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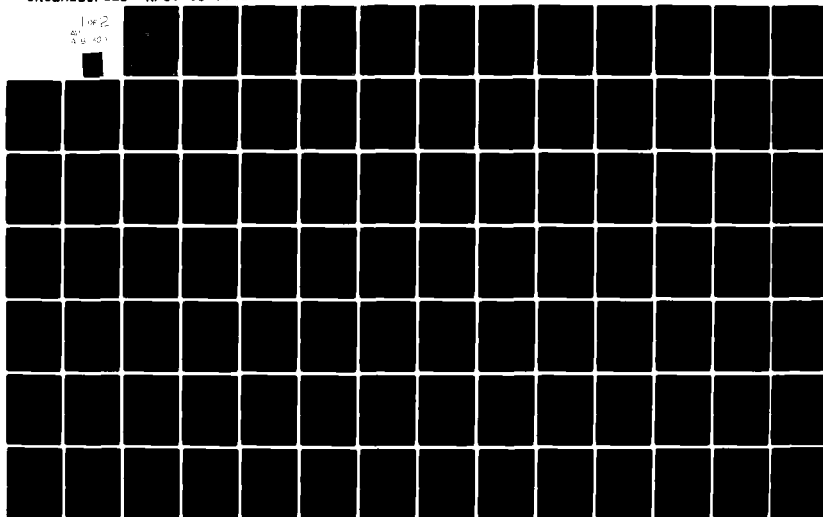
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ABSTRACT

LEFTIST TERRORIST MOTIVATION

By

Sharon Ann Kalinowski

August 1979

As international terrorist activities escalate and campaigns across national boundaries and borders increase, the United States is increasingly vulnerable to both internally- and externally-caused terrorist action.

This study drew on existing documentation of leftist terrorists' ideological leanings and their motivations as perceived by analysts of this phenomenon. The study was limited to consideration of eight major leftist terrorist groups which operated between 1960-1978: Tupamaros, Irish Republican Army, Palestine Liberation Organization, Baader-Meinhof, Japanese Red Army, Weathermen, Black Panthers, and Symbionese Liberation Army.

The philosophical influences on each group were examined as were the psychological and sociological motivations ascribed to them. Based upon the relevant data in the sources, theories were derived about the motivation of contemporary leftist terrorists; and these

theories were "tested" as they applied to the eight groups. Several conclusions regarding contemporary leftist terrorism were formulated, and a recommendation for further behavioral study was made.

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LEFTIST TERRORIST MOTIVATION

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Criminal Justice
California State College, Long Beach

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

By Sharon Ann Kalinowski

August 1979

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LEFTIST TERRORIST MOTIVATION

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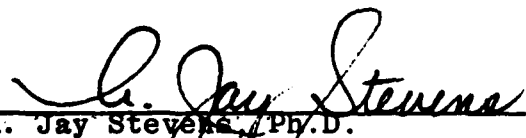
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Frederick Hacker, a psychiatric expert on leftist terrorism, advised that leftist terrorism has been increasing at an alarming rate and that leftist terrorists have struck almost everywhere. He stated that leftist terrorists respect no national boundaries and no political philosophies; neither the developing states of the Third World nor the modern industrialized states have been spared. He added that leftist terrorism is seen by the disinherited and disenchanted as a means of acquiring prestige and glamour. In his opinion leftist terrorism is one of the most critical international problems today. (12:343).

In order to plan to counter leftist terrorists' violence, the motivations and factors which influence them must be known and understood. According to Francis Watson, research security and management consultant, the emotionalism reflected in much of the available literature does not facilitate the objective consideration of leftist terrorism, especially when the consensus of much of the public is that only "madmen" become leftist terrorists. (28:77).

This study assessed ideological influences and motivations as they have been propounded by expert, and not so expert, students of these aspects of the leftist terrorist phenomenon. It drew on open-source documentation to determine what was known and what was believed about influences on and motivations of leftist terrorists. This study further analyzed these data as they applied to several contemporary leftist terrorist groups. Conclusions were drawn regarding specific influences and motivational factors which might induce potential leftist terrorists to action.

Major John D. Elliott and Major Leslie K. Gibbons, political military officers for the United States Army, indicated that contemporary leftist terrorist tactics are simply modern variations of old techniques and that contemporary leftist terrorists capitalize on improved weapons technology and available support from radical governments. (8:1).

Ovid Demaris, an author and lawyer, reported that although all terrorisms' philosophical underpinnings antedate the last two centuries, religious and economic anarchies are the true antecedents of modern political leftist terror. (7:377). Attorney David Fromkin advised that it is in the tumultuous period known as the Reign of Terror (1793-94) in France when Robespierre's Jacobin party sent droves of citizens to the guillotine that the

English and French words for terrorism have their origins. (42:684).

According to Albert Parry, lecturer at Colgate University's Inter-American Defense College, the most notorious nineteenth century terrorists were the young Russian intellectuals who agitated for land to be given back to the people and employed terrorism in their attempts to weaken the Tsarist regime. Parry stated that 1879 saw the formation of an extremist group of Russian revolutionaries which advocated an offensive characterized by terrorist tactics. Members of this extremist group allegedly served as inspiration for the wave of anarchist terrorism which swept Europe between 1880 and the outbreak of World War I. (21:5).

J. Bowyer Bell, research associate at Columbia's Institute for War and Peace, advised that in 1881 a Russian radical, Serge Nechayev, wrote the Revolutionary Catechism within which he characterized a revolutionary (terrorist) as one who possessed the following characteristics: a dedicated man with a single thought, not bound by moral and social obligations, and despising public opinion and ready to destroy anyone or anything that stood in his way. (2:5).

Yonah Alexander, professor of International Area Studies at New York State University, indicated that

political terrorism in the United States started with the nineteenth century vigilantes who were originally organized to keep order in the lawless frontier West. Before long, however, according to Alexander, the vigilantes were controlled by the frontier elite, the land barons, whose interests were served by the terrorizing of small dirt farmers. (1:30).

Albert Parry stated that more significant and longer lasting was the brand of terror introduced in the United States in the early days of the industrial age-- the terror of capital and labor warring with each other. According to Parry, one outstanding example was the "Molly Maguires." Parry noted that this secret organization of Irish coal miners in Pennsylvania, while struggling to achieve equality from about 1865 to 1875, often murdered policemen in the employ of oppressive companies and waylaid and killed mine superintendents. (21:94).

According to Yonah Alexander, the Ku Klux Klan, another early United States terrorist group, was founded in 1867 to help the former slaveholding Confederate Democratic political establishment to regain power from the black Republican coalition which controlled the South during the post-Civil War period. He stated further that the Klan weakened black Republican morale, thus

making it possible for the elite of the Southern Democratic Party, the former plantation owners, to reassert their influence. (1:31).

Although leftist terrorism is not new, a number of technical developments have made it a potent and attractive means of struggle in our times. Brian Jenkins, Director of Research on Guerrilla Warfare and International Terrorism for the Rand Corporation, observed that technological progress has provided leftist terrorists with new targets and new capabilities. Jet air travel has furnished unprecedented mobility and, with it, the ability to strike anywhere in the world. According to Jenkins recent developments in news broadcasting, radio, television, and communications satellites are also a boon to publicity-seeking leftist terrorists. (70:7).

Continuing with his analysis of the current threat, Jenkins added:

The increasing vulnerabilities in our society plus the increasing capacities for violence afforded by new developments in weaponry mean that smaller and smaller groups have a greater and greater capacity for disruption and distraction. Or, put another way, the small bands of extremists and irreconcilables that have always existed may become an increasingly potent force. (70:8).

Carrying the theme further, John D. Elliott and Leslie K. Gibson stated:

The simplest way to convey the significance of this threat is to review briefly the three

transitions contemporary terrorism has made while migrating to the industrialized societies. First, the transition to urban guerrilla warfare in the sixties, in which guerrillas moved their tactics from their traditional battleground to ambush the government in the cities. Second, a consideration of transnational terrorism in the early seventies, during which political violence migrated via skyjacked jumbo jets to the industrialized societies. And, finally, the emerging transition to international terrorism in which terrorism will be controlled by sovereign states. (8:2).

Significance

The attention of most of the non-Communist world was on leftist terrorism during the mid-sixties through the early seventies. The United States government, especially, focused several efforts toward studying the problem. One such effort, published in 1974, listed more than four hundred acts of leftist terrorism of an international nature that were perpetrated during the five years (1968-1973) covered by the study. (44:2).

As international leftist terrorist movements spread, and more campaigns are waged across national boundaries and borders, the United States becomes increasingly susceptible to both internally- and externally-caused leftist terrorist action. The deaths of eleven people and injury to seventy others in a bomb explosion caused by unidentified leftist terrorists at LaGuardia Airport, New York, in 1975 and the Hanafi Muslim seizure of 134 hostages in Washington, D.C., in

1977 demonstrated both its vulnerability and its limited ability to deal with this type of tactic. (41:31).

Although the United States has been relatively free of serious incidents since the demise of the Vietnam era groups (for example, the Weathermen, the Black Panthers, and the Symbionese Liberation Army), authorities and the public must be aware of the danger which continues to exist.

Importance

This study drew on existing documentation of leftist terrorists' ideological leanings and their perceived motivations. To the extent that the compendium of published data can be "validated" in the cases of the eight contemporary leftist terrorist groups, the study's conclusions accomplished two things: (1) identified topical areas where adequate research has not been done, suggesting areas requiring further official and behavioral data gathering and analysis; and (2) presented recommendations for prevention of and dealing with the leftist terrorist phenomenon.

Statement of the Problem

A threatened society can best prepare itself to deal with leftist terrorism by developing realistic

responses which are based on a thorough understanding of the causes and components of contemporary leftist terrorism. If nations are to effectively deal with leftist terrorism, they must be able to assess their vulnerabilities and determine methods of dealing with potential leftist terrorist threats. Integral components of most leftist terrorists' behavior and targeting strategies are the ideological influences and/or individual motivations which are likely to spur the idealistic student, or the downtrodden farmer, to leftist terrorist violence. Authorities must know common threads among the motives, concerns, techniques, and grievances which might unite the German kidnapper with the Northern Ireland bomb thrower and/or the Arab assassin with the anti-war, anti-wealth American agitator. Human motivation is intrinsically multifaceted; and in many cases a leftist terrorist's motives are unclear, even to himself. (44:2).

Leftist terrorists are people. Probably most would never have considered lives of violence and crime had they not been subject to certain influences, certain situations, at critical times in their lives. Although the trend is to think of leftist terrorists not as ordinary human beings (therefore ignoring the human aspects of their condition), Gerald McKnight, a freelance writer, decries the comfortably-accepted notion that

leftist terrorists are people who are unloved, twisted, and frustrated. (17:13).

Limitations

Realizing that leftist terrorism, in the classical sense, is not a new phenomenon, the possibilities for its study are vast. This study, however, was limited to consideration of eight major leftist oriented terrorist groups operating between 1960-1978: the Tupamaros of Uruguay to illustrate the typical urban guerrilla movement; the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorists as examples of organizations with nationalistic and historical motives; the Badder-Meinhof and Japanese Red Army (JRA) because of the extreme nihilistic attitudes they projected; and the three best known United States groups--the Weathermen, the Black Panthers, and the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) because of their unexpectedly diverse membership and motives. Limiting the number of groups permits more relevant analysis and the drawing of conclusions which would likely be valid of other groups with similar profiles. It can be assumed that a built-in bias exists, due to the writer's American background and active military and criminal justice orientation which act to limit this study. It is reasonable to suspect that an author from any of the other countries studied might

present this material from a different angle.

Definition of Terms

As the social and technical environments of each age have influenced the philosophies, motives and operational characteristics of leftist terrorists, these factors also are responsible for the varied definitions of leftist terrorism and the frequent confusion of leftist terrorists with those who act similarly but for different reasons.

The changes in the meaning of certain terms over time, the frequent inaccurate applications of the terms, and the addition of new nomenclature to reflect the contemporary situation all frustrate the precise employment and understanding of even the most commonly used descriptors. To insure that the words, as used in this study, had the same meaning for the reader as well as for the writer, a series of general definitions were provided. In the study, however, some of the same terms had variant meanings because of the experts cited.

Guerrilla

A member of a small group which harasses the enemy by surprise attacks.

