



NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**SECURING THE NHL GLOBAL SERIES:
HOW INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM CAN
THREATEN HOCKEY**

by

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December 2020

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188</i>	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instruction, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188) Washington, DC, 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE December 2020	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE SECURING THE NHL GLOBAL SERIES: HOW INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM CAN THREATEN HOCKEY			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Blaize A. Dunn				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE A	
13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words) The Canadian-born National Hockey League (NHL) has become more popular and more profitable due to its success within the North American market, particularly the United States. Because of this success, the NHL created its Global Series program to bring the world's most premier ice hockey to fans across the world, starting with Europe. American influence on NHL culture, marketing, and business has allowed the league to globalize in Europe, and this globalization poses specific and unique threats that stakeholders may not be considering—for example, terrorism. This thesis considers how the NHL can prepare to deal with the threat of international terrorism while operating overseas to ensure the safety and security of their personnel and events. The thesis concludes that anti-Americanism is an underlying, persistent, and increasing threat in Europe as NHL overseas operations expand. Specifically, this thesis finds that anti-Americanism is often easily linked with anti-capitalism, anti-globalization, and anti-culturalization movements in Europe. Ultimately, the thesis recommends that NHL Global Series security stakeholders consider the anti-American threat and sentiment in a host nation to secure the games. Further, this thesis recommends that NHL executives also consider anti-Americanism when planning future expansions.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS National Hockey League, NHL, hockey, ice hockey, global series, terrorist, terrorism, international terrorism, anti-Americanism, security, sports security, sports venue security, sports event security, major sports event security, European sports event security, mass gatherings			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 67	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UU	

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**SECURING THE NHL GLOBAL SERIES: HOW INTERNATIONAL
TERRORISM CAN THREATEN HOCKEY**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(HOMELAND SECURITY AND DEFENSE)**

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
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ABSTRACT

The Canadian-born National Hockey League (NHL) has become more popular and more profitable due to its success within the North American market, particularly the United States. Because of this success, the NHL created its Global Series program to bring the world's most premier ice hockey to fans across the world, starting with Europe. American influence on NHL culture, marketing, and business has allowed the league to globalize in Europe, and this globalization poses specific and unique threats that stakeholders may not be considering—for example, terrorism. This thesis considers how the NHL can prepare to deal with the threat of international terrorism while operating overseas to ensure the safety and security of their personnel and events. The thesis concludes that anti-Americanism is an underlying, persistent, and increasing threat in Europe as NHL overseas operations expand. Specifically, this thesis finds that anti-Americanism is often easily linked with anti-capitalism, anti-globalization, and anti-culturalization movements in Europe. Ultimately, the thesis recommends that NHL Global Series security stakeholders consider the anti-American threat and sentiment in a host nation to secure the games. Further, this thesis recommends that NHL executives also consider anti-Americanism when planning future expansions.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

9/11	September 11, 2001
AFA	Anarchist Federation of Finland
AfD	Alternative for Deutschland
AQAP	Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
BfV	German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution
CISA	Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
ESPN	Entertainment and Sports Programming Network
EU	European Union
G20	Group of Twenty
IED	improvised explosive device
IOC	International Olympic Committee
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MLB	Major League Baseball
NBA	National Basketball Association
NCAA	National Collegiate Athletic Association
NENT	Nordic Entertainment Group
NFL	National Football League
NHL	National Hockey League
SEAR	Special Event Assessment Rating
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisors, Dr. Carolyn Halladay, and Dr. Erik Dahl. Thank you for the knowledge, understanding, patience, and time you so graciously gave me as part of this process to earn my degree. Dr. Halladay, thank you for inspiring me to use my time at the Naval Postgraduate School to think outside of the box, pick a topic outside of the norm, and attempt to help the sport that I love so much. Dr. Dahl, thank you for your always helpful guidance and constructive criticism that allowed me to make this project a reality. Both of you were instrumental in the success of this thesis, and I could not have imagined two better and more suited academic professionals to help temper my ideas of grandeur into a polished end product.

Second, I would like to thank my family and friends for their love and support during my time in the military and while earning my degree. I would not be where I am, or the man I am today, without your help.

Next, I would like to thank all the mentors and leadership I have had during my career in the military. Your guidance and input have pushed me to strive to be better. Your influence has driven my desire to be a better leader, and the examples you have displayed are beacons for my pursuit. For that, I am eternally grateful.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my beautiful, caring, and loving wife, Danielle. Your love, patience, and kindness are unmatched, and I learn every day how lucky I am to have you in my life. Thank you for your steadfast support during my time in the military and at the Naval Postgraduate School.

Go Avs Go!

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I. INTRODUCTION

The National Hockey League (NHL) is one of North America's premier sports leagues, and it is growing in popularity, prominence, and revenue. The increasing global appetite for premier ice hockey impelled the league to undertake its Global Series program, which began in 2017.¹ Through the Global Series program, certain NHL teams play one or two of their regular season games overseas, while other teams hold their pre-season training camps or play in exhibition games overseas.² Global Series events are extremely popular and often sell all available tickets within a matter of hours.³

The popularity of overseas Global Series events may increase the exposure of players and fans to terrorist attacks, especially given terrorists' recently popularized tactic of attacking mass gatherings of people, combined with a history of terrorism on sporting venues in Europe and other parts of the world.⁴ NHL security at games within the North American market has been administered safely and successfully for many years without incident. However, the threat of terrorism is persistent and foremost on the minds of the officials charged with securing these events. This task could become even more complicated given the international travel, logistics, planning, and execution of overseas events. Still, the NHL and foreign host-country stakeholders will continue to offer international events and therefore must provide a high level of security that mitigates and prepares for all potential risks and threats.

¹ "Games outside North America," NHL Records, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://records.nhl.com/events/games-outside-north-america>.

² "Global Series Games Announced," NHL, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.nhl.com/news/2019-nhl-global-series-games-announced/c-305921940>.

³ "Gary Bettman Announces Games for 2020 NHL Global Series," Sportsnet, November 8, 2019, <https://www.sportsnet.ca/hockey/nhl/gary-bettman-announces-games-2020-nhl-global-series/>.

⁴ David Conn, "Dortmund Attack: How Soccer Has Become a Target of Terrorists," *Irish Times*, April 12, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/sport/soccer/champions-league/dortmund-attack-how-soccer-has-became-a-target-of-terrorists-1.3046763>.

A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What is the terrorist threat to NHL overseas games? How can the NHL prepare to deal with international terrorism while operating overseas to ensure the safety and security of their personnel and events?

B. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Since its inception in 1917, the NHL has grown from a small collection of four Canadian teams composed of only Canadian-born players to a league of 24 American teams and seven Canadian teams that recruit its talent from all over the world.⁵ While the NHL was born in Canada, it quickly benefited from the expansion in the American market, and thus, the majority of wealth and power in the organization is held by American team ownership. Traveling abroad to generate more revenue and interest more talent in support of its Global Series, the NHL largely represents America, its ideals, and its economic interests, which thus makes it a prime target for those with anti-American sentiments who wish harm upon the United States. Considering the NHL's annual revenue has only grown since the \$4.86 billion generated during the 2017–2018 season, this continual growth in corporate wealth makes the NHL a potentially lucrative target.⁶

As such, companies like the NHL continue to globalize its business and become more susceptible to threats of international terrorism, as well as the local and regional threats that afflict particular parts of the world and that may be less familiar to U.S. security officials. It also increasingly runs into the challenge—and potential threat—of anti-Americanism inspiring terrorists, whether international (for example, Islamic State and its adherents) or domestic (extremists of the left or the right). An attack against a very large U.S.-based company with a media footprint to match may have significant economic and political ramifications, and the NHL and its Global Series program are not invulnerable to that threat.

⁵ “NHL Records,” NHL History, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://records.nhl.com/history>.

⁶ Brad Adgate, “Hockey’s Big Pay Day Is Coming,” *Forbes*, January 15, 2019, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bradadgate/2019/01/15/hockeys-big-pay-day-is-coming/#18212ff34e44>.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

A thorough review of relevant literature from researchers and field experts finds a general and persistent threat to sports venues, U.S.-based sports organizations, and a steady and persistent increase in anti-American sentiment among Europeans. The collection of data in the literature reviewed has been gathered through analyzing successful terrorist attacks, determining motivations of the attackers, and analyzing anti-American rhetoric and sentiment throughout European, both historically and in modern times. This section seeks to reveal the most current understanding of the threats known to sporting events (both in the United States and in Europe) and the literature describing the current anti-American sentiment in Europe and abroad.

1. Threats to Sports Venues

Many studies have been conducted to substantiate the reality that sports venues are prime targets for terrorist attacks. One such study conducted in 2010 by Andrew Silke examined the terrorist threat faced by the Olympics. Silke finds that a wide range of terrorist groups (Christian fundamentalists, nationalist separatists, Islamist extremists, militant Marxists, etc.) have either attacked or plotted to attack every summer Olympics since the Munich Games in 1972; widely regarded by experts as the most defining and prolific sports venue attack.⁷ The continual terrorist threat the Olympics have faced are due to the reality that major sporting events correlate with a significant media presence that is inherent due to the popularity of the sporting event itself; a higher media presence equals more attention to the attack that thus more effectively achieves the terrorist's goals.⁸ Silke further notes that almost no terrorist groups that targeted the Olympics did so for hatred of the sport, but because they wished to influence a country involved in the Games.⁹ The implications of a successful attack at such a highly visible sporting event are

⁷ Andrew Silke, "Understanding Terrorist Target Selection," in *Terrorism and the Olympics: Major Event Security and Lessons for the Future*, ed. Anthony Richards, Pete Fussey, and Andrew Silke, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2010), 49; James Gehring, "Sports Venue Security: Public Policy Options for SEAR 4-5 Events" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), 16.

⁸ Silke, 56.

⁹ Silke, 58.

embarrassment to the host nation, loss of countries' players and fans, massive media attention to the terrorist's cause, and immense economic impacts for many different countries. Silke also asserts that it would be "naïve in the extreme" to believe that terrorist groups would not be interested in attacking other major sporting events as well.¹⁰

The terrorist threat to sporting venues is not limited to such "major sporting events" as the Olympics. According to a 2014 study on sports venue security conducted by James Gehring, he finds that terrorists are likely to consider attacking "softer targets"—for example, regular season sports games—due to the fact that they are inherently less secure than a "harder target," for example, the Olympics or the National Football League's (NFL) Super Bowl.¹¹ Furthermore, while regular season games are not quite the same spectacle as a championship game (implying less desire by terrorists to attack), Gehring notes a significant fan attendance, 1.1 million people for the NFL and 3.4 million for college football.¹² Thus, Gehring asserts that regular-season games are becoming more viable options for a successful terrorist attack on "softer" targets. While most studies reflect the threat to sports events themselves, examples include sports venues hosting concerts, or other mass gathering events, having been attacked by terrorists as well. One such example was the suicide bombing of a 2017 Ariana Grande concert in the Manchester Arena in England.¹³ The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) ultimately claimed responsibility for the attack.¹⁴

Overall, the literature establishing threats to sports venues has been collected though a number of individual case studies and the collection of data from successful terrorist attacks on sports venues, as well as examples of thwarted attacks. Experts in the

¹⁰ Silke, 49.

