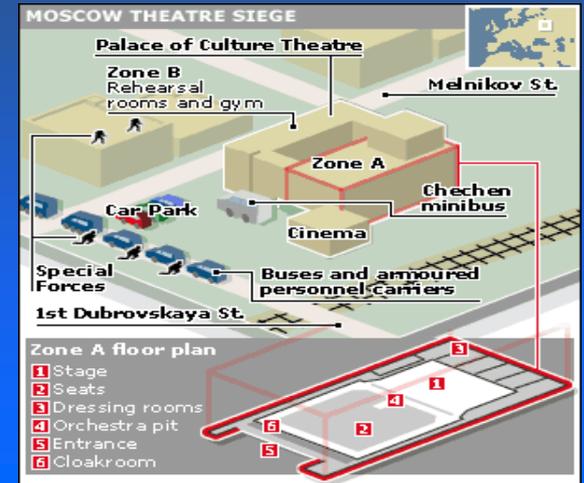


Day 4

- Midnight: Message circulates
- 5:15 gas released
- 5:46 storming
- 7:20 siege over



The Assault



The Chechen Team



Goals of Operation

- Target
- Timing
- Tactic
- History



Lessons of History

- 14 June, 1995: **Budyonnovsk**
- 9 January, 1996: **Kizlyar**



Conclusions

- Negotiation used as “alibi”
- Teaching a lesson
- Terrorists well-prepared
- Direct obstructions
- Assault professional, consequence management poor
- Terrorists achieved goals
- Future implications



Implications for Beslan

- Larger operation involving multiple coordinated attacks
- Infiltration
- Increased radicalization in targeting
- Upping up the stakes
- Response