International Leftist
Terrorist

A leftist terrorist who is controlled by, and whose actions represent, the national interests of a sovereign state but whose activities are carried out elsewhere.

Motivation

Some behavioral process that prompts a person to act in a certain way.

National Leftist Terrorist

A leftist terrorist who operates and aspires to political power within a nation.

Leftist Terrorism

Violent, criminal behavior by leftist-oriented terrorist intended primarily to generate fear in the community (or a substantial segment of it) for political purposes.

Leftist Terrorist

One of the left who uses the tool of fear/ violence to focus attention on a particular cause or grievance.

Transnational Leftist
Terrorist

A leftist terrorist who operates across national

borders, whose actions may affect individuals of more than one nationality.

Leftist Urban Guerrilla Warfare

Small scale combat by leftists designed to harass rather than to destroy an opponent.

Leftist Revolutionary

One of the left who takes part in an attempt to overthrow a government or political system.

Methodology

To facilitate the review of all available open-source literature on leftist terrorism, two bibliographic research aids were consulted: the social science computerized data base at California State University, Long Beach, and the data bank of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Information for this review was obtained primarily from two libraries: California State University, Long Beach, Library and University of California, Riverside, Library and through purchase of certain references at specialized booksellers. Books, journals, periodicals, and government publications were identified through the use of the following research sources at the libraries: (1) card catalog; (2) Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature; (3) Social Sciences and

Humanities Index; (4) Popular Periodicals Index;
(5) Humanities Index; (6) Psychological Abstracts;
(7) Social Science Index; (8) Social Science Citation
Index; (9) Sociological Abstracts; (10) International
Political Science Abstracts; (11) Monthly Catalog of
United States Government Publications; (12) Public
Affairs Information Service Bulletin; (13) CIS Index; and
(14) Dissertation Abstracts International.

The methodology included the examination of the philosophical influences on leftist terrorists and also considered the eight groups in the context of the political, sociological, and psychological motivations which have been ascribed to them. Based on the relevant data in the sources found, theories were drawn about the motivations of contemporary leftist terrorists; and these theories were compared and analyzed as they applied to the groups selected as representative of those active between 1960 and 1978. This methodology permitted the formulation of several conclusions regarding contemporary leftist terrorism and the proposal of specific actions for those who must be prepared to deal with it.

Remainder of The Study

The remainder of the study presents the research findings, their evaluation in relation to the eight groups and the conclusions.

Chapter 2, Review of Literature, details the various definitions of leftist terrorism as put forth by terrorist experts to include today's terminology.

Chapter 3, Theories on Leftist Terrorism, presents the commonly held beliefs about psychological and social factors which influence leftist terrorist actions.

Chapter 4, Eight Leftist Terrorist Organizations--Testing the Theories, deals with the environment and perceived motivations of the following leftist terrorist groups: Tupamaros, Irish Republican Army, Palestine Liberation Organization, Baader-Meinhof, Japanese Red Army, and the United States Weathermen, Black Panthers, and Symbionese Liberation Army.

Chapter 5, Summary and Recommendations, summarizes the findings of this study and presents recommendations.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The writer found the literature on all terrorism to be limited generally to detailed reporting of specific terrorist acts. In order to maintain a proper perspective, the writer did not limit research to only leftist terrorism literature; even though terror originated by the political right was not the topic of this study, it was not totally ignored. Despite the proliferation of books and journals relating to all terrorism as a concept, there were few serious studies on leftist terrorism and leftist terrorists' motivations. The primary sources which were found to contain relevant data in these areas were by experts such as: Yonah Alexander, professor of International and Area Studies at New York State University; J. Bowyer Bell, research associate at Columbia's Institute for War and Peace; Anthony M. Burton, professor in the Education Department of Dalhousie University, Canada; Richard Clutterbuck, professor in Exeter's Department of Politics, London; James C. Coleman, professor of Psychology at the University of California, Los Angeles; Bruce Franklin, professor in Stanford's English Department; Ted Gurr, professor of Political

Science at Northwestern University; Walter Laqueur, chairman of the Research Council of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.; Jay Mallin, director of the Institute for Study of Change in Miami, Florida; Albert Parry, lecturer at Colgate University's Inter-American Defense College; Derek Richter, director of Medical Research, Neuropsychiatric Unit, Carshalton, England; Jan Schreiber, Harvard's Center for Criminal Justice; Lester A. Sobel, Vice President of Facts on File, Inc., New York; and Paul Wilkinson, lecturer in Politics at Cardiff University.

In addition, three useful studies were utilized:

- (1) a 1974 United States House of Representatives Committee study on internal security and terrorism;
- (2) a 1976 Law Enforcement Assistance Administration committee report on disorders and terrorism; and (3) a 1976 Central Intelligence Agency research study on international and transnational terrorism. Despite their somewhat dated information, these studies provided a useful framework.

Various Definitions of Leftist Terrorism

According to researcher Andrew Pierre, as reported by John D. Elliott and Leslie K. Gibson, what to one man is an outrageous act of lawlessness and

immorality appears to another as an unfortunate but necessary step towards achieving a political goal which, it is expected, will remedy existing or perceived injustice and deprivation. (8:38).

Leftist terrorists achieve their objectives through an assortment of terror-inspiring tactics. The threat of violence to individuals is often used as a means of international coercion and is proving more effective than public demonstrations and riots. Some groups use bombs or kidnappings; others blow up airplanes or assassinate prominent authorities to gain their objectives. Because groups are subject to different influences their actions are not uniform.

A single definition of leftist terrorism does not fit all leftist terrorist activities. For the purpose of this study, however, the National Criminal Justice Advisory Committee's generalizations are useful:

The term, terrorism, as it is frequently employed, is emotive and unspecific. Part of the problem results from our categorization of terrorism as a substantive criminal activity. In fact terrorism is a technique, a way of engaging in certain types of criminal activity so as to attain particular ends. For the perpetrator of terroristic crimes, terrorism, the sensation of massive overwhelming fear induced in victims, transcends in importance the criminal activity itself, which is merely the vehicle. Terror is a natural phenomenon and terrorism is the conscious exploitation of terror. Terrorism is coercive, designed to manipulate the will of its victims and its larger audience. The great degree of fear is generated by the crime's very

nature, by the manner of its perpetrator, or by its senselessness, wantonness, or callous indifference to human life. This terrible fear is the source of the terrorist's power and communicates his challenge to society. (69:3).

To illustrate the variety of issues involved with leftist terrorism, the following sections will discuss its relationship with communist ideologies, civil disorders, struggles for freedom, crime, political objectives, urban guerrilla warfare, and the effects of international leftist terrorism.

Leftist Terrorism and Communist Ideologies

Lecturer Albert Parry reported that in 1917 Lenin urged the masses to steal that of which they had been robbed. Parry ironically noted that in the final outcome of the revolution the masses did not become masters; instead, out of their midsts rose a new class of oppressors. According to Parry, Marx considered capitalism inherently cruel and the fountain of injustice. Parry advised that Marx proclaimed capitalism would have to be swept away by the rising proletariat, who would then create a nonviolent socialist state which would in the course of progress wither away, resulting in the wonderful stateless communist society. (21:13).

As recorded by Parry, Dr. Lawrence Freedman, psychiatrist at the Institute of Social and Behavior Pathology in Chicago, stated categorically that

historically, Marx was very much against all terror as he saw it as a form of revolutionary suicide. However, according to Freedman, today's leftist terrorists are correct in their insistence on Marxism as their roots insofar as the general essence of their claimed ideology is concerned. Marx, in his writings and speeches, and today's leftist terrorists, in their programs and practices, stand for a total "cataclysmic" end to capitalism. According to Parry, Freedman further noted the major difference was that Marx predicted and threatened some type of terror but seldom prescribed its use. Marx believed that human progress did not come out of any Judeo-Christian harmony and love but out of the brutal struggle and hatred which are always with us. In this belief in hatred lay Marx's oblique prophecy of all terror. (21:68-70).

Not only does Marx furnish an attractive, morally altruistic philosophy to the idealist whose traditional values and institutions are in disarray but through Mao Tse Tung he offers practical and easily understood guidelines for action. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Marx, Lenin, and Mao are the accepted ideologists of leftist terror for the majority of existing leftist terrorist groups. (73:13).

Mao has stated leftist terrorist philosophy succinctly:

Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes; and it is, therefore, impossible for the people to win political power. (15:60).

Although still basically Marxist, some leftist terrorist organizations reject the more passive Soviet communist approach in favor of Carlos Marighella's revolutionary violence. Still others relate more closely to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. According to the FBI many modern leftist terrorists are ignorant of specific facts from their "sources" of inspiration. Their knowledge of the classics of revolutionary literature is usually second hand (for example, from the interpretations by Che Guevara and others). Even in those who do read the original literature, there is slight noticeable adherence to orthodoxy. (68:218).

According to Albert Parry, certain Leninists in extremist parties throughout the world insist that no inherent morality exists in human customs and law. Parry reported law is an instrument used by the state for its own purposes and that its so called morality is merely a means of manipulation. He noted that the revolutionary is one who has no interests of his own, no feelings, no belongings; he is a man for whom the

revolution is the only interest, thought, and passion.
(21:15).

In addition, Parry noted that:

The boast of the American terrorist of the late sixties and the Arab commandos of the seventies is that the world's moral revulsion to their deeds does not dismay them. It is an affirmation of a postulate in the Russian document, "The Catechism of a Revolutionary." The catechism states that a revolutionary despises public opinion. (21:15).

Conrad Hassell, an FBI expert on terrorism and fellow graduate student in Criminal Justice, noted that whether the bomb is intended to overthrow the existing establishment or merely intended to achieve a limited political objective, the effects of the explosion on the innocent are the same. (73:12).

Irving Howe, a political news analyst, stated that there was a contemporary terrorist who regarded himself as a man of "the left." Howe noted that this leftist terrorist was contemptuous of democracy, seeing it as a "sham" which lulls people into complacency. The terrorist was convinced that democracy should be destroyed or "exposed" if popular complacency were to end. The terrorist believed in forcing a confrontation with the state, forcing people, like it or not, to awareness. According to Howe, Socialist, Marxist, and non-Marxist revolutionaries expect that exploitation of the people will prod them into political awareness;

leftist terrorists seek, in effect, to force their views/objectives on the people with their self-appointed will. (46:232).

Author and researcher Lester Sobel observed that although terrorists are found among adherents of almost every brand of the left wing, and the right wing, the overwhelming majority of today's terrorists can be described as leftists. Sobel indicated that established communists and other members of the "Old Left" generally deplore all terrorism as adventuristic and counter-productive. Although orthodox communists sometimes cite Lenin as the authority for opposing all terrorism, he did not reject all terrorism under all circumstances. Sobel further stated that most contemporary terrorists have a "New Left" or Trotskyist character whereby they interpret Marxism as a concept of permanent revolution. The "New Left" emerged in the sixties when young college students began advocating radical economic and political change. (26:6-7).

Professor Richard Clutterbuck stated that most leftist terrorists are motivated either by anarchist or Marxist aims. He advised that the anarchist wishes to destroy the rule of law and to release the community back into the jungle of unrestrained individual freedom. According to Clutterbuck, the Marxist aims to substitute

his own rule of law by advancing civilization to the regimented state of the "ant heap," of which he is on top. (5:114).

Leftist Terrorism Versus
Civil Disobedience

Leftist terrorism can be compared to civil disobedience, according to columnist Aryel Neier, since both violate existing laws. Neier stated that in both violations are rationalized by the "urgent" and "just" nature of the particular cause; in both the violator of the law usurps the authority to decide when the law must be respected and when it may be violated. Neier noted that at this point the similarity ends. The leftist terrorist tries to achieve his objectives by the effect his unlawful actions have on strangers; the civil disobedient seeks his political end by violating the law but at a risk only to himself. Neier remarked that because of the essence of civil disobedience and its non-violent character, it may cause inconvenience; but violators do not intend to instill fear and inflict no pain. He noted that the civil disobedient does not run away; he protests in public, identifies himself, and exposes himself to punishment. (54:326).

The National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals met in 1976 and addressed

the topics of civil disorder and leftist terrorism by noting the following key differences between the two:

Civil disorders are manifestations of exuberance, discontent or disapproval on the part of a substantial segment of a community. They do not necessarily have political overtones, and they may arise simply from excessive stimulation during an ordinary event such as a rock concert or football game.