¹¹ Gehring, "Sports Venue Security," 53.

¹² Gehring, 48.

¹³ Rory Smith and Sewell Chan, "Ariana Grande Manchester Concert Ends in Explosion, Panic and Death," *New York Times*, sec. World, May 22, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/22/world/europe/ariana-grande-manchester-police.html>.

¹⁴ Katrin Bennhold, Steven Erlanger, and Ceylan Yeginsu, "Terror Alert in Britain Is Raised to Maximum as ISIS Claims Manchester Attack," *New York Times*, sec. World, May 23, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/world/europe/manchester-arena-attack-ariana-grande.html>.

field find the terrorist threat to be ever persistent and increasing in terms of problem-solving abilities, sophistication, and adaptability to defeating modern security strategies.¹⁵ The literature suggests the most likely terrorist threat to sports venues lies within the use of “lone wolf” tactics for it is the most difficult to detect, track, and expose prior to attack.¹⁶ However, experts and researchers still place serious consideration and emphasis on well-funded, coordinated, and multi-faceted complex attacks by small groups of individuals as demonstrated by in the 2015 Paris attacks, the 2008 Mumbai attacks, and the 1972 Munich Olympics attacks.

2. Threats Specific to U.S.-based Sports Organizations

A number of scholars have examined the two most famous cases of domestic terror attacks on sporting events in the United States, which are the bombing of the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, and more recently, the Boston Marathon Bombing in 2013. A study carried out by Anthony Richards, Pete Fussey, and Andrew Silke notes that Eric Rudolph—the perpetrator of the Atlanta Games bombing—utilized a homemade, 40lb nail bomb to kill two people and injure over 100.¹⁷ Richards et al. describe Rudolph as an extremist Christian fundamentalist fringe actor intent on embarrassing the U.S. government because of its policies on sanctioning abortion.¹⁸ Rudolph then further explains his knowledge of the money invested by multinational governments and corporations to secure the Olympic Games, and the manner in which this knowledge helped solidify his decision to attack this perception of security and cause significant financial loss.¹⁹ Following Andrew Silke’s terrorist target selection, the study finds that Rudolph targeted the Olympics, not due to animosity against sports, but to cause the U.S. government severe public humiliation

¹⁵ Gehring, “Sports Venue Security,” 12.

¹⁶ Ramon Spaaij and Mark Hamm, “Endgame? Sports Events as Symbolic Targets in Lone Wolf Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38, no. 12 (July 29, 2015): 1025.

¹⁷ Anthony Richards, Pete Fussey, and Andrew Silke, “Towards an Understanding of Terrorism and the Olympics,” in *Terrorism and the Olympics: Major Event Security and Lessons for the Future*, ed. Anthony Richards, Pete Fussey, and Andrew Silke, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2010), 3.

¹⁸ Richards, Fussey, and Silke, 4.

¹⁹ Silke, “Understanding Terrorist Target Selection,” 58.

through the significant media coverage of the Olympics, a factor that experts find common among other terrorists who target sports venues.²⁰

James Gehring notes that the Tsarnaev brothers who carried out the Boston Marathon Bombing were radicalized by the al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) published *Inspire* magazine.²¹ The magazine had been found to contain instructions for the development of homemade improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Gehring finds that knowledge of IED construction paired with vulnerabilities of the Boston Marathon, and cellphone use for tactical coordination allowed the Tsarnaev brothers to carry out their attack successfully in 2013. A report generated by the U.S. House of Representatives following the aftermath of the bombing notes the Tsarnaev brothers' motivation for carrying out the attacks came from U.S. military action in the Middle East. Specifically, Dzhokhar Tsarnaev scribbled a note on the interior of the boat where he hid after the ensuing manhunt; the note stated, "When you attack one Muslim, you attack all Muslims."²²

Studies conducted by experts conclusively find that threats to U.S.-based sports teams certainly exist and are generally based on specific grievances that include, but are not limited to, U.S. foreign, economic, and domestic policies, as well as American societal and cultural ideals.²³ Similar to experts examining threats to sports venues, experts who have examined threats to U.S.-based sports organizations conduct case studies of previous attacks and data on thwarted attacks to draw conclusions. However, the data set is somewhat constrained given that the only two examples of successful attacks on U.S.-based sports organizations are the bombings of the 1996 Atlanta Games and the 2013 Boston Marathon. Again, similar to the broader studies of threats to sports venues, experts note that the terrorist threats to U.S.-based sports organizations are greatest from "lone

²⁰ Silke, 58.

²¹ Gehring, "Sports Venue Security," xvii.

²² House Homeland Security Committee Report, *The Road to Boston: Counterterrorism Challenges and Lessons from the Marathon Bombings* (Washington, DC: House of Representatives, 2014), 20.

²³ Gehring, "Sports Venue Security," 5–6; Silke, "Understanding Terrorist Target Selection," 52–58.

wolves” or small groups of attackers utilizing IEDs being delivered by a number of different methods (vehicle, backpack, etc.).²⁴

3. Anti-Americanism as a Threat

Literature on anti-Americanism indicates that the ideology is extremely complex and can increase and decrease on a number of factors, sometimes within the control (policy) of the United States and sometimes outside of its control (culture).²⁵ Anti-Americanism, as defined by Martin Griffiths and Brendon O’Connor, is essentially an attitude that America is a “demonic purveyor of more or less total evil,” and transcends merely just views, or opinion of American politics.²⁶ The term can be all-inclusive of what America represents, or solely focused on one idea that America represents. Despite the wrestling with the complexity of the definition, Griffiths and O’Connor find that global anti-Americanism has been on the rise since 2001 and is not likely to decrease anytime soon.²⁷

Experts on anti-Americanism also find that the severity and tendencies can vary from state to state, and region to region. For example, Phillippe Roger finds that France has historically shown some of the highest levels of anti-Americanism in Europe despite having never been at war with the United States.²⁸ Experts also find that Europeans largely detest and reject “Americanization” of their states and cultures—viewing it—whatever it entails as a non-kinetic invasion to be resisted.²⁹ Nonetheless, experts seem to agree that, in general, most reactions to Americanization have been a strong discourse in media and social circles, changes in policy, and general displays of displeasure and resentment toward the United States.³⁰

²⁴ Gehring, “Sports Venue Security,” 1.

²⁵ Andrei Markovits, *Uncouth Nation: Why Europe Dislikes America*, vol. 5, The Public Square Series (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 65.

²⁶ Martin Griffiths and Brendon O’Connor, *The Rise of Anti-Americanism* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 1, ProQuest.

²⁷ Griffiths and O’Connor, 5.

²⁸ Philippe Roger, *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism*, trans. Sharon Bowman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), ix.

²⁹ Markovits, *Uncouth Nation*, 68.

³⁰ Markovits, 67–68.

Ultimately, in discussing specifically terrorism and anti-Americanism, experts find a broad and ranging threat to the United States. For example, Griffiths and O'Connor characterize the attacks on September 11, 2001 (9/11) to be the result of anti-Americanism, and discuss the idea of cause and effect in terrorism; what action did America take that caused a violent response?³¹ The authors note that these responses could come from religious-based ideological groups that authored 9/11, but also left-wing opposition that abhors historical or present-day U.S. policies that, they claim, beget colonialism, globalization, and poverty.³² A review of the literature on anti-Americanism finds increasing anti-American sentiment in Europe and the Middle East, which has led to, and could continue to lead to future violence as America's power and culture continues to grow and spread throughout the world.³³

D. HYPOTHESIS

Based on a review of the current literature regarding sports venue security and anti-Americanism, my hypothesis is that home-market NHL security operations and structure have seemed to work thus far, but the league may be inadequately preparing for Global Series games given the context of anti-Americanism and the extreme level of popularity the events achieve.

E. RESEARCH DESIGN

Research for this thesis was centered on three primary facets of knowledge: (1) the NHL from an historical, business, and cultural perspective, (2) anti-Americanism as it relates to overt opposition of American culture, business, and policy, and (3) sports venue security as it relates to an analysis of successful attacks, thwarted attacks, and an understanding of why terrorists choose to attack sports venues. To date, the NHL has never been the subject of a known terrorist attack, so the foundation of research analogizes to literature about successful attacks on other sports organizations.

³¹ Griffiths and O'Connor, *The Rise of Anti-Americanism*, 21.

³² Griffiths and O'Connor, 3.

³³ Griffiths and O'Connor, 21–22.

Not surprisingly, specific NHL security guidelines, protocols, and standards were unavailable through open-source searches. Thus, this thesis does not attempt to recommend specific security measures or guidance; rather it attempts to identify an overlooked threat and provide a threat level for stakeholders to consider. However, research for understanding the security environment and considerations of large sports organizations was not limited to just the NHL. Research centered on such other large sports organizations as the NFL, Major League Baseball (MLB), and the Olympics contributed to this thesis.

The framework for analysis first strove to establish that the NHL represents more than just ice hockey; it represents American culture, globalization, and capitalism. Next, this thesis utilized a broad knowledge of anti-Americanism in Europe to establish reasons for why anti-American sentiment and threats would increase along with an increase in NHL operations overseas, which thus increases the threat to the NHL. Finally, this thesis combined the aforementioned research with the latest research on threats to sports venues and organizations to make recommendations to stakeholders regarding the possibly overlooked threat of anti-Americanism.

F. THESIS OVERVIEW AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter II of this thesis covers the NHL's organizational history, its expansion within the current North American market, and the inception and growth of the Global Series. It also seeks to understand how a Canadian-born organization has come to represent American cultural and societal values.

Chapter III focuses on characterizing the threat to U.S.-based sports teams via the anti-American threat. This chapter strives to identify whether anti-capitalism and anti-globalization sympathizers may also be susceptible to anti-Americanism and thus seek to oppose the expansion of U.S.-based organizations. This chapter analyzes anti-American sentiment and sensitivity in Germany, Finland, and France.

Chapter IV examines the Global Series events and compares them to regular season NHL home games. This chapter attempts to determine whether Global Series events are receiving the requisite security needed given the program's importance and visibility.

Chapter V draws on the knowledge gained from the previous four chapters to provide a conclusion. In this chapter, policy recommendations are made to the NHL and other stakeholders in support of the Global Series program.