Y-486XB 99



The Beslan School Crisis







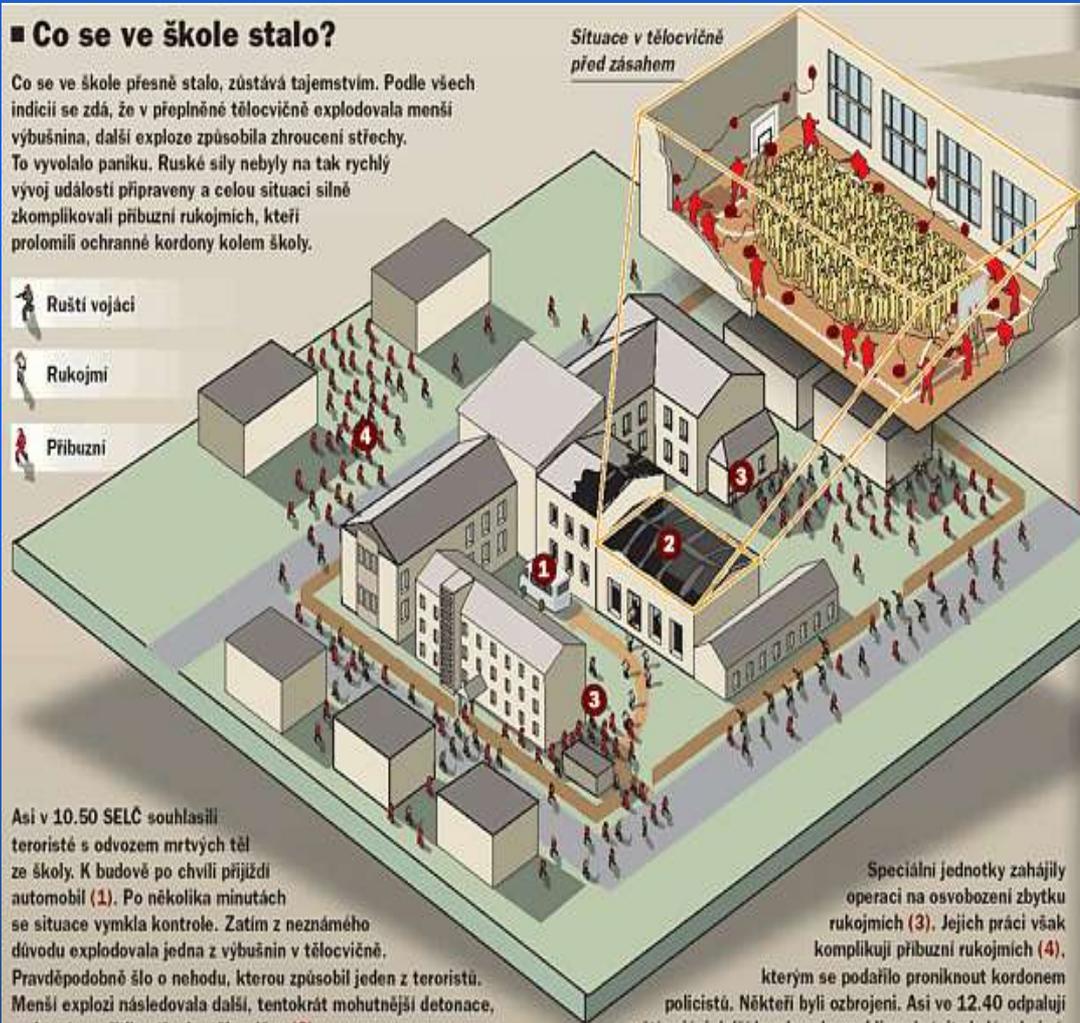
The Beslan Crisis

■ Co se ve škole stalo?

Co se ve škole přesně stalo, zůstává tajemstvím. Podle všech indicií se zdá, že v přeplněné tělocvičně explodovala menší výbušnina, další exploze způsobila zhroutil se střechy. To vyvolalo paniku. Ruské síly nebyly na tak rychlý vývoj události připraveny a celou situaci silně zkomplikovali příbuzní rukojmích, kteří prolomili ochranné kordony kolem školy.

-  Ruští vojáci
-  Rukojmí
-  Příbuzní

Situace v tělocvičně před zásahem



Asi v 10.50 SELČ souhlasili teroristé s odvozem mrtvých těl ze školy. K budově po chvíli přijíždí automobil (1). Po několika minutách se situace vymkla kontrole. Zatím z neznámého důvodu explodovala jedna z výbušnin v tělocvičně. Pravděpodobně šlo o nehodu, kterou způsobil jeden z teroristů. Menší exploze následovala další, tentokrát mohutnější detonace, po které se zřítila střecha tělocvičny (2).

Speciální jednotky zahájily operaci na osvobození zbytku rukojmích (3). Jejich práci však komplikují příbuzní rukojmích (4), kterým se podařilo proniknout kordonem policistů. Někteří byli ozbrojeni. Asi ve 12.40 odpalují ruští vojáci další bomby, aby mohli zachránit zbylé rukojmí.



CAP/ANTV RUSSIAN TELEVISION



Day 1

- Terrorists set off
- 710: Sultan Gurashev in Khurikau
- 908: takeover
- 1000: first hostage killed
- 1235: First contact with outside
- 1300: Roshal called
- Afternoon: argument
- 1600: Hostage executions
- Nursing mothers separated out
- Explosion

Day 2

- After midnight: Roshal's call
- 1000: announcement about hostages, phone – another letter
- Mikhail Gutseriev calls
- Noon: Aushev arrives, Maschadov idea, prisoner for hostage swap idea
- 1530 Aushev goes in
- Efforts to bring in food
- Mamsurov
- Older hostages separated out
- Lights out
- 2100: Free passage offer
- After 2200: Troops order to pull back
- After midnight: agreement planned

48 HOURS

ВРЕМЯ ВЕСЕЛЬЯ

2 9.04

16:22:51

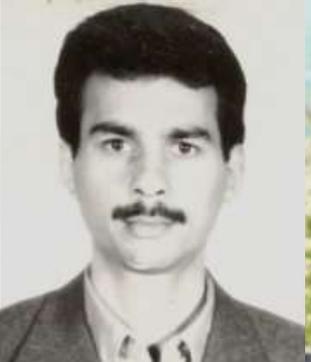
Day 3

- 1240: agreement to collect bodies
- 1302: blast
- 1305: telephone contact
- 1330: roof collapses
- 1635: terrorists split
- 1813: Final contact
- 0200: end of crisis