Terrorism is an act of extraordinary violence, the work of a comparatively small number of malcontents or dissidents who, their rhetoric notwithstanding, threaten the security of the entire community. Acts of terrorism are planned in advance, although their execution may be a matter of sudden opportunity. To be effective, terrorism requires a calculated manipulation of the community to which its message is addressed. Fear is deliberate and terrorism conducted without an audience is an exercise in futility.

An interesting fact about American violence and one of the keys to the understanding of its history is that very little of it has been insurrectionary. Most of our violence has taken the form of action of one group of citizens against another group rather than by citizens against state. (69:1).

Leftist Terrorism as a Struggle for Freedom

Jay Mallin stated that definitions are important since the rhetoric of political denunciation brands with the term "terrorist" those people whom others may call "freedom fighters" or "founding fathers." (14:20). Professor Richard Clutterbuck maintained that it is important to avoid judgments excessively clouded by emotion, that one man's "terrorist" is another man's "freedom fighter." He also stated:

Moral judgments are most commonly a rationalization of political judgments. IRA members who are seen as "bad guys" by the majority of Southern Irishmen may be seen as "good guys" by the majority of Irish Americans. The Pakistanis bitterly regarded the Indian support of the Mukti Bahini as a cynical prelude to invasion, while the Indians regarded it as legitimate support of a liberation movement by Bengalis who had already overwhelmingly expressed their desire for independence at the polls. What seem "bad guys" to Brazilians, Chileans or South Africans may seem "good guys" to millions in other countries who sympathize with their resort to violence in default of any other means of achieving what they see as legitimate aims. Resistance fighters against the German occupation of France in the Second World War who used clandestine methods of killing which the Germans treated as terrorism were regarded by both the French and the British as heroes. (5:19).

Clutterbuck also stated that all terrorism may be regarded as legitimate where it is against a government which the majority of the population regard as illegitimate or one, though legitimately elected by the majority, denies equal rights to a minority in its own country. (5:19). The American War of Independence in 1775-83 gives a perfect example of what we Americans would label "freedom fighters," while the British surely looked upon the entire affair as a form of "terrorism."

Robert Moss, a British author, stated that no one would quarrel with the idea that some governments are so corrupt or repressive they deserve to be overthrown, or that violence is sometimes justified as a last resort for men who have no other avenue for protest. (18:16).

Leftist Terrorism
as a Crime

The National Criminal Justice Advisory Committee also compared leftist terrorism to criminal acts when they stated:

Terror is a constituent of many ordinary crimes. In robbery, the victim is threatened so he will relinquish his property; his fear is not meant to be an example to others. Such a crime may terrify, but it is not terrorism. An act of terrorism, on the other hand, has a purpose similar to general deterrence: the instant victim is less important than the overall effect on a particular group to whom the exemplary act is really addressed. Thus terrorism, although it had individual victims, is really an onslaught upon society itself. It is a tactic or technique by means of which a violent act or the threat thereof is used for the prime purpose of creating overwhelming fear for coercive purposes. (69:3).

Sociologist Robert Young described the political leftist terrorist as one who is implicitly prepared to sacrifice all moral and humanitarian considerations for the sake of some political end. According to Young, leftist terrorist activities are generally not simply a single fight with the authorities; rather, they are seen as the implementation of a predetermined strategy. He noted that most crimes are motivated by some desire for personal gain; whereas, in general, leftist terrorist activities are not. (66:290).

Leftist Terrorism to Achieve
Political Objectives

According to the Criminal Justice National

Committee, the term political leftist terrorism has been construed to include all activities related to violence which are directed against authority or which have as their main purpose the production of social change through violent means.

According to the Committee, terrorism in all its forms is a weapon of the weak against society at large, or against some segment of the social order. The modern political leftist terrorist does not feel he is fighting for a hopeless cause. His aim is political legitimacy through selective use of violence. (69:4).

A comparative sociological study by H. Edward Price defined leftist terrorism as planned violence intended to have psychological influence on politically-relevant behavior. Price noted that the multiple targets of a leftist terrorist act include not only the victim of leftist terror, who may be "too dead" to be influenced psychologically, but also members of the victim's group who receive the implicit message, "You could be next." (56:52).

Researcher Walter Laqueur added that since the leftist terrorist sees everyone but himself as guilty, constraints do not exist for him. Laqueur advised that a political leftist terrorist tends to be less humane than an ordinary criminal; the leftist terrorist aims to

spread confusion and fear, not just to eliminate opponents. (13:289).

In the context of internal political struggle, Jay Mallin advised that all terror has two basic applications: (1) as a means for dictatorial regimes to maintain themselves in power, and (2) as a method whereby revolutionary groups achieve psychological effects which they expect will further their cause. (14:3).

The National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice stated that revolutionary theory is based upon dissatisfaction with social and political life and a passionate belief that change can and should be effected. Revolution, in a political sense, implies a forcible transfer of power from one social group to another; it is based on the premise that no class surrenders power to another without violence. (69:22).

The Advisory Committee further noted that:

Ideological considerations are sometimes a spur for terrorists and more often than not they are a rationalization for such conduct. Although violence is regarded as inevitable by the true revolutionary, revolutionary doctrine does not advocate or justify the use of terror. Terrorism has no ideology; it simply draws upon other types of ideology for reference or rationalization. Terrorism and revolution are linked only by the principle of utility. Where destructive and barbaric acts of terrorism are perpetuated with little prospect of military gain and with the likelihood of negative political results, it is proper to suspect psychopathology. (69:22).

Brian Jenkins added a slightly different view in this area:

Revolutionaries, impatient at the reluctance of the people, in whose name the revolution is to be carried out, (sic) join them, may condemn society's normal rules and relationships as chains of complacency under tyranny. If the benefits of political obedience are destroyed, if the complacency of uninvolvedness is not allowed, if the government's ability to protect its citizens, which is the origin and most basic reason for the existence of government, is demonstrated to be ineffectual, if the government can be made to strike back brutally but blindly, if there is no place to hide in the ensuing battle, then it is presumed the people will fight and a revolution will be carried out. The danger of such a strategy is that it often backfires. (70:6).

Leftist Terrorism Versus Urban Guerrilla Warfare

Urban guerrilla warfare is defined by the FBI as criminal conduct for revolutionary purposes. Leftist terrorism, on the other hand, is usually violent criminal activity designed to intimidate for political purposes. The distinction, as seen by the FBI, is in the goals sought and sometimes in the methods used. The guerrilla is working towards revolution; the leftist terrorist acts to focus attention on a particular grievance. According to the FBI, the urban guerrilla must be indigenous to foment revolution. But since his philosophy is not the passive one of the orthodox Marxist revolutionary, the FBI notes he does not receive financial support from Marxist countries. Instead of

an uprising by politically-indoctrinated masses led by an indigenous communist party, the urban guerrilla's means of achieving revolution is by demonstrating the inability of government to fulfill its primary purpose (for example, providing a stable and ordered society). (37:5).

The FBI reported that Carlos Marighella's Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla, sometimes called the "Holy Writ" of the modern guerrilla, has had as much influence on the theories and tactics of urban guerrillas in this country as any writing in the field. It has been extensively circulated and has even been used as a textbook for university political education classes. (37:6-7).

To understand the mind of a leftist terrorist, Albert Parry said one must examine the philosophical background of the urban guerrilla. Parry saw leftist terrorism in Latin America as the backbone of the urban guerrilla movements. Parry noted:

The philosophy of the guerrilla in Latin America was formed primarily by Che Guevara, the philosopher par excellence of the rural revolutionary. To leftist political terrorists everywhere, Ernest Che Guevara is a symbol more immediate and relevant than Marx or Lenin. This Argentinean who with the Castro brothers won Cuba for the revolution and died heroically alone in the Bolivian jungle, truly belongs to the terrorists of the 1960's. Although he died a failure, this endears him to the terrorists even more. Unlike Lenin, Guevara attached little importance to a revolutionary party or a political program. His guerrilla force was his life and its violence all the program he needed. (21:244).

In an article in Skeptic it was stated that the majority of the left does not support armed struggle because it believes, in accordance with the teachings of Che Guevara, that conditions are not ripe for such strategy. The article advised that as long as the government is legally constituted, or even appears to be, there will be no mass popular support. Nonetheless, as the article noted, there has been a growing tendency to turn from armed struggle in the countryside to individual acts of leftist terror in the city, even though official Marxist doctrine has been against urban guerrillas. The article further stated that in adopting leftist terrorist tactics, the contemporary guerrilla has quite consciously broken with the classical Marxist tradition. (61:23).

International Leftist
Terrorism

Professor Richard Clutterbuck provides the following description of international leftist terrorism:

The international terrorist movement was initially formed by people who sought revolutionary change inside their own countries but became frustrated by the inability of the other Marxists' movements to bring it about by political or industrial action. They believe that such movements must fail because the overwhelming majority of people do not want their lives to be disrupted by revolutionary change. They therefore aim to bring their society into such a state of chaos that the people will cease to believe that the existing system can maintain an orderly life for them in any case. (5:85).

Some news analysts such as D. V. Segre and J. H. Adler see modern leftist terrorism, ideology, and other political rationalizations as evolving into an independent, self-sufficient, self-fulfilling business organization. The appeal of so many vested interests, so much built-in power, such great economic and psychological rewards is helping to create a phenomenon which is no longer an ephemeral or fringe element of society. Such leftist terrorism is more dangerous to affluent and ideologically neutral nation-states than to strife-torn societies such as those in Uruguay and Palestine, which contend daily with forms of leftist terrorism and are physically and emotionally conditioned to confront such situations. (59:22)

Finding modern conventional war an increasingly unattractive mode of conflict, Brian Jenkins noted that some nations might exploit the demonstrated tactics of leftist terrorist groups, employing them for surrogate warfare against other nations. With only a small investment, a government could subsidize a leftist terrorist group to disrupt, cause alarm, and create political and economic instability in another country. (70:112).

When considering the practice of exporting revolutions, Gerald McKnight identified the three prime advocates of the last decade to be: Cuba, the People's

Republic of China, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). He stated serious challenges to a country's internal order may be posed by operatives sponsored by external regimes with denied ambitions. Assured of sanctuary and support, able to draw on resources other than their own, these operatives or rebels may be less cautious and more daring. (17:74).

Author McKnight saw the turn to leftist terror to be the result of a complex confluence of forces: failure of revolutionary campaigns which have produced only escalated repression in their Third World target countries; repeated failure of alternative strategies; recognition of the potential for exploitation of the mass media; and political trends, especially within the developing world. (17:76).

Before examining the motivation of the eight specific leftist terrorist organizations, it is necessary to review some common theories regarding the causes of leftist terrorism. The next chapter examines psychological, sociological, and political theories cited by leftist terrorist experts.

Chapter 3

THEORIES ON LEFTIST TERRORISM

The fact that all terrorism is a means of achieving change on behalf of the underprivileged does not contribute to understanding the dynamics of leftist terrorist behavior. This study considered some of the ideological factors. In this chapter some general theories regarding psychological, sociological, and political factors will be presented. The material for these areas was drawn primarily from behavioral studies of the last decade.

According to Albert Parry, Dr. Lawrence Freedman cited four likely characteristics of the leftist terrorist personality:

First the terrorist is motivated by his desire to reaffirm his masculinity, for in his preterroristic situation there have been severe blows to self-image. Many cases of abnormality can be traced to unhappy childhoods, the hurt of illegitimacy, broken homes. Other instances of what appear to be comfortable and placid childhoods and adolescence on closer examination seethe with the son's or daughter's protest against real or imagined domination or inadequacy of the mother and especially the father. When such a child grows up to throw bombs or shoot guns, the attack is against the resented parent rather than the hated state. On the surface such a child-adult may be rich but inside he or she is poverty stricken.

Secondly, the terrorist has a desire to submerge his individuality in a group. Individuality

requires acceptance of a burden of responsibility. The group is a refuge for an impotent, irresponsible terrorist.

Third, the seeking by the terrorist of an ambivalent closeness to his victim. The terrorist is recognized and is negotiated with and is able to prove his power to bring a most powerful and admired figure to his knees.