II. THE NHL AND GLOBALIZATION

Today's ice hockey game that fans know and love began in 1917 with the creation of the NHL after a somewhat rocky start as the former National Hockey Association of Canada Limited.³⁴ Since then, the NHL steadily increased in popularity, particularly as its profile and profitability has grown in the United States. Today, the NHL dominates the ice hockey market throughout the globe and is renowned as the most elite ice hockey competition worldwide. The league has accomplished this recognition through its successful marketing and business model, but also through its ability to leverage hockey's rich international history. Specifically, the historical and international origins of hockey have allowed the NHL to draw players from almost the entire northern hemisphere of the globe. Now, the league is eager to expand its organization further—including into the hockey-playing home states of current stars in Sweden, Finland, Germany, and France for example—and draw more fans through the creation of its Global Series program.

This chapter covers the relevant historical and international origins of ice hockey and the NHL and the growth and market domination of the modern-day NHL. It goes on to discuss the Global Series and its importance to the NHL business model and draws connections throughout as to why the NHL has grown to represent American culture.

A. HISTORICAL ORIGINS

Ice hockey has a complex and hotly debated history rooted in many different cultures and countries spread across various continents in the northern hemisphere. The NHL Global Series program seeks to leverage the international history of ice hockey by appealing to the denizens of these regions. The game of hockey, some theories claim, was created among the early stick-and-ball game types developed in medieval Europe; particularly, the similar games played in Ireland, Scotland, and England.³⁵ Other theories

³⁴ NHL History, "NHL Records."

³⁵ Jean-Patrice Martel, "Origins of Ice Hockey," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, February 6, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/origins-of-ice-hockey>.

claim that ice hockey dates to 17th century Holland, from a game known as “kolven.”³⁶ Yet, another theory claims that Native Americans of the Nova Scotia region, known as the Mi’kmaq, developed a stick-and-ball game that was proliferated through North America by European immigrants once they learned of it.³⁷ Ice hockey, as it was then, allowed people to play and communicate despite language barriers; a characteristic that clearly persists in today’s internationally diverse NHL.

More than a century ago, Canada—with a climate conducive to ice hockey—seized the opportunity to formalize the sport through rules, regulations, and leagues.³⁸ It has been officially recognized that the first game of modern, organized ice hockey was played in Montreal, Canada, on March 3, 1875.³⁹ At this time, two teams of nine players each gathered to play an exhibition game, and tickets were sold to spectators willing to brave possible injury from the “ball flying about in too lively a manner,” as reported by the *Montreal Gazette*.⁴⁰ However, in this first match, the players did not wear uniforms to distinguish one team from another, a problem quickly remedied in the next organized exhibition game two weeks later.⁴¹ While evidence exists of similarly organized games of “bandy,” as it was known, by English newspapers in the early 1870s, no doubt remains that the rules and regulations utilized during these two Montreal games were foundational to those implemented by the NHL in 1917.

The 125-year-old prize of champions is the ultimate goal for ice hockey players and fans around the world: the Stanley Cup. Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, then the Lord of Preston and Canada’s governor general, purchased the cup (originally a small bowl) in

³⁶ Laurel Zeisler, *Historical Dictionary of Ice Hockey* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 13, ProQuest.

³⁷ Gerald Eskenazi, “Ice Hockey, History, Rules, & Equipment,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed October 13, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/sports/ice-hockey>.

³⁸ Eskenazi.

³⁹ Martel, “Origins of Ice Hockey.”

⁴⁰ Martel.

⁴¹ Martel.

1892 for 10 guineas—roughly \$50 at the time, or \$1400 today⁴²—and presented the prize to the best team in the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada in 1893, the Montreal Hockey Club.⁴³ The successor to the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada, the National Hockey Association of Canada, claimed Lord Stanley’s Cup as the ultimate prize following playoffs against the Pacific Coast Hockey Association in 1910, a move that allowed teams in the United States to compete for and win the prize.⁴⁴ The National Hockey Association of Canada folded after the conclusion of the 1916 season, but the NHL formed to take its spot and continue the tradition of the Stanley Cup being presented to the best overall team of the year, which cemented itself as the premier professional ice hockey league and laying its global foundations for future expansion.

B. GLOBALIZATION OF THE MODERN-DAY NHL

When the NHL was initially created in 1917, it only had four teams playing 22 games located solely in Canada: the Montreal Canadiens, the Montreal Wanderers, the Ottawa Senators, and the Quebec Bulldogs.⁴⁵ The slow but deliberate globalization of organized, professional ice hockey began with the first U.S. franchise admitted into the league in 1924, the Boston Bruins.⁴⁶ Since 1924, the U.S. market and appetite for hockey has exploded resulting in the 31 teams of today’s league.⁴⁷ The NHL’s approval of the Seattle franchise in 2018, the Kraken, increased this number to 32 teams, 25 of which are based in the United States with only seven teams being based in Canada.⁴⁸

Ice hockey in the United States had long languished as a niche pastime with nowhere near as much viewership as football or baseball. Thanks to its international

⁴² “\$50 in 1892 → 2020,” CPI Inflation Calculator, accessed October 30, 2020, <https://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1892?amount=50>.

⁴³ Shawn Roarke, “Stanley Cup Has Incredible History,” NHL, March 12, 2017, <https://www.nhl.com/news/stanley-cup-has-incredible-125-years-of-history/c-287633638>.

⁴⁴ Roarke.

⁴⁵ NHL History, “NHL Records.”

⁴⁶ NHL History.

⁴⁷ “NHL Teams,” ESPN, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.espn.com/nhl/teams>.

⁴⁸ Nicholas Cotsonika, “Seattle Kraken Reveal Nickname for NHL Expansion Team,” NHL, July 23, 2020, <https://www.nhl.com/news/seattle-kraken-nickname-for-nhl-expansion-team/c-317588092>.

origins, though, it became an Olympic sport in 1920 and debuted somewhat curiously in the summer games but shifted soon enough to its accustomed spot in the winter games.⁴⁹ Exactly six decades later, the Olympic context—and the so-called Miracle on Ice—rocketed hockey to the forefront of American pro-sports attention. The Olympics have always been the premier global athletic competition, with countries pitting their top athletes against each other for national pride and bragging rights. The Miracle on Ice—in which a U.S. team made up of amateur hockey players in every sense not only found itself in the final match but then also prevailed over the much-favored Soviet team (which had won the gold in five of the last six Games⁵⁰)—made for one of the most dramatic upsets in Olympic history and helped the NHL gain significant audiences in the United States.⁵¹

Of significant importance to hockey's growth in the United States (and thus the NHL's ability to globalize more effectively) was when Wayne Gretzky was traded from the Edmonton Oilers of Alberta to the Los Angeles Kings of California.⁵² Ironically, Gretzky (born Canadian) was able to put his generational talents to use in Los Angeles and give Americans a stake in the game that was typically seen as a “mostly Canadian” sport. Gretzky, nicknamed “The Great One,” is undeniably the best hockey player who has ever lived and his lifetime stats show that. At the time of his retirement in 1999, Gretzky left the NHL with 61 records, four Stanley Cup championships,⁵³ and 894 goals and 1,963 assists for a combined point total of 2,857.⁵⁴ For reference, the next closest points records are Gordie Howe at 801 goals, Ron Francis at 1,249 assists, and Jaromir Jagr at 1,921 total points. Gretzky has more assists alone than the second leading all-time points scorer has in

⁴⁹ “Olympic Winter Game, Men's Hockey Tournament, Team Canada,” Hockey Canada, accessed December 7, 2020, <https://www.hockeycanada.ca/en-ca/team-canada/men/olympics>.

⁵⁰ “The 1980 U.S. Olympic Team,” U.S. Hockey Hall of Fame, accessed December 7, 2020, <https://www.ushockeyhalloffame.com/page/show/831562-the-1980-u-s-olympic-team>.

⁵¹ Chris Peters, “Inside the Miracle on Ice: How Team USA Defied the Numbers 40 Years Ago,” ESPN, February 19, 2020, https://www.espn.com/nhl/story/_/id/28701139/inside-miracle-ice-how-team-usa-defied-numbers-beat-soviet-union-1980-olympics.

⁵² “Wayne Gretzky: 100 Greatest NHL Players,” NHL, accessed October 15, 2020, <https://www.nhl.com/news/wayne-gretzky-100-greatest-nhl-hockey-players/c-285574558>.

⁵³ NHL.

⁵⁴ “NHL History—Points Leaders,” ESPN, accessed October 30, 2020, <http://www.espn.com/nhl/history/leaders>.

total points.⁵⁵ When Wayne Gretzky moved to the United States with his trade to the Los Angeles Kings, he brought the excitement of watching the greatest ice hockey talent to live play in U.S. arenas. This excitement helped to bolster NHL revenue in the North American market and give it a chance to pursue global opportunities.

This growth has translated to a commensurate growth in revenue. As of the end of the 2017–2018 season, the NHL is reported to have generated \$4.86 billion.⁵⁶ This number went up to \$5.09 billion after the 2018–2019 season.⁵⁷ In comparison, the NFL’s reported annual revenue of \$15.26 billion in 2019.⁵⁸ The National Basketball Association (NBA) and the MLB also bested the NHL in terms of annual revenue having earned \$8.76 billion (2019) and \$9.9 billion (2018).⁵⁹ Stiff competition in the American market, and international opportunities, have driven some league commissioners to develop their global programs. NBA commissioner David Stern created their league’s Global Games initiative in 2013 and has been also looking to create NBA divisions in Europe.⁶⁰ Not wanting to lose out on the global growth market, the NHL created the Global Series program in 2017.⁶¹

⁵⁵ ESPN.

⁵⁶ Adgate, “Hockey’s Big Pay Day Is Coming.”

⁵⁷ “National Hockey League—Total League Revenue from 2005/06 to 2018/19 (in Billion U.S. Dollars),” Statista, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/193468/total-league-revenue-of-the-nhl-since-2006/>.

⁵⁸ “Total Revenue of all National Football League Teams from 2001 to 2019 (in Billion U.S. Dollars),” Statista, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/193457/total-league-revenue-of-the-nfl-since-2005/>.

⁵⁹ “MLB Revenue by Team/Franchise 2019,” Statista, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/193645/revenue-of-major-league-baseball-teams-in-2010/>; “Total NBA Revenue 2001–2018,” Statista, accessed October 14, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/193467/total-league-revenue-of-the-nba-since-2005/>.

⁶⁰ Grant Hughes, “NBA Must Play More International Games, Including Regular Season,” Bleacher Report, October 10, 2013, <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/1806359-nba-must-play-more-international-games-including-regular-season>.

⁶¹ “2017 SAP NHL Global Series to Feature 2 Regular-Season Games in Stockholm,” National Hockey League Player’s Association, March 24, 2017, <https://www.nhlpa.com/news/1-11834/2017-sap-nhl-global-series-to-feature-2-regular-season-games-in-stockholm>.