The Team



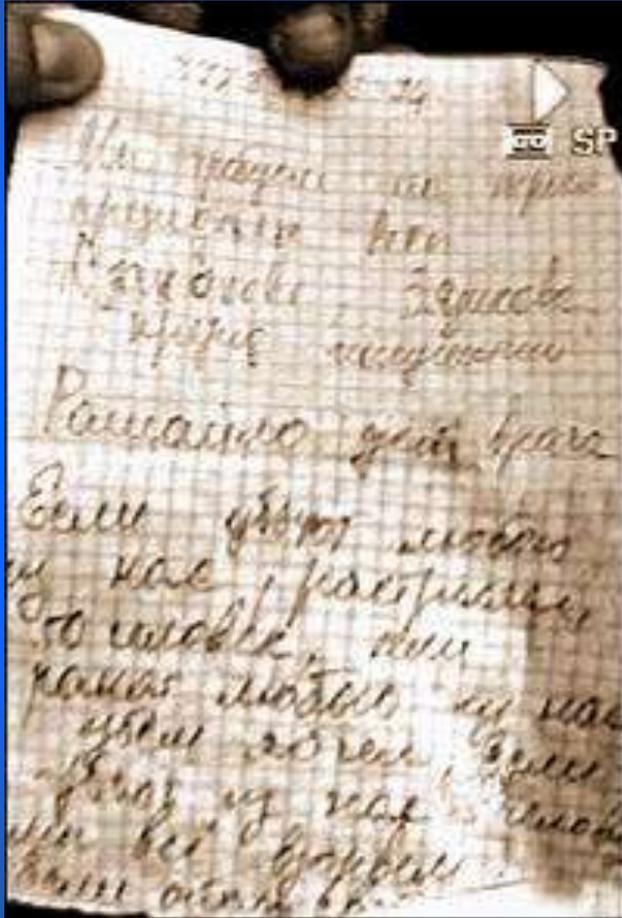


Goals of Operation

- Target
- Timing
- Tactic
- History

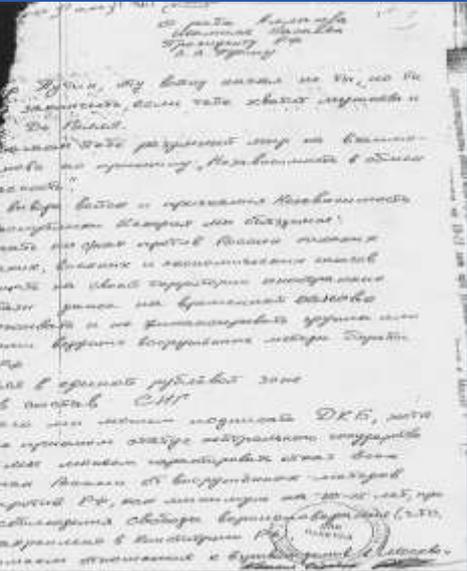


Note 1



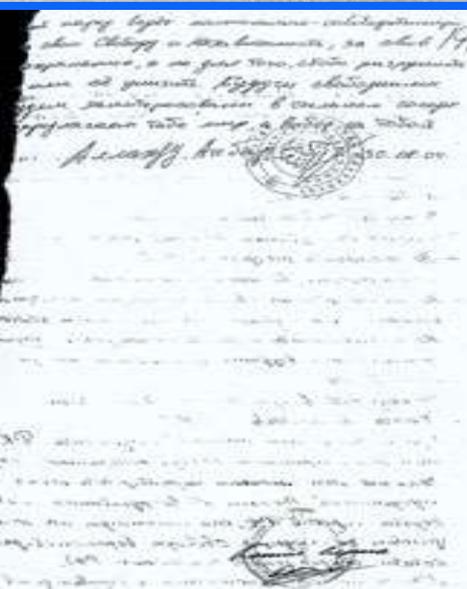
"8-928-738-33-374 We demand for negotiations President of the Republic Dzhosokhov, Zaizikov, president of Ingushetia, Roshal, children's doctor. If they kill any one of us, we will shoot 50 people to pieces. If they injure any one of us, we will kill 20 people. If they kill 5 of us, we will blow up everything. If they turn off the light, even for a minute, we will shoot to pieces 10 people."

To President Putin form Allah's slave Shamil Basayev



"Vladimir Putin, you were not the one to start the war, but you could be the one to end it, that is if you find the courage and resolve to act like de Gaulle. **We are offering you peace on a mutually beneficial basis in line with the principle "independence for security"**."

We can guarantee that **if you withdraw the troops and recognize Chechen independence**, then: We will not strike any political, military or economic deals with anyone against Russia; We will not have any foreign military bases even temporary ones, we will not support or finance groups fighting the Russian Federation, **we will join the Commonwealth of Independent States**, we will stay in the ruble zone, we could **sign the Collective Security Treaty**, although we would prefer the status of a neutral state; **we can guarantee that all of Russia's Muslims will refrain from armed methods of struggle against the Russian Federation, at least for 10-15 years**, on condition that freedom of religion be respected...The Chechen nation is involved in the national liberation struggle for its Freedom and Independence and for its preservation. **It is not fighting to humiliate Russia or destroy it. As a free nation, we are interested in a strong neighbor.** We are offering you peace and the choice is yours..."



What should have been done?