Fourth, is a kind of terroristic sacrament. An act of violence that is not merely the dedication of human powers to the service of gods. In this transvaluation it is precisely the needlessness of the act and from the outsider's viewpoint, the despicable features of the act, the killing, which are essential to it. An assassin as an adult suffered an intensity of self-loathing, a sense of humiliation and abasement, an absence of self-esteem, profound awareness that he received inadequate approbation by those who were significant to him in his environment. The terrorist strikes the mirror. He obliterates an intolerable image of himself which he himself has when he strikes out at his victim. (21:26-30).

This chapter deals with these and other factors which have been proposed as applicable to, or responsible for, the leftist terrorist phenomenon.

Psychological

Some leftist terrorists proclaim a belief that society is sick but they do not realize the gravity or even the nature of society's illness. They become convinced that they can and will effect the cure.

Dr. Frederick Hacker stated that leftist terrorists can be roughly separated into groups according to their main motivations:

One group can be labeled the crazy for ease of distinction. These are emotionally disturbed

people driven by themselves and not making sense to anyone else. They are usually loners. The second group can be labeled criminals, those terrorists who use illegitimate means to obtain personal gain and usually are organized in a business-like fashion. The third group can be labeled crusaders, terrorists who are idealistically inspired and do not seek personal gain but do seek prestige and power for a collective goal. They believe they are in service of a higher cause and are generally organized in a military fashion. The pure idealist is rare and often the crusading terrorist has emotional problems or a criminal background. (12:8-9).

For purposes of this study the differentiation among the crazy, criminal, and crusading leftist terrorists facilitates understanding their motivations.

Theories that leftist terrorists are motivated by psychological influences--rebellling against adulthood (adult transition), guilt feelings (conscious formation), being unable to change existing systems (frustration), interaction with the environment (behavior patterns), as well as aggression and violence influences--will be presented in the following sections. Although some data would support the theory that aggression and violence are influenced by hereditary factors, not enough research has yet been done to support placing them into a separate biological category.

Adult Transition

Since it is a rather sizable and interesting piece of psychological real estate, Leon Rappoport,

associate professor of Psychology at Kansas State University, found it surprising that the adult transition period remains a relatively underdeveloped area of personality research. He noted that very little has been done to explain personality development in the interval between adolescence and full maturity. Rappoport saw the eighteen to twenty-five year period in modern societies to be similar to a funnel in that as individuals progress through it, their freedom to maneuver is constantly being reduced. Rappoport noted that regardless of whether they rebel or take the line of least resistance, by about age twenty-five most are committed to adult roles. (22:329).

Rappoport expanded on this theme:

Young adults ordinarily cannot engage themselves in meaningful, intimate relations with someone of the opposite sex and still maintain primary loyalties to parents and peer groups. Nor can they keep these earlier ties intact and still put themselves wholeheartedly into the struggle to find a meaningful career. Problems of this kind force the issue of adult transitions by posing a fairly clear question to young people--are they going to live their own lives or be dominated by others?

The adult transition period appears to have a general quality of disillusionment. Young people are faced with serious challenges which can only be met by accepting rather hard new ideas, and relinquishing old, softer ones. Disillusionment is understandable as a condition arising from the challenges posed by adult realities. (22:331-334).

Conscience Formation

Among behavioral scientists who have done work in this area, there is a conviction that lack of development of an adult conscience is, at least in part, apparent among many leftist terrorists. Dr. Frederick Hacker stated that:

Various psychological theories explain the process of conscience formation. All education aims at having the subject not just do what he is told but to want to do it. Parental wishes become part of the child's personality. The superego takes over the parental task of distinguishing between right and wrong. Once internalized in the conscience, certain value systems are no longer subject to rational scrutiny. No child chooses his parents, nation, race, religion or culture, yet after he has internalized these values as forced upon him he will begin to uncritically accept them.

Just as it was once internalized, the superego can, under conditions resembling early infantile helplessness, be partly projected again. When an individual is under duress, movements and ideologies with charismatic leaders can become temporary or permanent substitutes for an individual conscience. The externalization of the superego relieves anxiety and responsibility and the individual feels at peace with himself and the world.

In the re-education process the former established internalizations are dislodged. The former superego is weakened, confused, shaken, and cut off from its supplies until it is projected and externalized. The terrorist through controllers, compels the individual to divest himself of his precious personal possessions and to surrender his superego to them. There is no mystery, as given sufficient time and indoctrination, the conversion efforts will succeed with a variety of people regardless of their age, sex, race, nationality or personality makeup. (12:143-45).

Albert Parry reported that Alvin Toffler showed today's revolutionary as "the Super-Simplifier" and that to such a short-cutter violence came naturally. Those who cannot cope with some situation substitute leftist terrorist action for reasoned thought. Parry noted that in a few cases leftist terrorists felt "guilt" at having been born to and reared in an environment of wealth and privilege. He observed that to expiate themselves, they became committed to support the underdog, often expressing this commitment in radical and leftist terrorist behavior. (21:527).

Frustration

According to Professor Ted Gurr, satisfaction of all wants will not necessarily minimize discontent. Gurr stated that discontent is not a function of the discrepancy between what men want and what they have but between what they want and what they believe they are capable of attaining. (11:359).

Albert Parry reported:

This ultraradical activism by the elite youth is an attempt to find meaning in their otherwise untested lives, to discover an identity or merely to fight their way out of their own sheer boredom. Born and reared in comfort and even luxury these young men and women renounce their privileges as they join the righteous cause of the exploited and suppressed. Terror as these young radicals' main occupation is one kind of person's total surrender before the strain of decision-making in conditions of uncertainty and

overchoice. To these extremists terror appears to be the simple answer to problems that burden them; what they do not understand is that their violence is an explosion of frustration rather than a corrective force. (21:527).

One of the other characteristics of contemporary leftist terrorism, also rooted in the period of the protest of the fifties and early sixties, is the active and frequent leadership roles played by minorities. While the United States civil rights movement included many blacks, the academic riots marked the beginnings of significant activism among females.

According to a 1978 article by Andres Kopkind in New Times the participation of women in terrorist movements is indicative of the striving of women to break out of the narrowly structured roles society has pushed them into over the years. As is common among the repressed, this discrimination caused a rage in some which, it is asserted, led to their destructive and even leftist terrorist behavior. (50:28).

Gerald McKnight saw the female leftist terrorist as generally more prone than the male to give herself to violent revolutionary activities and that something deep and sexual in her psyche responded to conflict. McKnight reported that once wholly committed, a woman would not make compromises and the veneer of passivity would drop away, leaving a ruthless and aggressive strength.

Paradoxically, according to McKnight, a woman is far less likely to relent on humane grounds than her male counterpart and her courage is often fanatical. (17:105).

Francis Watson also noted that:

Young people, having good education, good families, good prospects for the future are nearly always the terrorists -- those who become concerned about something they felt was wrong with society. They tried to get something done about it. They were unable to get anything done fast enough to suit them and they protested. No one listened and they became activists. Then they became politicized and fell into company with others of similar interests. They became radicalized, a term used to mean crossing into the use of violence. Somewhere along the line they had run into the rhetoric and literature of revolution and they became revolutionaries. When they took up terrorism as a tactic, it was only in furtherance of the revolution to which they had given themselves, minds, bodies, and souls.

Young college students are loaded with idealism and impatience and are yet unencumbered with the responsibilities of actually being in charge. Thus, they were often on a collision course with intense frustration from merely having their attention called to a problem they could not possibly solve. Therefore, radical spokesmen, especially from the left, found college campuses convenient working grounds and managed to manipulate students to even greater frustration and thence to expressions of violence. Initially these outbursts were simple vandalism, but soon they began to pick up the earmarks of terrorism. (28:121-131).

Behavior Patterns

Theodore Newcomb, professor of Sociology and Psychology at the University of Michigan, acknowledged that a person's interactions with his environment (his

behavior) throughout his life, from conception to death, may be likened to a flowing river. The stream of behavior, like a river, is not static. According to Newcomb, the term "motive pattern" is used to mean a sequence of behavior characterized by relative constancy of motivation. A motive pattern includes everything an individual notices, feels, and thinks in more or less integrated fashion. (20:96).

During the period of human maturation, Newcomb maintained that individuals must adapt to the presence of other humans. The things that are desired are modified by social experience. (20:131).

Newcomb noted that:

A motive pattern is defined as a sequence of behavior which has some meaning in terms of a goal or end result. Motive is a word which points both inward and outward. Motive refers to a state of the organism in which bodily energy is mobilized and selectively directed towards parts of the environment. Motive is a concept which joins together drive and goal. Drives are body states felt as restlessness, which initiate tendencies to activity. A goal is a state of affairs toward which behavior is directed. (20:77).

The difference between the criminal and the leftist terrorist, according to Francis Watson, was the basic motivation that sustains each. Watson stated:

The terrorists' motivation is some political cause, often expressible in the most nebulous and futuristic terms. Terrorists cannot hope for an immediate and tangible gain for themselves. Terrorists tend to recruit from among

people who are already inclined to be seriously disgruntled with things as they are. Terrorists can, and do, use some people with somewhat disordered minds, some people whose previous paths are strewn with drugs and some whose main accomplishments are purely criminal. All those who are accepted must be converted to the cause. (28:36).

Aggression

Although theories range from those which endorse biological factors (for example, survival of the fittest) to the existential (for example, aggression occurs when one is confronted with overwhelming feelings of frustration and impotence), most theorists agree that several important hypotheses regarding aggression and violence and the relationship between them have been developed. According to Derek Richter, individual patterns of aggressive behavior depend on the environment. Richter noted that aggressive behavior is learned, but there is evidence that it is also influenced to some extent by hereditary factors. (23:17).

Rollo May stated that aggression was part of man's essential life and that, in contrast to self-assertion which may be simply a holding fast, aggression is a moving out, a thrust towards the person or thing seen as an adversary or an obstacle. (16:148).

According to Parry Sigmund Freud taught that aggression was a basic instinct which could be destructive

not only to others but also to the self. Parry also discussed Carl Jung's belief that even if aggressiveness did not emerge in us as individuals it was still part of the psyche which could and would surface when individuals became part of a collective, particularly a mob.

According to Parry, B. F. Skinner, the behaviorist, believed men are born blank but as they grow social influences mold them, and violence is a result of social conditioning. (21:8-9).

Robert White, professor of Clinical Psychology at Harvard, stated that in early childhood aggression manifested itself in the form of angry outbursts and temper tantrums. He added that when aggression is caught up in more complex patterns, these create far greater adjustment difficulties. Frustration begets aggression, but aggression may bring about a disastrous loss of security and esteem. White noted that an ideally mature person manages aggression through a flexible system of controls and outlets and that aggression alone is apt to be an explosive, irrational thing. Maladjustment occurs when the attempt is so strenuous that no outlets are left for reducing the tension. (29:139-42).

Albert Parry advised that leftist terrorist aggression is not a regression to primitive behavior, nor is it a return to an uncivilized state long since

superseded by human progress. Neither is it a directionless explosion to relieve intolerable tension; rather, it is a calculated strategy. Parry stated that aggression is glorified by praise and reward for initiative and courage; yet it is defied by criticism of brashness, arrogance, and being a "loser." (21:182).

Violence

Aggression and violence are closely linked according to Parry, yet they both bring out ambivalent feelings. He noted that violence may be viewed as interesting and exciting--but also frightening. Parry stated that violence is an explosion of the drive to destroy that which is interpreted as the barrier to one's self-esteem, movement, and growth. (21:182).

The psychology of a group involved in protest, demonstrations, and even rebellion can be traced by some to the human being's secret love of violence as exhibited by activities such as boxing and football. Under the proper circumstances and with the proper moral excuse, violence and the ecstasy of violence can become indivisible. Rollo May stated:

This emerging sense of ecstasy in a successful rebellion accounts for some important changes in the character of the rebellion itself. The typical rebellion normally begins with highly moral aims--the students at Berkeley, for example, proclaimed their opposition to the inhuman facelessness of the modern factory-university. But with the state of ecstasy which

accompanies the initial success, the psychological character and meaning of the rebellion changes. A new elan is added. For man, the goal of the rebellion now becomes the ecstasy itself rather than the original conditions. The rebellion has become the high point in the lives of many of the rebels, and they seem dimly aware that they'll never have that much sense of significance again. (16:169).

Albert Parry noted that:

Although terrorists give innumerable explanations of their violence, these rationalizations are frequently related to three basic concepts: society is sick and cannot be cured by half measures of reform; the state is in itself violent and can be countered and overcome only by violence; and the truth of the terrorist cause justifies any action that supports it. (21:12).