C. THE NHL GLOBAL SERIES

The NHL Global Series is the league's program for generating revenue, interest, and publicity from the international market for ice hockey. While the program has a bit of a checkered past of success and stability, the NHL seems determined to tap into the possibilities and opportunities while the international demand stays present and strong.⁶² According the NHL commissioner, Gary Bettman, "Hockey is truly a global game, and hockey fans in Europe obviously love the game...which is why we keep coming back."⁶³ Despite many Europeans obvious love of ice hockey, some critics may find fault with the Global Series' attempt to export American values, culture, and products as it gains traction within the European market.

The format of the Global Series seems to vary somewhat year to year, but the program typically features two teams' pre-season training camps being conducted in Europe, two exhibition games against non-NHL teams before the start of the season, a season-opening game played by the training camp teams, and two regular-season games played by two completely different NHL teams later in the season.⁶⁴ In 2020, the NHL planned to increase the number of regular-season games to three from two.⁶⁵ While some concerns have been brought up in terms of significant costs to organizations and the league for global travel, Bettman alluded to the success of the program due to media partners helping cover the events, and tickets selling out in a matter of hours due to fan demand.⁶⁶

The NHL created the Global Series program to "reward the legions of loyal and passionate fans in Europe."⁶⁷ According to the NHL, more than 25 percent of its player base was born outside of North America, which makes it an extremely diverse and

⁶² While the Global Series was created in 2017, the NHL has had other programs that played games overseas. Specifically, the Premier Series played 20 games from 2007 to 2011 throughout Europe. Before that, the NHL played six games in Japan. NHL History, "NHL Records."

⁶³ Sportsnet, "Gary Bettman Announces Games for 2020 NHL Global Series."

⁶⁴ NHL, "Global Series Games Announced."

⁶⁵ Sportsnet, "Gary Bettman Announces Games for 2020 NHL Global Series."

⁶⁶ Sportsnet.

⁶⁷ NHL, "Global Series Games Announced."

international league.⁶⁸ This international diversity is due in part to the efforts of league scouts and the significant number of professional ice hockey “feeder organizations” throughout the globe. The NFL, for example, draws potential players primarily from the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the athletic organization that organizes and runs all sports for American universities. The NHL draws its talent from the professional and semi-professional leagues not only from the United States (NCAA and the American Hockey League), but also from Canada, Russia, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Austria, and other European professional and semi-professional ice hockey leagues.⁶⁹

It seems relatively safe to say that the Global Series will at least continue, if not grow, due to the intense demand from the European and Russian ice hockey fans, no signs in the reduction of international players, and the business success that the NHL has seen thus far. The national pride that non-North American countries feel for their young players who have become superstars in the NHL—for example the Colorado Avalanche’s Mikko Rantanen (Finland), the Washington Capitals’ Alexander Ovechkin (Russia), or the Edmonton Oilers’ Leon Draisaitl (Germany)—continues to drive huge support and potential for revenue from the global market.

D. CONCLUSION

Since its inception, the NHL has come to represent the gold standard of professional ice hockey throughout the world. Despite ice hockey’s global origins, North America—primarily the United States—has been able to gain and maintain control of the largest, most successful, and most prolific professional ice hockey organization ever created. Due to the NHL’s success in the United States, free-market capitalism has had noticeable effects on how well the organization has marketed itself and thus performed in the U.S. market. Success in the U.S. market competition with other dominant U.S. sports organizations, including the NFL, has slowly morphed the Canadian-born NHL into an organization that more and more reflects American culture and values. Through programs like the Global

⁶⁸ NHL.

⁶⁹ Bruce Peter, “The NHL Feeder Chain,” Puck Worlds, October 19, 2011, <https://www.puckworlds.com/2011/10/19/2499694/the-nhl-feeder-chain>.

Series, the NHL is determined to bring its successful model of professional ice hockey to other parts of the globe, starting with Europe. While the exportation of hockey certainly sounds lucrative, many Europeans may find fault with just how American the NHL has become and what it is attempting to bring to Europe.

III. THREATS TO SPORTS VENUES

Throughout the history of sporting events, many attempted and successful acts of violence have occurred, with varying effect and devastation carried out by malicious actors. Some of the more infamous examples of successful attacks are those at the 1972 Munich and 1996 Atlanta Olympic games, the 2009 attack on the Sri Lankan national cricket team, and the most recent Boston Marathon bombings of 2013. Not all acts of violence at sporting events are always the result of terrorism. Some incidents have come from fans unhappy with the outcome of a game, the referees, or their own team's performance; for example, the 2011 riots in Vancouver, Canada, following the Canuck's Game 7 loss during the Stanley Cup Finals.⁷⁰ Regardless of the motivation or tactics utilized, threats of violence have persisted throughout history and have driven government and civilian officials to increase security efforts to ensure the safety of the players, the fans, and the city.

This chapter seeks to understand security threats to sports venues as they relate to the NHL and its Global Series, as well as research indicating which sporting events require more security (i.e., regular season versus championship game) and why. It first identifies three examples of successful terrorist attacks on sports venues. Next, it establishes why someone would want to attack an NHL game—specifically a Global Series event—and what they would stand to gain from such an attack. Finally, this chapter differentiates between an international Global Series game and a regular season NHL home game in regards to its importance, monetary value, media footprint, and desirability as a target to an attacker. In its conclusion, this chapter offers recommendations to heighten security for Global Series events.

⁷⁰ Riots erupted in Vancouver after the Canucks did not perform as expected in the Stanley Cup Finals against the Boston Bruins that resulted in the Bruins winning the championship. Hundreds of people were injured and arrested, with millions of dollars in damages. "Riots Erupt in Vancouver after Canucks Loss," CBC, June 16, 2011, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/riots-erupt-in-vancouver-after-canucks-loss-1.993707>.

A. THREATS TO SPORTS VENUES

The 1972 attack on the Munich Olympic Games in Germany is perhaps the most iconic and historic example of terrorism at sporting events. The attack stands out as significant for many reasons. First, Black September—the militant faction of the Palestinian organization Fatah, which carried out the attack—did not choose to attack the Games because of ill will toward sports. Rather, the decision was made due to political grievances about states participating in the Games (specifically Israel), and the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) refusal to allow a Palestinian team to participate officially; a decision made due to Palestine not being a recognized state.⁷¹ Second, the attack was meticulously planned for many months. The lead planners were able to become intimately familiar with the venue and the surrounding Olympic Village because they worked as contractors during the setup and construction before the event.⁷² This intimate knowledge allowed Black September to understand security routines, security vulnerabilities for exploitation, and the location of Israelis who were to be targeted.⁷³ Finally, the Western German police response was miserably unprepared to respond to a terrorist or hostage crisis. Two botched hostage rescue attempts by Western German police ultimately lead to five terrorists and all hostages being killed.⁷⁴ Further, largely unregulated live media coverage allowed the terrorists to gain knowledge of police movements prior to hostage rescue attempts.

Since 1972, sports venue stakeholders have taken significant steps to increase venue security and threat response from law enforcement entities. However, events like the 2015 Paris attacks on the Stade de France highlight that terrorists still desire to attack mass-gatherings at highly visible sporting events to emphasize political messages. The 2015 attacks in Paris, carried out by members of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), were multi-faceted and complex. Some armed with assault rifles and almost all wearing

⁷¹ David Clay Large, *Munich 1972: Tragedy, Terror, and Triumph at the Olympic Games* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 178, ProQuest.

⁷² Large, 176.

⁷³ Large, 179.

⁷⁴ Large, 195–201.

suicide vests, 10 ISIL terrorists planned and executed the attack that targeted six different locations throughout Paris, France.⁷⁵ The vast majority of deaths and injuries—counted at 130 and 494, respectively—came from the restaurant and Bataclan Theater shootings and explosions in downtown Paris and not the Stade de France located north near Saint-Denis.⁷⁶ Only four deaths were attributed to have occurred near the Stade de France, three of whom were the suicide bombers.⁷⁷ Remarkably, the three suicide bombers who attacked the Stade de France were not armed with assault rifles. It is highly plausible to believe that were the bombers armed with assault rifles *and* suicide vests, the death toll would more than likely have mirrored the carnage that took approximately seven kilometers south in downtown Paris.

Although the Stade de France suicide bombers were not very successful individually, a suicide bomber at a 2017 Ariana Grande concert held in the Manchester Arena, United Kingdom would prove just how deadly a well-placed explosion could be. As fans were exiting the arena, the bomber detonated his device in the foyer of the arena killing 22 and injuring hundreds more.⁷⁸ Determined attackers with political grievances conducted all three of the aforementioned attacks on sports venues (one attack on a non-sports event) to help achieve a political goal. All three attacks were well planned, executed, and chosen due to the high presence of gathered people and media, and the high chance to achieve a desired effect. The precedent and historical nature of terrorists targeting sports venues since 1972 seems to be increasing, and the previously mentioned attacks along with others not mentioned, as well as evidence provided by researchers and experts in the field, prove this premise to be true.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ CNN Editorial Research, “2015 Paris Terror Attacks Fast Facts,” CNN, November 4, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2015/12/08/europe/2015-paris-terror-attacks-fast-facts/index.html>.

⁷⁶ CNN Editorial Research.

⁷⁷ CNN Editorial Research.

⁷⁸ History.com Editors, “Manchester Arena Bombed during Ariana Grande Concert,” History, May 20, 2020, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/manchester-arena-bombed-during-ariana-grande-concert>.

⁷⁹ 4S Risk Consulting Analysis, *Growing Terrorism Challenge for Sports Events* (London: G4S Security, 2016).

B. WHY TARGET SPORTS VENUES?

Historical evidence of previous attacks on sports venues have shown that individual motivations can vary significantly depending on the given context. Given the context of the NHL, the Global Series, and the league's desire to expand its international market, established literature suggests that sporting events could be targeted due to its prominence and importance to the "American social fabric."⁸⁰ James Gehring's research finds that business models of American sporting events heavily use advertising for commercial products, encourage drinking copious amounts of alcohol, and highlights the physicality of male athletes and the attractiveness of females through its use of scantily clad, flashy cheerleaders, or "ice girls" as they are known in the NHL.⁸¹ Gehring asserts that an attack on a sporting event could support a "vehement cultural judgment assailing American societal values (i.e., anti-Americanism)."⁸² Therefore, a terrorist targeting a U.S.-based or led sporting event, like an NHL Global Series game, could find motivation in a strict opposition of American globalization or capitalism, cultural norms regarding what could be seen as "loose morals," or see the game as a more general target of opportunity to air grievances with the American government and its foreign policy.