- Don't escalate
- Focus on expressive nature of demand
- Ask "why"
- Break up the demands
- Achieve survivability of hostages
- Prolong the incident
- Get people out
- Communicate















СЫК
СМЕРТЬ
ПРАВА
ШЕТОМ

КАРАЧЕВСК
ВЫШУ ТЕРРОРИСТОВ

КАРАЧЕВСК С ВАМИ НЕТ ТЕРРОРУ

С
Т



История
Александровский мост
Сестровицы
МЫ СКОРБИМ
ВМЕСТЕ РУХАДУТ СМЕРТЬ
И ФАШИИ
НИИ ФИЛАНДИ

АЭТИРВРУ
ЗУИЛА
МНОЖ
ПОМНИ

























К ТЕБЕ И МАГО
МАХУС

ЧАСУ







Changes needed

- Understand their strategic plan
- Deviating from standard guidelines
- Change of expectations and non-negotiable demands
- Free passage
- Pre-meditation
- Executions
- Suicidal posture
- Use of intermediaries
- “The boss does not negotiate”
- Shifting centre of gravity
- Decreasing utility of “tricks” and deception

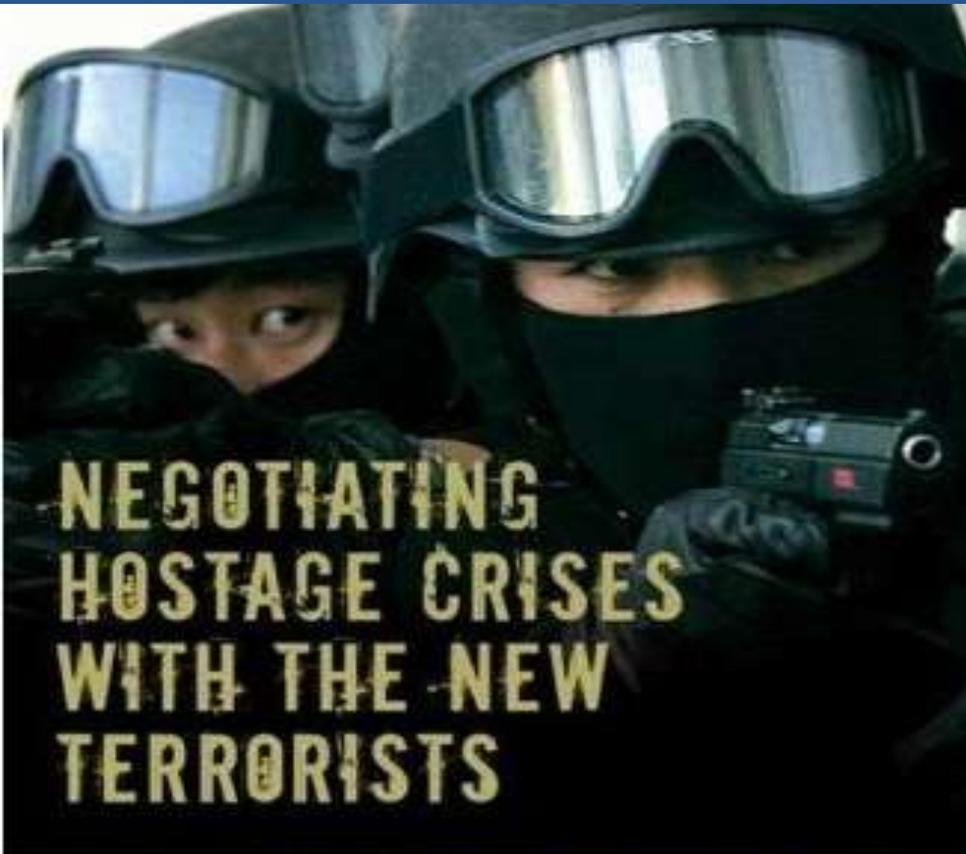
What needs to be done?

- Keep your eyes on the prize, prioritize
- Remain self-diagnostic
- Don't negotiate with "terrorists"
- Don't escalate
- Focus on expressive nature of demand
- Ask good questions
- Justification and logic: criteria
- Validation of what is not unreasonable, wedge between grievances and actions
- Achieve survivability of hostages
- Prolong the incident
- Get people out
- Keep communications going

Conclusions

- Always negotiate with terrorists
- Never negotiate with “terrorists”
- “New terrorists” can be negotiated with
- Barricade hostage crisis = expression of possibility of a negotiated outcome
- Hostages die in blundered rescues
- Crisis within crisis
- Learn the right lessons
- Understand the group (bait)
- Revision of diagnostic procedures
- Think outside “the box”
- What is your contribution?

Want to Know More?



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KEITH M. FITZGERALD**



The Royal United Services Institute

Whitehall Report 2-07

Negotiating the Impossible? The Beslan Hostage Crisis

Adam Dolnik