Professor Anthony Burton reported that psychopathic killing, rape, arson, and sheer nihilistic destruction flourish in the atmosphere induced by leftist terrorism. At first accepted, such criminal activity is soon viewed as counterproductive. Yet, according to Burton, often the behavior has become so endemic that it cannot be controlled. He further stated that in such an environment psychopaths may become leaders instead of outcasts. (3:14).

Frantz Fanon, the psychologist from Martinique who became the ideologist of the Algerian revolution of the 1950's provides an enlightening statement regarding violence, as reported by Robert Moss:

At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and

inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect. (18:27).

Sociological

Charles A. Russell and Bowman H. Miller, while working as research analysts at the Acquisitions and Analysis Division, Directorate of Counterintelligence, Headquarters Air Force Office of Special Investigations, Washington, D.C., analyzed data on several hundred right- and left-oriented terrorists from eighteen terrorist groups active during the 1966-1976 time span within Latin America, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The societal parts of their study relevant to leftist terrorism were cited throughout this thesis. (74:2).

Theories that leftist terrorists are motivated by sociological influences such as the environment they were raised in, their achieved educational levels, and the need to belong are explored in the following paragraphs.

Professor Yonah Alexander noted that the people who are attracted to leftist terrorism rarely belong to the class for which they claim to be fighting. While it may be true that most leftist terrorists are extremely sensitive, they are also invariably romantics, alienated from society. (1:35).

According to Norman Cantor, professor of Politics

at Brandeis University, protest is a means by which the young can find release from the traditional and tedious patterns of daily life. It is a middle-class phenomenon where the young are challenging the middle-aged by refusing to accept the values and institutions of their parents and teachers. (4:333).

By adopting leftist terrorism, the disaffected youth have an opportunity to achieve fame, adventure, and prestige which would not be available in most middle-class occupations. (73:18).

Social Class

The FBI reported that most United States leftist terrorists are not foreign agents or recruited from high-crime ghetto areas of large cities. Some are the children of the privileged. They are idealists alienated from family and isolated from society. (73:1). Charles Russell's and Bowman Miller's data reflected that over two thirds of the cadre and leaders identified as leftist terrorists were from a middle or upper class background. (74:12).

The pace with which society has been changing drastically increased in the sixties. Many rejected the cultural values and mores, cutting deeply into the middle-class traditions of marriage and family. Youth saw the efforts of parents to achieve and maintain

middle-class status as a waste of time. They contrasted their affluence to the dire poverty of parts of the world. This perceived injustice and an inability to deal with resultant feelings of guilt may have caused anti-social acts, demonstrations, and occasional leftist terrorism. As Susan Stern, an ex-Weatherman, explained in her autobiography:

We had found, we thought, a new way of living, an alternative to the system we despised. We had cultivated love and beauty in a society that thrived on hate and deceit. We had said good-bye once and for all to the establishment, to our parents' way of doing things, to middle-class life, to upward mobility, to capitalism, to money, property, war and double standards in sex, to laws that were unfair and oppressive. (27:7).

Professor Bruce Franklin reported that throughout American history class war has been bloody, with a new level of violence being reached in the urban rebellions of 1964-68 when the Molotov cocktail became a hand weapon of people in the streets. Even before the white student movement emerged as a force in the 1964-68 period, Franklin stated that many had seen the need for young white activists to go among poor working people. (10:6).

During the second half of the sixties a substantial number of American cities and college campuses were disrupted by riots. The underlying cause of city disturbances, as seen by Jay Mallin, was the explosive

pitch of black Americans, impatient with second-class citizenship and seeking equal rights. Eventually, many urban blacks and campus youths settled down to work within the established system; but others, finding they liked the taste of violence, were prime candidates for leftist terrorism. (14:51-52).

The writer feels most sociologists would agree that family situations are important and that initial socialization processes have great significance in the development of individual personality structures. They probably are not convinced, however, that either such personality structure or the behavior patterns a person adopts are clearly established for life in the earliest states of childhood. Social pressures impelling criminality, group support for violation of the law, specific opportunities to commit crime, and the learning of major societal values that bear on law abidingness (or law-breaking) are not concentrated in the first few years of life. (13:133) (24:28).

To aid in understanding why affluent children turn to violence, two passages from Professor Norman Cantor's book, The Age of Protest; Dissent and Rebellion in the Twentieth Century, are quoted:

Protest in the twentieth century has led to social change. Revolution has been the road to chaos, civil war and new tyranny.

The leadership of twentieth-century protest

movements almost invariably consisted of particularly sensitive and energetic members of the middle class who had sufficient familiarity with the power elite not to fear them greatly, sufficient leisure to engage in dissident activities and sufficient education and political experience to know where and how the power elite was most vulnerable. (4:25-26).

Professor Richard Clutterbuck noted that middle-class boys or girls can easily play with political extremes or violence. He stated there are a number of safety nets available to them (for example, they can easily get jobs if they want to and, if they grow tired of revolution, they will be welcomed back by a loving family which has the means to salvage their disturbed lives and careers). (5:90).

According to Albert Parry, along the path of leftist terror there is one significant constant. He noted the prevailing origin of leftist terrorist leadership is in the middle class, particularly the upper middle. (21:525).

Education

The National Committee on Criminal Justice found persuasive evidence that political leftist terrorism attracts the highly educated. It noted that despite a veneer of ideology, leftist terrorists' motivation is usually extremely personal. The horror of their action often is skillfully rationalized so as to introduce the amount of depersonalization necessary for their own

execution. (69:21).

Charles Russell and Bowman Miller showed in a study that approximately two thirds of those identified as leftist terrorists were persons with some university training, university graduates, or post-graduate students. (74:14).

Derek Richter isolated and described at least seven well circumscribed groups of students:

First are the political activists, the leaders, the hardcore who plan and initiate and direct the revolt. They tend to come from a middle class or upper-middle class family background, frequently professional, and to be of better than average intelligence. Educationally they tend to be enrolled in such studies as sociology, law or the arts.

The next group is the large silent majority of passive protestors, the ones who cannot initiate action for themselves but who can easily be motivated by the activist leaders and follow along like sheep to demonstrate and riot and destroy.

The third group encountered are the ex-students--the dropouts, young people who, for a variety of reasons have opted out of the educational system but who still hang on the fringes of their university or college, and whose discontent is readily mobilized when protestors and rioters are needed.

Another identifiable group is the racists, and other minority groups who, while having their own political axe to grind, will attempt to use student discontent and rioting to bring about specific changes they wish for their particular group.

Then there are the non-students, the young people who have never been students but who are involved for a variety of reasons, the ones who travel.

Another discreet but usually small group is the quiet conservative minority who simply want an education.

Finally a new group of students are the so called alienated students; students suffering from alienation syndrome tend to live completely in the present, uncommitted to people or ideas, have little or no communication with adults, either at home or in school. They have ill-defined self-concepts, subject to sudden and intense depression leading to suicides. (23:73-74).

Belonging

Professor Theodore Newcomb reported there was a rather complicated, circular relationship between motivation to belong to a group and the sharing of the attitudes of that group. He stated that a person may be motivated towards membership in a group for reasons which are quite unrelated to the group's attitudes. Such a person may, nevertheless, come to adopt the group's attitudes. (20:241).

Consultant Francis Watson noted that leftist terrorist units are usually spawned from among people who are, for a variety of reasons, already disgruntled. Watson said that as individuals they have become obsessed with change and they seek community among others similarly obsessed. He noted that this community gradually became insulated from the outside world. Ideas are shared, and Watson said that these ideas gradually come to focus on a political goal, and then the means through which it can be achieved, which almost invariably is via leftist terrorism. As a result of these group processes, individuals acquire mental orientations and

physical capabilities which allow them to act in ways that most would not even have contemplated in their former situations. (28:12).

Derek Richter commented that the joining of individuals to groups brings new forms into play. He advised that group loyalty implies a partial sacrifice of individual liberty, but the individual gains a sense of belonging, a new identity, and a feeling of increased personal security. Generally, according to Richter, the weaker members benefit from association with the stronger and, as part of the group, they are able to achieve things which they could not do alone. (23:19).

According to Dr. Frederick Hacker, some individuals, deprived of close emotional ties in childhood, are unable to identify with anyone for long periods of time. He stated that individuals in need of belonging seek communities that gratify their wants and accept their dreams and expectations. The community from which leftist terror emanates is like a quasi-family institution, an agency of love. He noted that discipline is experienced not as a technique of domination but as a necessary means of concern and interest. Hacker advised that all the brothers and sisters mutually love and aid each other in spite of minor squabbles and that individual freedom is willingly relinquished. (12:140).

The dedicated group members, according to Hacker, are linked to each other by common danger, shared goals, and mutual guilt. They become a family which satisfies the members' need to belong. Hacker also noted that as long as a member remains totally committed to the group, he or she can be certain of the family's total trust, acceptance, and love. According to Hacker, this totality of acceptance results in liberation from anxiety and guilt and is often described as a rebirth. (12:143).

According to the Criminal Justice National Advisory Committee:

Collective psychopathology is an expression of mood. Rational, stable individuals whose behavior shows no significant deviation from the accepted norm, when caught up in the ugly crowd swell, find themselves able to participate in conduct which is often quite alien to them. A tumultuous crowd will often commit acts from which the individual participants would ordinarily recoil in horror. Crowd behavior directed towards an overt expression of collective violence is psychopathological in that it overrides, in a state of exaltation, the clear, rationale inhibitions of the individual participants. (69:20).

Political

Political scientists might be expected according to Professor Ted Gurr to have a greater concern with political violence (terrorism) than others, although until recently they have neglected the subject in his opinion. (11:6).

The basic models utilized in studying leftist terrorism by Gurr employ both the psychological and societal variables previously discussed in this study. (11:12).

Gurr supported the theory that violence has been resorted to by men and women of every social background and while acting on a variety of motives. He reported that there is a fallacy in the assumption that all wants must be satisfied to minimize discontent. Man's resorting to violence (terror) is in part unreasoning, but it does not occur without some reason. (11:357-59).

Professor Paul Wilkinson stated that he believed that the psychology and program of leftist terrorists have been inadequately explored to date. He felt that much more research is needed before we can begin to increase our understanding of personalities, social and cultural backgrounds, and attitudes of leftist terrorists. Wilkinson stated that it was important that investigations be conducted over a very wide range of all terrorist organizations covering as wide a spectrum of nationalities and ideological alignments as possible. (30:133).

According to Yonah Alexander, Bernard Johnpoll expressed the following:

An exhaustive study of terrorism would require the discussion of the American Revolution, John Brown and his activities in Kansas, lynch violence in the South and the West, police terror in Selma and Chicago, the anti-alien depredations of the last century, the murder of black Sunday school-children by segregationists and the race

riots of the past half-century. (1:42).

In addition, Professor Johnpoll noted, according to Yonah Alexander, that leftist terrorist movements have never accomplished the stated aims of their founders, that almost all political leftist terror has been counterproductive, that leftist terrorist groups serve the interests of the ruling elite, and that leftist terror is not a revolutionary instrument. He summed up by stating that leftist terrorism is the politics of futility. (1:42).

Harold L. Neiburg, professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, commented that political extremism (terrorism), whether for or against the status quo, was an indication that pressure was building up against the chain of social relationships. He said that many individuals in crisis signal a society in crisis. Major social crises by definition have major social causes. According to Neiburg, violent acts may be looked upon as society's early warning system, revealing deep-rooted political conflicts which are gathering strength beneath the surface of social relations. He advised that extreme and violent political behavior (terrorism) cannot be dismissed as erratic or meaningless. Neiburg stated that a study of leftist terrorism must cut across the many disciplines of the behavioral sciences. (19:5-9).

According to Professor Richard Clutterbuck, leftist terrorists are people frustrated by their inability to bring about change by political or industrial action. They, therefore, try to bring their society to a state of chaos so that the people will cease to believe in the existing system. According to Clutterbuck leftist terrorists are motivated to make society realize that civilized life is artificial and unnatural. (5:85).

Researcher Walter Laqueur reported that the problem of leftist terrorism is complicated and that what can be said without fear of contradiction about a leftist terrorist group in one country is by no means true for other groups at other times and in other societies. (13:134).