A second reason for targeting a sports event is due to the high visibility nature of the event. Many, if not all, large sporting events have many members of the press present to broadcast high-definition footage of the game to fans across the world in real-time. Even if a specific game does not have a large media footprint, fans do have their own cell phones to take pictures and record videos while attending the event to post on social media. According to Andrew Silke, Chairman in Terrorism, Risk and Resilience at Cranfield University in the United Kingdom, although attacks on sporting venues are not common, successful attacks can "generate enormous media and public attention."⁸³ Silke further goes on to assert that a successful attack that generates hysteria, or significant coverage, in

⁸⁰ Gehring, "Sports Venue Security," 5.

⁸¹ Gehring, 5.

⁸² Gehring, 5.

⁸³ Silke, "Understanding Terrorist Target Selection," 55.

the media is oftentimes seen as more successful than attacks that receive less media coverage.⁸⁴ Ramon Spaaij and Mark Hamm explain the reason for this logic well in their studies on lone wolf terrorism on sports events. Spaaij and Hamm find that targets for terrorism are selected because of their symbolism, and are intended to convey primarily political messages to audiences “beyond the immediate target.”⁸⁵ Therefore, it is logical to conclude that an attack on a culturally significant sporting event with a large media presence is more enticing to terrorists and more effective at transmitting their political message in a quick, efficient, and large-scale manner.

The last significant reason why sporting events are seen as a lucrative means to an end for terrorists is due to their relative appearance or perception as “soft targets.” According to the U.S. Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA), soft targets are “locations that are easily accessible to large numbers of people and that have limited security or protective measures in place making them vulnerable to attack.”⁸⁶ James Gehring finds that not all sports venues and events are the same (in terms of “softness” or vulnerability). For example, Gehring notes, within the United States, sports events and the requisite security standards and government support that come with them are categorized using the U.S. Department of Homeland Security’s (DHS) Special Event Assessment Rating (SEAR) program. The SEAR program categorizes events using a 1–5 number system, with 1 being the most nationally and internationally important and 5 being the least and thus receiving no federal support and funding. Events like the NFL’s Super Bowl are categorized as SEAR 1 events, while such events as the Boston Marathon are categorized as SEAR 2 (which still receives extensive federal support).⁸⁷ While no successful attacks have happened at the Super Bowl, a successful terrorist attack was carried out at the Boston Marathon in 2013 (SEAR Level 2 rating).⁸⁸ For reference, a

⁸⁴ Silke, 56.

⁸⁵ Spaaij and Hamm, “Endgame?,” 1025.

⁸⁶ “Securing Soft Targets and Crowded Places Resources,” Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency, accessed October 26, 2020, <https://www.cisa.gov/publication/securing-soft-targets-and-crowded-places-resources>.

⁸⁷ Gehring, “Sports Venue Security,” 5.

⁸⁸ Gehring, 5.

regular season NHL hockey game played in the United States would be categorized as a SEAR 4 event and would receive no federal support for security.⁸⁹

Although a Global Series game is played during the regular season, it can be argued that its national and international importance, impact, and visibility are much higher than a regular season NHL game and therefore should require more extensive support, security, and funding from both private and government stakeholders while operating in a foreign country. To be clear, this thesis is not arguing that the U.S. DHS' SEAR program should be used in a foreign country. The point is that the Global Series is a more desirable target—due to many factors—than a regular season game, and should be made harder target, which may require more extensive cooperation, support, and funding from the NHL and local private and government stakeholders.

C. GLOBAL SERIES: MORE THAN JUST ANOTHER GAME

What exactly makes a Global Series game more than just another game? For starters, Global Series excitement, tickets sales, and arena capacity match post-season Stanley Cup playoff excitement and numbers more so than other ordinary regular season games. Some NHL teams (for example, the Chicago Blackhawks, Colorado Avalanche, and Las Vegas Golden Knights) typically sell-out all regular season and post-season games; however, this situation is not the norm.⁹⁰ Most organizations in the league have difficulty selling out all tickets and thus packing their arenas during the regular season. The Ottawa Senators, for example, only reached an average of 76 percent capacity during home games for the 2018–2019 regular season.⁹¹ Since its inception in 2017 the Global Series, as previously mentioned, has routinely sold out all tickets within hours and filled arenas to full capacity, and in some cases, with standing room only.⁹² Although an obvious point among security professionals, historical evidence of terrorist attacks by experts and

⁸⁹ Gehring, 5.

⁹⁰ “NHL Attendance Report—2019–20,” ESPN, accessed November 25, 2020, <http://www.espn.com/nhl/attendance>.

⁹¹ ESPN.

⁹² NHL Records, “Games outside North America.”

researchers has shown that full capacity arenas (i.e., mass gatherings) are seen as higher value targets to attackers, and must receive increased security to mitigate those risks.

Second, the media footprint of Global Series events is much more international than traditional NHL games. To appeal to broader, international audiences, the NHL partners with such local media companies as the Nordic Entertainment (NENT) Group to broadcast the Global Series live to fans in parts of Europe and Scandinavia.⁹³ NENT's live broadcast, in combination with other North American media companies like the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN), are able to reach a much larger fan demographics than what is usually accomplished by ordinary regular season games. Based on the previously mentioned research on threats to sports venues, it can reasonably be concluded that the level of widespread broadcasting by cooperative and international media companies makes Global Series games a more lucrative target to would-be attackers than an ordinary NHL game.

Finally, the international nature of the Global Series places the event at higher risk due to its inherent strategic national and international importance. Not only is the event a signature series event for the NHL, but it also has significant importance to the host nation because the host nation will ultimately be responsible for responding to a large-scale terrorist attack should one occur. This accountability is evidenced by how Germany bore the brunt of international criticism and embarrassment for its utter failure to respond to the Black September attacks in 1972 at the Munich Games. Make no mistake, this thesis is by no means asserting that the Global Series is as internationally important or strategic as the Olympics. However, the Global Series is certainly closer to the Olympics or Stanley Cup playoffs than a regular-season NHL game played in Boston, Massachusetts in terms of national, international, and strategic importance. This level of national and international importance is indicated by experts in the field to increase terrorist's desirability further to attack the Global Series, whether to embarrass a host government or to attack the ideals of

⁹³ "V Sport, Series & Film," Nordic Entertainment Group, accessed November 25, 2020, <https://www.nentgroup.com/brands/v-sport-series-film>.

the organization holding the event and what that organization represents (i.e., the NHL representing American by and large).⁹⁴

D. CONCLUSION

Based on research by experts in the field, this chapter's conclusion finds it would be a mistake to assume that the Global Series is just another regular season game. This assumption is presented despite the fact that the real outcomes of the game for the NHL and the participating players are the exact same as a regular season game. Global Series events have more in common with post-season playoff and Stanley Cup championship games than regular season games.

The relative comparison and importance of Global Series games to post-season games can be seen in ticket sales leading to full (and often over) capacity arenas, large national and international media footprints, and the inherent international, national, and strategic importance of the Global Series. These indicators, combined with the NHL's Americanized culture and marketing of professional ice hockey, place Global Series events at far more risk of attack from terrorists or anti-American individuals intent on spreading their political messages through violence on a mass scale.

⁹⁴ Silke, "Understanding Terrorist Target Selection," 56–58.

IV. ANTI-AMERICANISM AND THE NHL

The ideology of anti-Americanism is unique in regards to the terrorist target selection and planning cycle because attacks can only occur where “Americanism” exists (i.e., American celebrities, concerts, sporting events). Foreign event security planners and coordinating law enforcement agencies execute many events at arenas like Prague’s O2 arena, almost all of which come with their own media footprint. However, most events at the Prague O2 arena (contrary to a Global Series game) are not broadcasted live to millions of people across the world. In other words, Global Series games broadcasted live to millions of fans across the world significantly increases the target desirability for a motivated attacker with a message to be sent. Through its Global Series program, the NHL is bringing American culture, ideals, and people to Europe on a routine, consistent, and predictable basis. As such, these events may represent particularly attractive targets to extremists of all types who embrace violent or virulent anti-Americanism.

This chapter discusses what anti-Americanism is and is not, delves into its historical background, and performs an analysis of two current European countries—Germany and Finland—hosting NHL games. It goes on to offer an analysis of France—a possible future Global Series expansion—and attempts to provide an anti-Americanism threat and risk profile for the NHL to consider in securing its future events.

A. DEFINITION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

The term *anti-Americanism* broadly encompasses a wide variety of criticisms of America that may or may not amount to a categorical rejection of all things about and from the United States. For example, someone who has anti-American views may be critical of U.S. foreign policy but otherwise support or even embrace America’s democratic values. Another person may find everything the United States does to be evil and oppose anything that has any sort of connection to America; the “Great Satan” invective of some decades ago comes to mind in this connection. This chapter—indeed, this whole thesis—attempts to be specific about what anti-Americanism is and is not to understand where, how, and by whom anti-Americanism may present a threat, rather than a mere disagreement.

The core definition of anti-Americanism for this work utilizes elements of other scholarly work in combination to provide a most relevant definition to this thesis. Marta Mlodzianowska's definition—that will form the foundation of the definition for this thesis—found in *The Encyclopedia of Global Religion* defines anti-Americanism as “a set of opinions, attitudes, and behaviors expressing criticism or hostility toward the United States. It refers to American culture, values, society, economy, and politics and is expressed in various ways—from mild distrust to actual terrorist attacks.”⁹⁵ Russell Berman asserts in his book *Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem* that not every person who opposes U.S. policies is anti-American; however, those who have an obsession of opposition more aptly fit the bill of anti-Americanism. Berman clarifies that “Anti-Americanism is indicated precisely when reasoned argument gives way to sweeping generalizations and hostile innuendo, and the obsessive thought structures of prejudice and stereotype prevail.”⁹⁶ Utilizing Mlodzianowska and Berman's definitions and clarifications relevant to this thesis, this work defines anti-Americanism as “a set of generalized, hostile opinions, attitudes, and behaviors predicated from obsessive criticisms of American culture, values, society, politics, and policies which physically manifests itself in the form of credible or actual threats, violent protests, or terrorist attacks.” In other words, the present analysis does not concern someone who avoids Starbucks coffee or McDonald's restaurants as alien to European culture; it is more about people who plot to blow up such franchises overseas as an imagined counterblow to a malevolent and pervasive American presence.

B. HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

One of the curious aspects of anti-Americanism is that the phenomenon predates the formal foundation of the United States by some decades at least.⁹⁷ In other words,

⁹⁵ Marta Mlodzianowska, “Anti-Americanism,” in *Encyclopedia of Global Religion*, ed. Mark Juergensmeyer and Wade Clark Roof, vol. 1 (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012), 42–44.

⁹⁶ Russell A. Berman, *Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2010), 40, ProQuest.

⁹⁷ Roger, *The American Enemy*, 1.

“America” represents as much an ideal as a place or a people; it also usually came up in contrast, for better or worse, to Europe.⁹⁸ Thus, such leading European sources in literature and politics as Charles Dickens, Frances Trollope, and Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord had nothing but scorn for what they decried as American arrogance, lack of civility, and lack of taste, usually without having any direct experience of the United States.⁹⁹ As the United States prospered and grew in the 19th century—now increasingly forming a commercial rival of what Americans considered the “old world”—European anti-American sentiment began to include criticisms of U.S. industrialization and materialism, the latter being the implied opposite of long-standing, organic national culture.¹⁰⁰ By the time the United States entered World War I—and left it a new and undisputed global power—elite European hostility toward all things American tended to increase as the U.S. “market empire” began to challenge the European economic model and, arguably, way of life.¹⁰¹

Following World War II, and the start of the Cold War, America began to project its power across the globe in the fight against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and communism. During this period, anti-Americanism tended to come from left-leaning political ideologies, particularly those favoring communism or sponsored by the Soviet Union.¹⁰² Anti-Americanism during the Cold War manifested itself mostly in the form of anti-war protests as the United States and Soviet Union waged proxy conflicts in Southeast Asia and flirted with nuclear disaster during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War was largely viewed as imperialistic and unjustified in terms of its use of military force throughout the globe.¹⁰³ Some countries and critics pardoned the United States for its aggressive foreign policy during the Cold War due to the

⁹⁸ Roger, xvi–xvii.

⁹⁹ Griffiths and O’Connor, *The Rise of Anti-Americanism*, 13.

¹⁰⁰ Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), loc. 72 of 7884, Kindle.

¹⁰¹ de Grazia, loc. 62.

¹⁰² Griffiths and O’Connor, *The Rise of Anti-Americanism*, 15.

¹⁰³ Griffiths and O’Connor, 15.

perceived necessity of combating communism and the USSR; however, not all critics felt the same way, which led to further division between pro-American and anti-American sentiment.¹⁰⁴ The democracy versus communism “flavored” anti-American sentiment largely prevailed until the end of the Cold War, when it acquired a new taste, that of opposing U.S. economic globalization.¹⁰⁵

The aforementioned concept of globalization, defined in the *Encyclopedia of Global Religion* as, “the confluence of several factors, including communications connections, world economy, and migration,” is often seen as a positive idea and the future of human societies.¹⁰⁶ However, according to Andrei Markovits in his book *Uncouth Nation: Why Europe Dislikes America*, both the political left and right find fault with globalization.¹⁰⁷ The political right argue globalization leads to a loss of national culture and identity; however, the left is more focused on the economic ramifications of globalization and its relation to America, going so far as to assert that “[g]lobalization is Americanization” to the left.¹⁰⁸ Thus, anti-globalization draws large connections to anti-Americanism, and is often supported by many of the same ideologically aligned people. To the anti-globalist, American economic globalization has caused much poverty, disparity, and conflict throughout the globe.¹⁰⁹ In the late 1980s, the anti-globalization movement began to take shape and spread to many who shared the same sentiments across the globe in the form of violence and unrest.¹¹⁰

A more deadly form of anti-Americanism that quite literally exploded in the early 2000s came in the form of Islamist extremism and took an unprecedented violent approach

¹⁰⁴ Markovits, *Uncouth Nation*, 56.

¹⁰⁵ Griffiths and O’Connor, *The Rise of Anti-Americanism*, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Gina Messina-Dysert, “Globalization,” in *Encyclopedia of Global Religion*, ed. Mark Juergensmeyer and Wade Clark Roof, vol. 1 (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012), 464.

¹⁰⁷ Markovits, *Uncouth Nation*, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Markovits, 32.

¹⁰⁹ Griffiths and O’Connor, *The Rise of Anti-Americanism*, 18.

¹¹⁰ Hanna Fuchs and Sonya Diehn, “A Brief History of the Anti-Globalization Movement,” DW, June 7, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/a-brief-history-of-the-anti-globalization-movement/g-39573255>.

to its efforts. A significant portion of the terrorist violence during the decades following 9/11 has revolved around far-right, Islamist extremist ideologies. These ideologies have largely been justified by the Islamist community as necessary to combat American foreign policy and intervention in the Middle East, as well as very broad opposition to the stereotypical American way of life, godless infidels living a life of sin that would not be acceptable to Allah. These critiques can be found both in Osama bin Laden's *Letter to America*—justification for the attacks on 9/11—as well as in Sayyid Qutb's article, *The America I Have Seen* written in 1951.¹¹¹ An important distinction to note is that bin Laden and Qutb's writings specifically focus on America and not Western (including Europe) values in general.

Qutb criticizes the American people's values, traditions, and priorities and notes that Americans are “abysmally primitive in the world of the senses, feelings, and behavior.”¹¹² In a most extreme and true form of anti-Americanism, Qutb's criticisms continue to include almost every aspect of American life, work ethic, sexuality, religion, industrialism, etc. These same critiques of almost every facet of American life are echoed by Osama bin Laden. The important difference between bin Laden's letter and Qutb's article is that bin Laden draws attention to U.S. foreign policy regarding support for Israel in Palestine and other perceived atrocities against the Muslim world that have resulted in the deaths of thousands of Muslims. Osama bin Laden uses the deaths resulting from U.S. foreign policy as the catalyst, and religious justification for jihad to wage war upon the aggressors.¹¹³ Bin Laden's choice to act on extreme criticisms of America in a violent manner, and his use of religious ideologies as justification, has created a very violent form of anti-Americanism, which co-exists with the less violent forms of anti-Americanism.

¹¹¹ Sayyid Qutb, *The America I Have Seen: In the Scale of Human Values (1951)* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1951), 21; “bin Laden's ‘Letter to America’,” *Guardian*, sec. World News, November 24, 2002, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/nov/24/theobserver>.

¹¹² Qutb, 4.

¹¹³ *Guardian*, “bin Laden's ‘Letter to America.’”

C. EVALUATING ANTI-AMERICANISM

This section examines the left- and right-wing anti-American tendencies (politically and socially) of a country and rates them in ascending order from lowest to highest anti-American threat. This analysis is done to determine sensitivity to anti-Americanism and the vulnerability that may bring the NHL, specifically among states where the NHL currently holds Global Series games. Within Europe, states can be identified as low, medium, and high-risk states in regards to anti-American sensitivity. Research indicates a complex local, domestic, and cultural anti-Americanism at work, as well as a particular Islamist extremist version.

To be sure, even very vigorous anti-American rhetoric that may exist does not mean that the sentiment will turn to violent action. However, examples are available of anti-Americanism that have crossed over to something else; namely, the kind of violent anti-Americanism that concerns this analysis.

1. Finland

Two Global Series games have been held in Finland since the NHL created the program.¹¹⁴ Currently, the only two major factors that could affect future NHL business are the topics of immigration and nationalism in Finland. No current, long-term NHL business infrastructure exists in Finland. However, an uptick in the presence and profile of supporting Global Series infrastructure and events likely would bring Americanism, may bring temporary or permanent American workers, and possibly cause an influx of foreign nationals (amateur hockey players and their families like Auston Matthews) living and working in Finland to try their hand at professional hockey in the NHL.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ NHL Records, “Games outside North America.”

¹¹⁵ Prior to being drafted into the NHL by the Toronto Maple Leafs, Auston Matthews played in the Swiss top professional ice hockey league for a year to gain experience and seek better opportunities he felt were not being offered at the time. Mike Morreale, “5 Things You Likely Don’t Know about Auston Matthews,” NHL, accessed December 9, 2020, <https://www.nhl.com/news/auston-matthews-facts-and-information/c-280853690>.

a. *Left-Wing Opposition*

The left-wing of Finland seems to exist, albeit in small numbers, and it is not very well organized. The Finnish left-wing seems to mobilize as general anarchists, under the name and banner of Antifa (short for anti-fascism), and as the Anarchist Federation of Finland (AFA).¹¹⁶ The AFA states on its website that it opposes capitalism, as might be expected. Additionally, Finnish Antifa has mostly organized to oppose right-wing nationalism and neo-Nazism that has recently been on the rise in Finland.¹¹⁷ Much of the left-wing organization recently has revolved around opposing right-wing immigration protests in response to a failed Moroccan asylum seeker who committed Finland's first Islamist terrorist attack on August 18, 2017 when he killed two women and injured eight others.¹¹⁸ The right-wing protestors believe had Finnish immigration laws been stronger, the attack would not have happened. Thus, left-wing protestors mobilized in response to the right-wing protests.

No direct protests or violence about capitalism or globalization (linked to Americanism) have been conducted from the left-wing in Finland. Also, no direct or indirect anti-American specific rhetoric or opposition to American culture has occurred either. Most left-wing, politically active Finns seem to be more concerned on protecting the rights of asylum seekers and refugees from the Middle East, and opposing nationalism and Nazism in Finland. Ultimately, the Finnish left does not currently seem to present much of an anti-American threat to organizations like the NHL.

b. *Right-Wing Opposition*

The right-wing of Finland seems to be much more organized and overt than the left-wing, which possibly makes the Finnish right-wing more dangerous than the left-wing.

¹¹⁶ Reuters Staff, "Far Right, Anti-Fascists Protest in Finland a Year after Knife Attack," *Reuters*, August 18, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-attacks-finland-anniversary-idUSKBN1L30HW>; "Suomen Anarkistifederaatio SA—Anarkistfederationen i Finland AFIF," Anarchist Federation of Finland, accessed November 17, 2020, <http://www.anarchy.no/sa.html>.

¹¹⁷ "Finland: Neo-Nazis and Anti-Fascists Clash on Independence Day in Helsinki," December 6, 2018, Ruptly, video, 2:20, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mo0BcUiTfkY&ab_channel=Ruptly.

¹¹⁸ Reuters Staff, "Far Right."

Such groups as Finland's neo-Nazi movement, the Nordic Resistance Movement, and the Finnish Resistance movement have mobilized in support of Finnish nationalism and anti-immigration policies. All the groups are under the watchful eye of the Finnish intelligence service, and the Nordic Resistance Movement in particular was banned by a Finnish court.¹¹⁹ In 2015, approximately 30–40 far-right, Finnish anti-immigration nationalists threw rocks, Molotov cocktails, and launched fireworks at a bus of Iraqi asylum seekers.¹²⁰ One of the attackers was seen wearing a Ku Klux Klan costume.¹²¹

Much like the Finnish left-wing, the Finnish right-wing does not currently seem to show anti-American traits or rhetoric. While some very loose connections may be made, the majority of the evidence found seems to support that Finns are more concerned about immigration laws. What is more, Andrei Markovits found, in 2007, that Finland showed almost no signs of anti-Semitism, in contrast to much of Europe. In the intervening years, however, world politics and Finnish views may have changed.

2. Germany

Germany has only hosted one NHL Global Series game since 2011; however, the presence of multiple German NHL players may drive the NHL to stage additional events in the future.¹²² Awareness of Germany's anti-Americanism from both left-wing and right-wing opposition is sure to benefit Global Series planners to threats specific to American people and organizations that come to Germany. Within Germany exist multiple organizations that have exhibited or are prone to anti-Americanism—which finds roots in opposing capitalism, globalization, and culturalism—and may contain members who would seek to organize violent protests or attacks to oppose the NHL's globalization efforts.