Laqueur stated that it was not until the sixties that political scientists became interested in leftist terrorism and then most research involved the Vietnam War and America's own internal turmoil. He advised that some researchers saw the decisive factor towards leftist terrorism to be the break-up of traditional society; others concentrated on the unequal distribution of land or property; and a third group studied the social consequences of rapid economic development. He added that eventually these political scientists became dissatisfied with the results of their studies in these

areas. New investigations were launched with the emphasis on social tension and the strain resulting from a social system with long traditions of conflict (which occurs when economic, political, or religious injustice and inequality persist). Laqueur advised that the results of the application of political science to the study of leftist terrorism has been quite negative and that no scientific theories have yet emerged. (13:136-43).

Summary

Based on the preceding analysis, today's typical leftist terrorist can be generally profiled as follows: a young person disillusioned with adulthood responsibilities, lacking a mature conscience, frustrated by discrimination, motivated by some political cause, capable of calculated aggressive and violent actions, from a middle- to upper-class background, educated and possessing a need to belong.

Although many views of the ideological, psychological, political, and sociological theories of leftist terrorists' motivations have been presented, no single factor can be identified which influences all their behavior. Leftist terrorism presents a constantly changing face as it adapts to conditions and opportunities while ideology sometimes binds the members of a leftist terrorist organization.

Leftist terrorism can sometimes be traced as a tangled skein of varied influences, motivations, goals, actions, and emotions. In leftist terrorists, these factors or drives are accentuated to the point of danger.

According to Dr. Lawrence Freedman, as reported by Albert Parry, it is this accentuation which makes these men and women what they are--leftist terrorists. Freedman stated that despite their protestations many political leftist terrorists are acting out the disturbances of their minds and souls rather than out of political reason. (21:35).

Chapter 4

EIGHT LEFTIST TERRORIST GROUPS-- TESTING THE THEORIES

Until their validity is demonstrated, theories are of little value. Similarly, unless it can be shown that specific groups have been influenced by communist ideologies, a hypothesis to that effect is no more than speculation. Available evidence on the eight groups selected, and their members, does not confirm the validity of all the motivation theories. However, as noted earlier, there are common threads of influence and motivational factors which allow the drawing of conclusions.

Tupamaros (Uruguay)

"Urban Guerrillas"

Sociologist Edward Price viewed the Tupamaros as typical urban guerrillas who believed that a socialist revolution was the only solution to Uruguay's problems of inflation, unemployment, repression, popular unrest, and a deadlock between the unpopular president and his congress. (56:59).

Begun in 1962-63 by Raul Sendic, a socialist law student, the movement started with Sendic's efforts to

unionize sugar cane workers. Paul Wilkinson reported that after early disillusionment with union and socialist party organizations, the Tupamaros broke formal ties with them. Wilkinson stated that after several years of confronting the securely-established liberal-democratic regime, the group, mostly sons and daughters of upper-class parents, determined that it had to destroy the capitalist economic structure of Uruguay in order to effect wealth redistribution and eliminate urban and rural poverty. (30:113).

The data of Charles Russell and Bowman Miller revealed that the Tupamaros' membership rarely included individuals from the working class and that the group was 90 percent middle- and upper-class students and young professionals. (74:13-14)

According to Paul Wilkinson, for the first several years of the movement the members claimed that they killed only in self-defense in their numerous gun battles with police. However, in 1969, he noted that they mounted a full-scale leftist terrorist campaign at the time when the government was undergoing a "crisis" of legitimacy. He reported that Uruguayan leaders, foreign diplomats, and businessmen were frequent targets of kidnap operations; banks were vulnerable to their raids. At the height of its influence in 1970, the

Tupamaros probably had more than three thousand members, according to Wilkinson; but by 1972 most of the leaders had been killed, captured, or imprisoned. (30:114).

Despite its earlier Robin Hood image, the movement, according to Wilkinson, failed to achieve its revolutionary goals. Some critics, such as Wilkinson, attribute the failure to lack of ideological sophistication, support, and adequate armed strength. He noted that neither its Marxist precept of wealth belonging to the people nor its altruistic beginnings could sustain it. (30:114).

Because of the limited information available on this group, a "testing" of all the theories is not possible. However, a hypothesis can be made that the leaders and members of the Tupamaros were crusaders who suffered from the guilt of being wealthy. That guilt begat frustration when their attempts to change the government system failed. Finally, their frustration and unresolved guilt were expressed as aggression--the full-scale, leftist terrorist violence mounted in 1969. The sociological theory that most leftist terrorists, or at least the founding leadership cadre, are of middle to upper social class backgrounds also fits this test group. The political scientists would probably point to the economic inequality as the reason for the conflict.

Irish Republican Army
(North Ireland)

"Nationalists"

In the case of the Irish Republican Army, all of the discussed theories, and others not considered, are applicable. The contemporary leftist terrorism in Northern Ireland has its roots in nine hundred years of British (Protestant) domination and exploitation.

Professor Richard Clutterbuck explained:

Northern Protestants are determined not to come under Irish rule and they persuaded the British government that six Northern counties should remain in the United Kingdom. These six counties have a population of 1,000,000 Protestants and 500,000 Catholics. The twenty-six counties in Southern Ireland (Eire) have a population of 200,000 Protestants and 2,800,000 Catholics. Thus, if Ireland reunited, the Protestants would be in the minority. Actually, religion is little more than a label. The real division is between the settlers and the natives. Ireland was colonized by Protestant Englishmen and Scotsmen. (5:67).

Sociologically, the Protestants are in the middle and upper classes, with commensurate education. Yet their form of leftist terror according to Clutterbuck is not to save someone else; it is to preserve their way of life and to keep the Catholics from taking over. He stated that the Catholics, on the other hand, deprived of civil rights and even full citizenship status, are generally of the lower class, struggling for economic survival and educational advancement. Clutterbuck

remarked that although on both sides there is widespread individual violence, the Protestants have governmental dominance and British troops and the Catholics have the Irish Republican Army (IRA). (5:69). Charles Russell and Bowman Miller discussed the fact that the educational and social class patterns deviate from the other groups studied in that many IRA cadre and leaders are not from the middle or upper classes nor are they well educated. (74:14-16).

Throughout the many decades of the current conflict neither of the two opposing factions has had prominent political beliefs, but both seem to be motivated by nationalist or sectarian aims, according to Clutterbuck. At its core, the conflict is a matter of survival; hence there are strong motivations on each side. Clutterbuck further reported that the Catholic Irish consider themselves to be under alien, colonial rule; the nouveau Irish (descendants of British immigrants and Scotsmen), although sometimes sympathetic to the plight of the exploited Irish, fear that without British sovereignty, they would lose their positions of power, security, and wealth and be subject to retribution for centuries of Irish grievances. (5:170).

The IRA, illegal in both Northern Ireland and Eire, can be traced back to a reorganization of the Irish

Volunteers in 1913. (5:69). In the ensuing decades the IRA has had periods of militancy and dormancy. Following a split over ideological differences in 1969, two factions emerged, the Official IRA and the Provincial IRA. The "Officials," according to a study done by the House Committee on Internal Security, is a Marxist leaning revolutionary organization whose members' "war of national liberation" is aimed at creating a United Irish Socialist Republic. It was noted that they cooperate with the Communist Party. The committee also noted that the Provisionals are less politically cohesive, more extreme in demands and tactics, and tend to resort to "undirected" leftist terror. They seek to end British rule and join with Eire in a United Irish Republic. (68:67).

Together, the IRA factions sanction aggression and violence as last resorts which are justified in the battle to achieve a better life for succeeding generations of Northern Irishmen. Richard Clutterbuck viewed the Officials' move towards a more aggressive Marxist line as virtually assuring Irish-Americans' support going to the Provisionals whose limited Marxist influence is very subtle. (5:170-71).

Gerald McKnight, in contrasting professed ideology to demonstrated performance by the Officials, noted:

These terrorists have committed the most appalling mass murders. They have violently slaughtered and terrorized people with whom they have not even the remotest connection. They act for a cause utterly alien to their national aspiration of Marxism-Leninism. Their target is imperialism, the bourgeois way of life, indeed all materialism such as what is now accepted by the Western World. Capitalism is viewed as people exploiting people. Their method is shock, the use of violent action to shock people everywhere. The more difficult it becomes for them to achieve their goals domestically, the more overtly internationalistic the ideology becomes. This export of the revolution seems to be a logical consequence of the movement's ideology and history. (17:167).

With regard to the IRA, a hypothesis can be made that members' psychological motivation stems from behavior patterns established at birth and reinforced through years of interaction with their turbulent environment. The IRA is struggling for national survival which intensifies its aggression and violence, thus validating the psychological theory. However, since the majority of the IRA are said to be of the little educated lower class, only the sociological theory of belonging seems to be the common motivational factor of this group. The continuous battle against inequality and injustice should fit into the political theory of social tension and conflict.

Palestine Liberation Organization
(Palestine)

"Nationalists"

Magazine analysts say that in contrast to guerrilla

movements elsewhere, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is not interested in winning the sympathy of the local Israeli population. Their main aim is to keep the Palestinian issue alive. (61:28). The PLO, established in 1964, is the umbrella coordinating structure for the main Arab leftist terrorist groups according to the House Committee on Internal Security. (68:29).

Professor Yonah Alexander stated:

The case of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the confrontation between two seemingly uncompromising ideologies of Arab nationalism and Zionism. The former is dominated by the struggle of individual Arab countries to achieve and maintain sovereignty; by the Pan-Arab dream of uniting all Arabic-speaking people, Moslems and Christians alike, in a united entity; and by the Pan-Islamic idea of bringing under one flag all Moslems, Arabs and non-Arabs. The latter is the religious and political ideology of the Jewish National Liberation Movement, out of which the modern state of Israel emerged and to which it is still committed. Each ideology is based upon the deep conviction that its cause is moral and just. The Arabs feel they are a peace-loving people who are plagued with a belligerent enemy that threatens the very survival of the Arab nation. Israel, having fought four bloody wars with her Arab neighbors, three for survival in 1948, 1967, 1973 and one for security in 1956, believes that it is right and the other side wrong. With sober awareness of what would happen if the Arabs won, Israel is determined to hold out without peace, if need be, indefinitely. It insists that Arabs must decide between coexistence and non-existence. (1:211-12).

David Fromkin, an attorney, noted, according to John D. Elliott and Leslie K. Gibson:

Palestinianism, a national political movement, has two stated objectives: (1) to achieve the full integration of the Arab Palestinian with his

lost lands, and (2) to alter the political situation which has excluded them or negated their presence in the formulation of plans conceiving their future. Palestinian terrorism is aimed at Israelis, both those who live within the state and those who live elsewhere in the world. Because terrorism can be employed more successfully in a colonist situation than a situation like Israel, the Israelis are fighting on home territory and have no other country to which they can withdraw so they fight with their back to the sea. They can be goaded into self-defeating reaction but nothing can be done to their domestic public opinion. The Palestinian terrorists, therefore, have turned elsewhere, have attacked the arteries of world transportation in hopes that a world indifferent to the merits of the Arab-Israeli dispute will turn against the Israelis in order to end the annoyance of a disrupted airline service. (8:18).

Albert Parry reported that the sincere or pretended Marxism in the PLO is curiously allied with their stronger Arab nationalism and Moslem convictions. He stated that they are convinced that their fight against Israel is a holy war. (21:457).

News commentators report that middle-class Palestinian Arabs in exile began to call for the liberation of the entire territory of Israel by force. The membership core had developed the idea of a Palestinian "people's war" against Israel, analogous to the Maoist guerrilla strategy, but without the Marxist ideology. (56:62).

According to Charles Russell and Bowman Miller, most of the Palestinian cadre are not only products of the middle-class environment but also university students or graduates. (74:15). News commentators also

noted that George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, loved music and poetry and, as a doctor, disliked bloodshed. Yet his organization was the most extreme of all the Palestinian bands and the principal sponsor of international leftist terrorism. Acts for which it was blamed include airplane hijackings, the massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics, and the training of leftist terrorists from other countries. Habash allegedly rejected his middle-class background and formulated a philosophy based on revolution, pan-Arabism and anti-imperialism. When asked why he gave up his family and thriving medical practice to become a leftist terrorist, Habash once replied that having seen Israeli soldiers force thirty thousand Palestinians to leave Lydda in 1967, his heart and brain were transformed and his goal became revenge. (40:34) (41:32).