¹¹⁹ Reuters Staff.

¹²⁰ Guardian Staff, "Nationalist Finnish Protesters Throw Stones at Bus Carrying Refugees," *Guardian*, sec. World news, September 25, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/25/finland-refugee-centre-targeted-by-racist-protest-group>.

¹²¹ Guardian Staff.

¹²² NHL Records, "Games outside North America."

a. Left-Wing Opposition

According to Andrei Markovits, the political left in Germany is primarily concerned with opposing capitalism and globalism from an economic standpoint—fearing that American economic imperialism will inevitably increase in relative power and control.¹²³ This sentiment is echoed by such former and current left-wing and far left-wing political groups in Germany as Die Linke, Antifa (short for anti-fascism), and other groups utilizing tactics ranging from non-violent political activism to violent extremism.

Die Linke, German for “the Left,” is Germany’s remnant socialist party, a bit of a rebranding of the old communist party of the former East Germany, updated to attract younger voters throughout the Federal Republic. According to their website, Die Linke vehemently opposes capitalism and states, “[w]here profit rules above all else, there can be little space for democracy” and goes on to say, “[a] world under the diktat of omnipotent global capitalism is not a world worth striving for.”¹²⁴ Die Linke further gives somewhat of a call to arms by stating, “We want to help turn passive resentment into active resistance....[w]e are fighting for this change because capitalism, based on inequality, exploitation, expansion and competition, is incompatible with [our] goals.”¹²⁵ While, the Left Party was at one point under surveillance by Germany’s domestic intelligence agency, it remains able to stand candidates for elections at the state and federal level, in which it sees modest successes. Careful not to cross the line into the kind of rhetoric that might get the party cast as extremist or even terrorist, Die Linke seems to be the party trying to represent the ideals of the more far-left ideologies somewhat closer to the mainstream (or at least prime time). Still, the party shows significant potential for anti-Americanist and anti-capitalist activities and opposition to companies, including the NHL, trying to expand in Germany. It also could suggest a small but ideologically dedicated group at serious odds with the founding norms of Germany’s democratic consensus, including its orientation toward capitalism, and by extension, the United States.

¹²³ Markovits, *Uncouth Nation*, 32.

¹²⁴ “Für Solidarität und Soziale Gerechtigkeit!,” Die Linke, accessed November 16, 2020, <https://en.die-linke.de/welcome/>.

¹²⁵ Die Linke.

Violent or physical left-wing opposition to capitalism and Americanism has also occurred historically and recently in Germany, which could possibly affect the Global Series. Two examples of modern violence and protests in Germany come from Antifa and the Black Bloc (the tactic-turned-name derived from the penchant among affiliated activists for wearing all black and hiding their identities) movement. Members or sympathizers of Antifa and Black Bloc focus much of their activity on anti-capitalism and anti-globalization. Thus, many of these protests, which almost inevitably turn violent, occur at global trade summits that Germany hosts, for example, the 2017 Group of Twenty (G20) Summit held in Hamburg, which saw much destruction of property and civil unrest.¹²⁶ Many German left-wing extremists threw rocks at business windows, vandalized other property, set at least 20 cars on fire, attacked law enforcement officers, which resulted in at least 160 injured officers and 70 arrested protestors.¹²⁷ The violence at the 2017 G20 Summit in Hamburg is just one example of Antifa's willingness to engage in destructive and violent protests against capitalism, globalization, and fascism.

b. Right-Wing Opposition

According to Markovits, right-wing opposition to America is more focused on the context of nationalism and culture instead of concerns primarily regarding economic disparity.¹²⁸ Data provided by Pew Research seems to echo Markovits' findings. According to Pew Research Polls, most Germans are largely in favor of globalization; a point that will surely be beneficial to NHL Global Series events. However, Germany's right-wing populist party in Parliament, Alternative for Germany (Alternative für

¹²⁶ "Trump's 'Antifa' Accusations Spark Debate in Germany, the Movement's Birthplace," DW, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/trumps-antifa-accusations-spark-debate-in-germany-the-movements-birthplace/a-53665573>.

¹²⁷ Philip Oltermann, "Arrests and Injuries as Hamburg Gripped by Mass Anti-G20 Protests," *Guardian*, sec. World news, July 7, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/07/g20-protests-hamburg-altona-messehalle>.

¹²⁸ Markovits, *Uncouth Nation*, 32.

Deutschland or AfD), strongly opposes globalization with an overwhelming 68 percent.¹²⁹ According to AfD's *Manifesto for Germany*, the group believes in a strong and sovereign nation-state for Germany, as well as the other states of the Europe, which represents the basis of its opposition to the European Union (EU).¹³⁰ The AfD goes on to state in its manifesto that members "maintain an open mind towards other nations and cultures, but wish to be and remain German at heart."¹³¹ In this connection, the party takes the stance that globalization and capitalism must not undermine or detract ethnic and national German control of the state.¹³² At the very least, such muscular, nationally focused capitalism would press for German advantages at every opportunity. Presumably, it also would resist undue American influence as "non-German," in both the market and society. On the surface, AfD and its members do not seem like they would oppose NHL Global Series events; however, this stance may change in the future based on the success and potential market domination the NHL and the social and cultural values the company would bring with it.

The German Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz or BfV) believes that the greatest threat to national security is the prominence of right-wing extremists, which is both alarming and urgent in light of Germany's Nazi past.¹³³ The BfV notes that more than 32,000 right-wing extremists have been identified in 2019 and that 13,000 of these individuals are classified as "prepared to use violence."¹³⁴ Many are from various, smaller groups or sometimes even act alone as

¹²⁹ Jacob Poushter and Shannon Schumacher, "Amid Coronavirus Crisis, Americans and Germans See Changing World in Different Ways," *Pew Research Center* (blog), May 18, 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/05/18/amid-coronavirus-crisis-americans-and-germans-see-changing-world-in-different-ways/>.

¹³⁰ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative for Germany, 5, April 12, 2017, <https://www.afd.de/grundsatzprogramm/>. Check source as a report

¹³¹ Alternative for Germany, 5.

¹³² Alternative for Germany, 66–68.

¹³³ "Number of Right-Wing Extremists in Germany on Rise, Security Report Suggests," DW, September 7, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-right-wing-extremists/a-54105110>.

¹³⁴ DW.

did many of the culprits who burned refugee homes in Germany in 2015.¹³⁵ Many of these right-wing groups who commit violent acts do so in the name of opposing an ethnic or cultural takeover, which explains the anti-Semitism, anti-Americanism, and anti-refugee sentiment often attributed to the German far-right and found among its underground neo-Nazis and other right-wing nationalists.

3. France

France, of all the European countries, displays the most overt anti-Americanism.¹³⁶ Although France has never participated in the NHL's Global Series program, a young and growing professional ice hockey scene began to gather momentum in the early 2000s.¹³⁷ The growth of hockey results from the successes of its national team and such active NHL stars as Pierre-Edouard Bellemare, Alexandre Texier, and Antoine Roussel. These circumstances (and players) may generate enough interest and demand to bring NHL games to France through an expansion of the Global Series.¹³⁸ However, while the distinct and acute levels of anti-Americanism displayed in the last hundred years or more by France is certainly concerning, the most dangerous version of anti-Americanism in France ironically has Middle Eastern roots.¹³⁹

a. Left-Wing Opposition

Phillipe Roger in his book, *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism*, asserts that France's traditions of disdain for America are so strong that it has "judged [America] less democratic than fascist states and more totalitarian than the

¹³⁵ Jess Staufenberg, "There Have Been More than 200 Attacks on Refugee Homes in Germany and Only Four Arrests," *Independent*, December 7, 2015, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-222-refugee-homes-burned-or-attacked-arrests-a6763506.html>.

¹³⁶ Sophie Meunier, "Anti-Americanisms in France," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2 (January 1, 2005): 126, <https://doi.org/10.3167/153763705780980010>.

¹³⁷ Tal Pinchevsky, "France Prepares to Stake Its Place in World Hockey," *New York Times*, sec. Sports, May 4, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/sports/hockey/france-world-championship.html>.

¹³⁸ Pinchevsky.

¹³⁹ Roger, *The American Enemy*, 448.

Soviet regime.”¹⁴⁰ So deeply rooted are French traditions of anti-Americanism that it can be found in almost every aspect of French life regardless of political leanings, from the media to policy and from books to protests. According to Andrei Markovits, the French have even gone to great lengths to mitigate the impact that the English language—and more specifically “American English”—have on their native tongue.¹⁴¹ Although French anti-Americanism has largely been benign up to this point, the historically determined, extreme, and purposeful nature of French anti-Americanism is something that cannot be ignored by Global Series planners.

The French left-wing, like what is found among many left-leaning political ideologies, is primarily focused on traditional left-wing complaints, harms from capitalism and globalization. The French left is also composed of many far-left members who identify as anarchists, Antifa, and other independent actors, many of whom utilize the same Black Bloc tactics that have been seen elsewhere. On May 1, 2017, Antifa, anarchists, and protestors alike came together for a “May Day Parade.”¹⁴² What started as a peaceful demonstration of protestors chanting their stance against capitalism, quickly turned Paris into a warzone. Loud explosions, physical violence, damage to property and cars, and high-definition footage of Molotov cocktails engulfing law enforcement in flames are just a few of the occurrences during the 2017 May Day Parade in France.¹⁴³ It is entirely plausible to believe that the same type of demonstrations could be held in response to American businesses and economic interests moving into France.

b. Right-Wing Opposition

Much of France’s right-wing anti-Americanism is focused on preserving national identities. That being the case, much of the anti-Americanism displayed by the right is done so in literature, rhetoric, and the mitigation of American influence. Book with titles like

¹⁴⁰ Roger, 449.

¹⁴¹ Markovits, *Uncouth Nation*, 60.

¹⁴² “France’s Anarchists Clash with the Police on May Day,” May 6, 2017, VICE, video, 3:42, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CoxsDkB-rWU&ab_channel=VICE.

¹⁴³ VICE.