Leftist terrorism in the form of sabotage and murder was deliberately introduced by Palestinian Arabs as a way of guaranteeing the demise of Jewish sovereignty over the historic Palestinian state according to Yonah Alexander. (1:243). Professor Richard Clutterbuck reported that as the Arabs saw it, the Jews had no right to Palestine; they left it in 70 A.D. and Arabs have been there since 700 A.D. (5:76).

Hypotheses can be made that the Palestinian Arab campaign is motivated by psychological factors traceable to historic malice towards the Jewish community. The psychological theory of violence is rooted in the desire for revenge, and the sociological theory is demonstrated by the large number of leaders and members who are educated and from the middle to upper-class backgrounds.

In addition, Professor Richard Clutterbuck saw the Palestinians as motivated by nationalism and, like the IRA, their grievances were deeply rooted in history. However, they differed sociologically from the IRA in that they were predominately led by intellectuals and they operated all over the world. (5:76). Again the political scientists would probably be concerned with the conflict strains and tensions developed over the years between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

Baader-Meinhof (Federal Republic
of Germany)

"Nihilists"

Members of the Baader-Meinhof group, mainly university dropouts and restless intellectuals, according to Albert Parry, come close to the stereotypical leftist terrorists. Parry added that their goal was to overthrow and destroy the "bourgeois establishment" and introduce "rule by freed masses." (21:395).

Professor Richard Clutterbuck viewed them as situationalists who generally followed the nihilist teachings of Marcuse and Sartre that the working classes had been "bought out" and tranquilized, leaving only students and intellectuals to be revolutionaries. (5:39).

Generally described as anarchists, according to Professor Anthony Burton, they employed their Arab-sponsored guerrilla training for gestures (like setting afire department stores which sold electric gadgets such as can openers) to shatter what they viewed as West German society's complacency. When these actions were unsuccessful, the group's efforts became more and more radical. In Burton's view, the Baader-Meinhof group should be categorized as "New-Left." (3:113).

The predispositions of the group members fall within the parameters of each of the motivational sources being considered. According to Charles Russell and Bowman Miller's data, the leaders and members were mostly middle class or well to do, well educated, and/or intellectuals. They viewed society as a whole, not just their clique, as the benefactor of their efforts. Group members maintained a small, closely knit organization which provided reinforcement and security to the members. (74:13-16). The transition of the group from aggressive tactics to violent and more spectacular ones is clearly

associated with the group's frustration at being unable to rouse what they viewed as a lethargic uncaring populace.

Ovid Demaris advised that women played key roles; twelve of the original twenty members were female, as was one of the two leaders, Ulrike Meinhof. He said that the women's commitment and fervor was an essential element in the profile of the group. To one psychoanalyst, the women could not recognize themselves as emancipated unless armed with guns. A Munich criminologist described these women as sad and lonely, and even more frustrated than the men at the discrepancy between their moral demands and the practices of society. (7:224-25).

For the most part, according to Professor Richard Clutterbuck, members of the Baader-Meinhof group were more intellectual than the majority of their contemporaries. He noted that two, Gudrun Ensslin and Ulrike Meinhof, were idealistic Socialists, with university scholarships. Neither came from a wealthy conservative business family, against which it might have assumed logical for them to rebel. He noted that their frustration was directed at what they perceived was the democratic political system's inability to cure the injustices in West German society. Both eventually committed suicide. (36:38).

According to one expert, the members of the Baader-Meinhof group were and are influenced by the New Left even though they seek the complete destruction of the establishment. Most members are trying to rescue the working class from oppression and this fits the theories of Marxism and Leninism.

Their psychological motivation seems to be the combination of conscience-formation guilt and frustration at being unable to change the system. The aggression-violence theory is validated especially in the case of the women members. The education and class backgrounds of the members fit the sociological theory, and the closeness of the group affirms the applicability of the belonging factor. The political theory of social tension and strain, resulting from conflict, do not seem to apply.

Japanese Red Army (Japan)

"Anarchists"

The Japanese Red Army (JRA), according to reporter Murray Sayle, never espoused a philosophy or formulated a plan for social revolution, yet it was fanatical in its dedication to violence. (58:466).

News analysts reported:

Japan's JRA is violence for hire. Fusako Shigenobu, a JRA leader, is a prostitute that claims a moral goal. She sleeps with men for

money, but she spends the money on her cause. For what she calls the sake of humanity, she has led strikes, organized airplane hijackings, masterminded an airport massacre and propositioned tourists to get "political donations." The exotically pretty Shigenobu, at 33, spills blood in the conviction that her acts do good. Her father's stress on the great importance of "justice" gave her the determination to do what she thinks is right and just. In the Japan of the sixties, it was the extreme left that preached and practiced violence and it was this student activism rather than deep reading of Mao Tse Tung or Marx that propelled her into terrorism. (41:33).

Albert Parry also stated that "Auntie" Shigenobu seemed to have inherited her father's tendency towards violence. He noted that in the 1930's her father belonged to an ultra-rightist group specializing in assassinations of Japanese statesmen. (21:437).

Parry noted that the JRA ideology is revolutionary Socialist-Communist with strong nihilist tendencies. He noted that members are from Japan's upper and middle-class families and include college dropouts and currently-registered students in leading universities. They view themselves as Japan's intellectual elite. (21:434).

According to chronicler Murray Sayle:

In the murderous self-destruction of the JRA, the search for the ultimately pure and sincere which can only be found in death, we can readily recognize the ancient Samurai tradition. The JRA extracts pledges from its members that they will give their lives, unflinchingly for the cause. (58:468).

The ideology of the JRA appears to be leftist and includes an overwhelming dedication to violence and

to the "purity" found in self-destruction. Classed as fanatics, most of the members' educational and social status confirm the sociological theory. It is difficult to fit the psychological and political theories to this group based upon the limited information available about members other than Fusako Shigenobu.

Murray Sayle also noted that:

Japanese students live in squalid lodgings, eat poorly and study in grotesquely crowded buildings. If they are successful in their exams all they can look forward to is a life time of devoted service to a Japanese company that provides a company house, hospital and even a grave. For those who rebel, it is one of the most repressive systems to which industrial man has ever been subjected. (58:466).

Because of the conditions endured by Japanese students, it is possible to hypothesize that the frustration they build up could become a psychological factor which impels some towards leftist terrorism. Many seem to have a difficult time moving through the adult transition period of deciding whether to rebel or to accept domination. Also, it is possible that the violence and aggression might have resulted as the youth watched their parents function within the repressive and tightly controlled atmosphere of Japanese industry and society.

Black Panthers
(United States)

"Nationalists"

Professor Bruce Franklin reported that the members of the Black Panthers were recruited mainly from street gangs and petty criminals of the ghettos. He said that their goal was to achieve cultural and revolutionary nationalism--a black nation, free of oppression. Black activists started to move during the 1964-65 anti-war movements. According to Franklin, the emerging black liberation struggle took the following shape:

Two lines began to emerge: cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. The cultural nationalists expressed the upward aspirations of often better-off sections of the black nation. African culture was a mast for black capitalism. Revolutionary nationalism, on the other hand, expressed the immediate needs of the most oppressed among the black masses and put forward the long-range need for socialist revolution. (10:71).

In mid-1971 the Panther Party divided into Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver factions. Reporter Rita Nesbitt reported that Newton wanted to free political prisoners and emphasized political education of blacks. Cleaver favored attacks on the establishment and armed revolution. (55:117).

Professor Anthony Burton reported that the Panther leaders derived their attitudes of guerrilla warfare and revolution principally from Frantz Fanon who

insisted that racism and exploitation are concomitants of colonialism. The attitudes of the subjugated race can be changed only through violently political emancipation according to Fanon. A catharsis can be found in violence. The Cleaver faction felt that Fanon's ideology justified their revolutionary mood and assured them of the normality of their hatred and violence. (3:120-21).

According to Rita Nesbitt, most of the members of the Black Panther Party were naive and malleable ghetto kids who found that the Black Panther program filled their psychological needs and enabled them to channel their anger and frustration. (55:115).

Frustration and adult transition rebellion motivated the Black Panthers. Their adherence to Fanon's philosophy of the normalcy of violence made the theory of violence applicable. Although the Panthers' backgrounds did not support the sociological theory of class and education badground, the members' need to belong, to be supported by the group, validates the belonging factor. The feeling by the black minority of inequality and injustice fits the political conflict theory.

Weathermen (United States)

"Urban Guerrillas"

The 1974 United States House Committee on Internal Security reported that the best publicized

domestic terrorist organization of the revolutionary left was the Weathermen faction of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). During its first two years, the SDS attracted only a small following of about two hundred and enjoyed no spectacular growth. However, by the end of 1962, SDS claimed a membership of one thousand; and at the height of its influence in 1969, the FBI estimated its membership at forty thousand. (68:106).

According to the House Committee on Internal Security, it was during this time that the SDS began to move to the left. The SDS ended its involvement with liberal causes and reform and began to propound a Marxist-Leninist view of class war and imperialism. From late in 1964 to 1967, SDS was active in the anti-war and anti-imperialist agitation on United States campuses. (68:107).

From the turbulent campus demonstrations and participation in numerous marches in Washington, D.C., SDS interests, according to the House Committee, progressed from Marxist-Leninist theory to the writings of Mao and guerrilla warfare modeled on the Cuban, Vietnamese, and Uruguayan examples. In June, 1969, the SDS split into three factions, one of which was the Weathermen who favored leftist terror tactics to force radical social changes. (68:115).

Professor Yonah Alexander stated that the Weathermen considered leftist terror to be essential to an urgently needed revolution. He noted further that they had no base of revolutionaries as most members were students and the offspring of the privileged. There were many potential leaders but few followers.

Alexander advised that a program of daylight escapades was begun in an effort to attract the attention, and gain the support of, gangs and criminal elements. He said that the Weathermen were soon disappointed since they did not receive the support they expected. Violence then became an end, although they continued to insist they were not nihilists who believed in revolt for its own sake but revolutionary idealists struggling for a better world. (1:37).

In February 1970 the Weathermen went underground into collectives and communes. Their strategy, according to a letter to the press on May 21, 1970, was: "Now we are adopting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Vietcong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros to our own situation . . . " (37:3). Thus a new trend took place whereby despite the sociological factors of being highly educated, middle class and upper-middle class, these intellectual members were slowly succumbing to a revolutionary mystique that incited them not only

to condone violence but also to participate personally in it.

Robert Moss did not view the Weathermen as significant urban guerrillas because of their lack of political understanding, popular base, and technical expertise. However, because of their nihilism and belief in self-immolation, he feels they presented an enigma to Western society which might intrigue other white radicals, causing them to participate in sporadic acts of leftist terror. (18:74).

Susan Stern, a member of the Weathermen, wrote in her autobiography that there was no way she could escape the fact that she was white, female, from a wealthy family, Jewish, and well educated. To her the SDS was a big family. She stated: "I became enraptured with the energy and brilliance of Berhardine Dohrn's lectures and would have followed her into Dante's inferno without any regard to reality." Stern added that while listening to Dohrn she felt connected with her own personal destiny, to fight for the revolution with the Weathermen. (27:64-65).

It can be hypothesized that the Weathermen were motivated, at least in part, by the guilt associated with their wealth. They were also frustrated at their inability to solve the problems they saw in society. In turn, this frustration led to the psychological theory

of violence and aggression, explaining their shift from campus riots and demonstrations to acts of leftist terror. The safety nets of the sociological theory were available to most Weathermen, although few took advantage of them. The need to belong described by Stern appears to have played an important part in the motivation of many other members as well. The political theory of conflict does not appear to fit according to the information available.

Symbionese Liberation Army
(United States)

"Fanatics"

The Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) was a ten- or twelve-member organization which, according to Professor Yonah Alexander was composed of idealistic, educated but frustrated would-be revolutionaries and semi-literate former convicts. He reported that when well educated young white middle-class idealists went into the San Francisco Bay area prisons as teachers, they found convicts to be the perfect revolutionists-- alienated, dehumanized by the prison system, experts in violence and unhampered by moral scruples. (1:40).

Albert Parry said that:

Romanticism was not the only force moving these white intellectuals who made DeFreeze their violent leader and themselves his dangerous team. There were other factors, too. All these terrorists were young, talented, glib, witty and handsome.