L'impérialisme américain (American Imperialism), *L'Abomination américaine* (The American Monstrosity), and *Le Cancer américain* (The American Cancer) document resentment toward America its customs, values, and social norms.¹⁴⁴ During the planning of the 1998 World Cup soccer tournament in France, event planners and officials openly discussed the “adverse affects of the ‘Americanization’ of soccer.”¹⁴⁵ One former French soccer player compared France’s hosting of the World Cup to America by stating, “The World Cup in the United States was outstanding, but it was like Coca Cola. Ours will be like sparkling champagne.”¹⁴⁶ Unabashed French anti-Americanism is certainly concerning; however, as previously mentioned, it is mostly benign in nature. Open source searches of anti-American sentiment or violence by French national right-wing groups yields no results. However, right-wing Islamist extremism in France yields surprising and very concerning results, which thus draws the need for a special category of analysis.

c. *Rising Islamist Extremism*

Violent Islamist extremism has been on the rise in France, as evidenced by many recent cases, a trend that analysts believe can be attributed to France’s “robust defence of secularism.”¹⁴⁷ As recent as October 29, 2020, Brahim Aioussaoi, a Tunisian, killed three people (nearly beheading one) in Nice, France.¹⁴⁸ While no specific motive for Aioussaoi’s attack has yet been stated, some have suggested the attack to be in connection with President Emmanuel Macron’s decision to defend publications of cartoons that depict the Prophet Mohammed.¹⁴⁹

In Nice, France, on July 14, 2016, Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlef drove a 19-ton commercial vehicle into a crowd of people observing fireworks killing 86 people and

¹⁴⁴ Markovits, *Uncouth Nation*, 62.

¹⁴⁵ Markovits, 75.

¹⁴⁶ Markovits, 75.

¹⁴⁷ “France Attack: Three Killed in ‘Islamist Terrorist’ Stabbings,” BBC News, sec. Europe, October 29, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-54729957>.

¹⁴⁸ BBC News.

¹⁴⁹ BBC News.

wounding 450 people.¹⁵⁰ It was later determined by investigators that Bouhlef had been radicalized shortly before the attack and expressed significant support for the Islamic State.¹⁵¹ Possibly the most famous example of Islamist extremism in France in recent memory is the Charlie Hebdo attacks on January 7, 2015 carried out by two Algerian brothers radicalized by AQAP.¹⁵² The attack, which ultimately claimed the lives of 17 people, was carried out in response to Charlie Hebdo's recent publications of cartoon images of the Prophet Mohammed.¹⁵³

Ultimately, analysts believe the Islamist terrorist threat in France is very high, and although the attacks have primarily targeted French people thus far, it is not implausible to believe that these same Islamist extremists would not have attacked Americans if given the chance.¹⁵⁴ What is most concerning is that Islamist extremism has a history of anti-Americanism and attacking Americans—wherever they may be—and the trend of Islamist terrorist attacks in France has been increasing. This increasing trend poses significant security concerns for the Global Series and other American business ventures in France.

D. CONCLUSION

Based on open source research, expert analysis and what is known at the time of this writing, this thesis finds the presence of anti-Americanism to be low in Finland, moderate-to-high in Germany, and high in France. French anti-Americanism, specifically, is extremely complex and multi-faceted due to the inherent and historical anti-American sentiment displayed by French nationals, as well as the rising trend of Islamist terrorist attacks in recent times. Each country, with its varied degree of anti-Americanism, could be

¹⁵⁰ Alissa J. Rubin and Aurelien Breeden, "France Remembers the Nice Attack: 'We Will Never Find the Words,'" *New York Times*, sec. World, July 15, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/14/world/europe/nice-attack-france-bastille-day.html>.

¹⁵¹ Elena Berton and Kim Hjelmgaard, "Paris Prosecutor: Nice Attacker Searched Online for Islamic State," *USA Today*, July 18, 2016, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/07/18/nice-attackers-link-islamic-state-puzzles-investigators/87239960/>.

¹⁵² Nicki Petrikowski, "Charlie Hebdo Shooting," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed December 8, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Charlie-Hebdo-shooting>.

¹⁵³ Petrikowski.

¹⁵⁴ BBC News, "France Attack."

subject to change based on how aggressively the NHL pursues long-term business interests within the region and specific country.

This thesis also finds that anti-Americanism can also rather easily be linked to those sympathetic to anti-capitalism, anti-globalization, anti-culturalization, and anti-immigration. Many groups—both on the left and right end of the political spectrum—that oppose the aforementioned grievances already exist within countries the NHL currently operates in, as well as future expansion countries.

Security planners and local stakeholders may already be aware of these groups and their members, but may not have considered the uniquely anti-American grievance that may exacerbate tensions and give protestors, demonstrators, and political activists a new target: an NHL Global Series event. Given this context, stakeholders should evaluate their operating environment and conduct an in-depth study to determine their countries' sensitivity to anti-Americanism and what consequences an increase in NHL operations would bring.

V. CONCLUSION

Long-time and persistent terrorist threats have forced organizations to constantly and continually increase and evolve their security measures to meet the threat. Despite the efforts and funding used to increase security, successful attacks from determined individuals continue to happen as terrorists inevitably evolve their own tactics to circumvent the most recent and cutting-edge security innovations. The goal in researching and writing this thesis was to aid in the endeavor of ensuring the safety and security of the NHL, its players, and its fans for the long-term success of a game so many love.

In this concluding chapter, this thesis lays out all findings, makes recommendations to the NHL and Global Series stakeholders, and identifies future areas for continued research.

A. SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE GLOBAL SERIES

In Chapter III, this thesis found that the Global Series has significantly more international, national, and strategic value than other signature series or regular season NHL games. Not only does the Global Series rival post-season playoffs in terms of ticket sales, media footprint, excitement and popularity, and fully packed arenas, it also has its inherent international quality that no other event can match. This thesis finds that all the aforementioned qualities combined make Global Series events much more high risk for terrorist attacks than any other NHL event.

Based on these findings, this thesis recommends that NHL executives and planners should consider Global Series events at much higher risk and vulnerability to attack by determined adversaries than its regular season games or even its other signature events (i.e., The Winter Classic and The Stadium Series). Further, this thesis advises NHL and host-nation stakeholders to consider increasing security and response capabilities to areas that are immediately outside of the actual seating area itself. This recommendation is made based on the analysis of the 2015 Paris attacks and the Ariana Grande suicide bombing; both incidences where the attacks affected guests who were in the immediate vicinity of the arena but not necessarily inside or near the seating area.

Finally, when considering the threats that determined attackers pose, this thesis advises NHL security stakeholders not only to consider lone wolves and IEDs, but also coordinated small groups of attackers with suicide vests *and* assault rifles, as was seen in the 2015 Paris attacks. This thesis recommends that NHL security stakeholders should approach these problem sets with a layered defense approach to best mitigate vulnerabilities to a number of threats.

B. THE ANTI-AMERICAN THREAT

Chapter IV of this thesis found that anti-Americanism may be a unique threat that NHL executive and security staff may not have considered. Although born in Canada, the NHL's deep roots in the United States market, as evidenced by 25 of the 32 NHL teams, has had a significant influence on the organization's culture, business practices, and values. Thus, inevitably and over time, today's NHL has become Americanized and arguably represents the United States more so than Canada. This change in organizational culture and representation ultimately makes the NHL and its events a target for those who oppose America, its culture, values and government, and especially when operating overseas in events like its Global Series. Furthermore, research in Chapter IV indicated that anti-American sentiment is very easily linked to anti-globalization, anti-capitalism, and anti-culturalization, something that the Global Series would surely be found guilty of in the court of anti-American opinion.

Moreover, experts find that anti-Americanism is on the rise in Europe, and NHL planners should consider anti-Americanism when planning future Global Series events and expansions. Careful and deliberate consideration must be made regarding anti-American sentiment and volatility in a chosen country, in coordination with field experts and host-nation security and intelligence professionals. Furthermore, planners should consider anti-Americanism within neighboring countries and regions as well, because of how easy it is to travel from state to state within Europe. Planners and stakeholders should also consider the relevance and volatility of local anti-globalization, anti-capitalism, and anti-culturalization movements within the country and region, and whether the grievances of those groups would react to NHL ventures and expansion within that specific country.

These considerations could be accomplished by conducting in-depth studies of anti-Americanism in each region and state in which the Global Series would operate.

Global Series planners and stakeholders also should consider the methods and aggressiveness with which they expand into the European market. The anti-American sentiment, sensitivity, and volatility could be decreased by thoughtful and careful considerations of focusing on the values, culture, and norms of the state in which the Global Series event is taking place instead of highlighting things that could be considered American norms and values. Maximizing inclusion of the host-nation's values, people, financial gain, and culture may help to decrease anti-American volatility, and thus reduce the possible threat of anti-American terrorism.

C. FUTURE RESEARCH

The research for this thesis only scratches the surface of identifying anti-American threats to Global Series events. Much more in-depth and thorough studies by stakeholders intimately familiar with the regions and states in which the Global Series currently operates or plans to operate are needed. For example, this thesis did not conduct a preliminary country study on Sweden or the Czech Republic even though the Global Series has conducted events in both countries since 2017. Those two countries were excluded from this thesis due to time and brevity requirements. However, this thesis recommends that those countries be ultimately analyzed for anti-American sensitivity. This thesis also recommends similar studies be conducted for future Global Series expansions to never-before-operated in such countries as France, Great Britain, and Austria, etc.

Furthermore, this thesis recommends more in-depth research into the threat and sensitivity that Islamic extremism may pose to the NHL as is seen in France³. Throughout the research for this thesis, many examples of radical Islamic terrorism were found to be behind many attacks on sports venues. While certainly elements of anti-Americanism are found in radical Islamic ideologies, the research for this thesis focused primarily on specific countries and not regional or global radical religious ideologies.

D. CONCLUSION

The initial hypothesis of this thesis was that NHL planners and stakeholders may not be considering the unique anti-American threat that may be posed, and possibly increased, by Global Series events. Through the research for this thesis, I was unable to find anything that supported or stood contrary to the hypothesis of this thesis. The exact reasons are unknown, but could be due to the lack of publicly available NHL security guidelines, policies, and procedures, etc. Although admittedly unlikely, it could also be because no other research or studies have drawn links between U.S.-based sports organization's efforts to globalize given the context of anti-Americanism. This is not to say that research has not been conducted that has skirted the issue, but to the knowledge that was found at the time of this writing, nothing has been written specifically linking anti-American terrorism and U.S.-based sport organization's global expansions. Again, this conclusion is probably unlikely.

Ultimately, it seems that the NHL has taken the necessary steps to increase security measures and protocols as necessary, which is evidenced by the fact that a successful terrorist attack on an NHL event has not ever been carried out at the time of this writing. However, failure to consider anti-Americanism in future security changes and evolutions could expose vulnerabilities and blind spots for Global Series security planners and stakeholders. Similarly, should the NHL fail to hold the Global Series security in the same regard as it does security for the Stanley Cup playoffs, or even other similar international sporting events, determined attackers may find opportunities to attack with disastrous effects.

So long as NHL security continues to innovate, improve, and adjust to meet the threat posed by determined attackers, fans across the world will continue to flock to Global Series events to watch the highest and most exciting levels of professional ice hockey. A safe and successful globalization of ice hockey to international fans is something that will only benefit all of us who love the game so much.

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