All of them could have made their mark in the establishment. But they were suffering from their childhood and traumas, real or fancied; they wished the revenge of bringing the elders and the mighty to their knees; they were depersonalized and sought affirmation of their identities in bloody group action. By seeing and hearing their threats in the media, by watching their own photos on screens and front pages they felt now they knew who they really were--the identity crisis was solved. Their alienation from their elders' society was no longer a matter of guilt. To their finish they were driven by a thing of desperate shame-filled suicidal yearning for death. (21:349).

The House Committee was unable to identify precisely what brought the group members together. Whatever the SLA's origin, it was aptly named. The term "symbionese," from symbiosis, means the living together of dissimilar organisms. The dozen or so militants believed to constitute the SLA's main force, ranging from well-to-do, college-educated whites to black escaped convicts, seemed themselves to exist in a symbiotic arrangement.

Lester Sobel reported that goals of the SLA were:

To assure the rights of all people to self-determination and the right to build their own nation and government . . . , to destroy all forms and institutions of racism . . . , capitalism, fascism, individualism, possessiveness, competitiveness and all other such institutions that have made and sustained capitalism. (26:196).

It is impossible to construct a single hypothesis regarding the motivations of this group. The factors of each of the main theories apply to some extent to some members. Yet the diversity of educational

and social backgrounds does not permit the full validation of the sociological theory.

Summary

Without question, urban guerrilla tactics influenced the three United States groups; yet the three differed from each other in the applicability of the main theories. Researcher J. Bowyer Bell declared that the men and women of the SLA, Weathermen, and the Black Panthers existed on the margin of rationality and functioned by resorting to action that was ultimately self-destructive. The term "abnormal behavior," like "leftist terror," has continually defied satisfactory definition. (2:10). Bell maintained that those who act out their fantasies by murdering those with prestige and power are psychotics whose acts can threaten transnational order and that the appeal of skyjacking airliners, the power of command, and the prospect of capture seem to attract this type of personality. (2:27).

According to Professor Anthony Burton, the need to absolve oneself grows in proportion to the amount of psychological guilt of which one is conscious. Therefore, the involvement of middle-class youth is required to be more dramatic than that of the working classes

involved in groups such as the Panthers or the IRA. He stated that since the working class' social distance from the responsibilities for the evils of the system are great, the Panthers and the IRA reflect little if any conscious guilt. (3:107).

Burton also commented that faith in the prophetic aspects of Marxism adds to the motivation; the violent acts are seen as inevitable and the actor is not merely impelled by historic forces over which he has no control but is actually the agent of an inexorable fate. (3:108).

After examining this cross section of leftist terrorist organizations, ranging from the urban guerrilla Tupamaros and Weathermen groups to the nationalistic-oriented IRA, Palestinian and Panther groups, including the nihilist Baader-Meinhof group, the anarchist JRA and the fanatical SLA groups, it can be seen that while not all factors apply to each group, several motivational factors are often intertwined. The psychological factors of guilt and frustration were exhibited by the majority of the groups; the psychological factors of violence and aggression were in most; the sociological theories of class and education had partial application; but the belonging factor was one element common in all eight groups.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Leftist terrorism is a means to an end, not an end in itself. It is a technique for achieving political objectives, righting social wrongs, achieving personal recognition. Some type of terrorist tactics have been employed, more or less successfully, throughout history. Yet despite the historical data on all terrorism and all terrorists, it is not possible to cite a single definition which would apply to all leftist terrorists of all times. A dynamic phenomenon, the ideological causes, influences, motivations, and tactics are determined by the environment of the time.

The term "terrorist" refers to individuals whom history may judge to be heroes or murderers, patriots, or lunatics. Once the label is applied, it tends to remain. Some leftist terrorist organizations are extremely well organized, well financed, well trained, and well equipped. Other groups are small and loosely organized. Even today, there are various interpretations of which individual act is, and which is not, leftist terrorism.

According to John D. Elliott and Leslie K. Gibson, Dennis W. Stiles, an analyst assigned to the Concepts and Objectives Division, Headquarters, United States Air Force in Washington, D.C., reported that today's leftist terrorist group determines its own profile; they are mobile and dispersed; they can choose, claim, deny, and replace identities from day to day; they can achieve shock thresholds with varying symbolic impacts by targeting numbers (a full airplane), celebrities (diplomats), or emotion (children). (8:264).

Nonetheless, some generalizations can be made about the types of behavior which are usually categorized as leftist terrorism. Since leftist terrorism is a tactic, in a way a cause in itself, it is further subject to misinterpretation because of its various causes and goals for which it is used. Leftist terror is a viable tool in urban guerrilla, political, and some criminal activities. It may be domestic, or it may be transnational. It is, however, antithetical to civil disobedience.

Common among most leftist terrorist groups is the adherence to some philosophy or ideology. In the eight leftist groups studied the basic ideological influence was Communist. Although many leftist terrorist principals advertise themselves and their movements as Marxist

and/or Leninist, research indicates that few have studied the originators of the doctrines. It appears that most know the Communist dialectic only as it is interpreted by synthesizers such as Mao, Marighella, and Guevara. Consequently, several groups are actually "New Left" in place of Marxist or Marxist-Leninist in their leanings.

The United States groups, and also the Tupamaros, all insisted that they were knowledgeable followers of Marx and Lenin. They shared the Marxist demand that capitalism be replaced, yet they obviously did not subscribe to Marx's view of "terror" as a revolutionary suicide.

The motivations of leftist terrorists are largely unexplored. There is a limited amount of material available; and that which has been compiled includes little objective, scientific analysis. Without a body of documentation, generalizations and assumptions are common. Many of these generalizations are highly suspect. For example, it has been surmised that some form of terrorism is inevitable in countries where a dictatorial government suppresses the usually available means of popular dissent and redress of grievances. While true in the case of the Uruguay Tupamaros, it has not been true in all countries. Neither has it been true that these are the only types of countries which spawn

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leftist terrorists. West Germany, Japan, and the United States might not have perfectly satisfactory governmental arrangements, but they are not repressive dictatorships; and they all have been fertile for the germination of leftist terrorists. Many leftist terrorists operating in the United States during the 1960-1978 time frame were first activists in labor, civil rights, and the anti-Vietnam movements. The political and social systems remained resilient, and most of the activists returned to the establishment. Yet a few went from activism, through more aggressive behavior, to leftist terrorist violence to achieve goals other than those they had previously sought.

Once leftist terror becomes an operating method for individuals or groups, it seems to become addictive. Leftist terrorists thirst for adventure in effecting change; they seek excitement; they get high on danger. Some seem to become "hooked" on their "easy" successes, soon forgetting the cause they espoused and allowing the means to become ends in themselves.

Although leftist terrorist groups are spawned from various cultural roots and sustained by different ideologies, they have a common disposition--contempt for the establishment's legal and moral norms, as well as glorification of violent deeds for the sake of a cause.

Leftist terrorists regard themselves as beyond the limits of any society or system of government and subject only to those constraints they impose upon themselves. To these extremists leftist terror appears to be the answer to "problems"; they do not understand that their violence expresses only their own frustrations rather than serving as a corrective force.

These young adults who become leftist terrorists are generally bright, enthusiastic, altruistic, and trusting. Their privileged social and educational environments do not teach them how to deal with challenges to their values. Accustomed to external controls, or at least a protective framework by parents, school administrators, and teachers, as well as by peers, some students have not the internal fiber on which to draw if they begin to question the values, politics, and economic mores of their national environment. The student is vulnerable; he seeks answers to his questions.

The search for answers and solutions to problems usually includes at least flirtation with the political and social writers of societies other than those perceived to have the problems. The writings (and the organizations which are joined) tend to be left leaning. To gain attention, whether to serve as the "conscience" of society or to effect political change, the leftist

terrorist must influence an audience.

The student turned leftist terrorist must arrange events which will assure that, through the media, he has both official and public attention. His actions become more and more sensational; and to remain credible there can be no doubt that he will act on his threats.

According to John D. Elliott and Leslie K. Gibson, this research confirms the views of researcher Andrew Pierre regarding leftist terrorists:

Motivations for terrorism vary from case to case and are often complex, but their roots can be discerned in one or more of the following profiles: the terrorist is dedicated to a political goal in which he sees as one of transcendent merit. For instance, the aim of the fedayeen has been to gain political salience for the Palestinian cause. By making their goal appear viable to the Arab world, they received financial and political assistance from Moslem states that support, or feel compelled to support, their cause.

Second, the terrorists seek attention and publicity for their cause. The world becomes a stage as contemporary media enable the group's goals to be effectively dramatized.

Third, the terrorist aims to erode support for the established political leadership or to undermine the authority of the state by destroying normality, creating uncertainty, polarizing a country, fostering economic discord and generally weakening the fabric of society. For instance, attacks on civil aircraft and in the airport lounges are tactics designed to reduce air travel in tourism to Israel by the psychological disruption, the spreading of fear.

Fourth, the terrorist actions can be a measure of deep frustration when there is no legitimate way to redress grievances. It may be an act of desperation when a political impasse has been reached.

Fifth and finally, the terrorist may desire money so as to buy arms and to finance his organization. (8:37-38).

The study by Charles Russell and Bowman Miller of more than 350 individual cadre members and leaders of eighteen (left and right-oriented) terrorist groups active during the 1966-1976 time span allows the statement of some generalities regarding leftist terrorists. Several of these generalizations are borne out by the research done for this study. The unmarried leftist terrorist is a rule rather than the exception. Requirements for mobility, flexibility, initiative, security, and total dedication to a revolutionary cause all preclude encumbering family responsibilities and normally dictate single status for virtually all members of operational leftist terrorist cadre. (74:12).

Rural versus urban origin was another factor considered in the profile. Most urban leftist terrorists were natives or long-time residents of metropolitan areas. In addition to their urban origins or long-time residence in metropolitan areas they were predominately from a middle-class or even upper-class background. A statistical review of data on arrested and identified terrorists from right and left orientations associated with eighteen terrorist groups studied reflected well over two thirds were from the middle or upper classes

in their respective nations. In most instances their parents were professional people, government employees, diplomats, clergymen, military officers, and sometimes police officials. Although these parents were part of the existing social and economic system, many leftist terrorists had been frustrated in their efforts to use them as vehicles for upward social and economic mobility. Liberal in political outlook, these parents frequently advocated significant social and political change. These parental views, coupled with radical popular university doctrines during the 1960's, may have moved some young people towards leftist terrorism as a rapid method to achieve desired changes. (74:12).

Only in the ranks of the Provisional Wing of the IRA was there a real deviation from the norm. To a significant degree this may have been the result of the fact that Catholic families in Northern Ireland traditionally have been relegated, by political means, to the lower economic and social level through deliberate processes of discrimination. (74:13).

The vast majority of those individuals involved in leftist terrorist activities as cadre or leaders were quite well educated. Approximately two thirds of those identified as leftist terrorists had some university training or were university graduates or post-graduate students. (74:14).

In order to study leftist terrorist motivations, this thesis presented some of the psychological, sociological, and political theories propounded by experts in the terrorist field. Under the psychological umbrella were views of leftist terrorists as youths rebelling at being dominated (JRA and Black Panther members); evidence of conscience formation and guilt feelings about being wealthy combined with the frustration of being unable to change the system (Tupamaros, Baader-Meinhof, Weathermen and SLA groups); and behavior patterns which resulted from individuals' interaction with the environment (IRA and Palestinian groups).

The motivation factors of aggression and violence were exhibited by all eight groups, although when survival was involved (as in the IRA and Palestinian groups) the influence was more intense.

The sociological theory that most leftist terrorists were educated and from middle and upper class backgrounds was seen to be true for leaders of the groups examined but to a lesser extent in the cases of the IRA and SLA. The belonging factor affected members of all eight groups.

The political theory included both the psychological and sociological factors. In addition, the lack of research in the area of leftist terrorism was noted.

No single motivational factor could be identified by the writer as being the only influence for leftist terrorist behavior. The evolving nature of leftist terrorism will continue to be attributable to varying combinations of motivations. A great deal of research remains to be done in this area.

Recommendations

As a result of this writer's research several areas of terrorism were noticed that would lend themselves to further in-depth studies. These areas include, but are not limited to, rightist terrorist groups, various definitions of terrorism, the history of terror in the United States, the history of terror worldwide, and the use of terror by military and police organizations.

This writer recommends that a first step towards combating leftist terrorism would be for Americans to become educated about it. The education materials could and should be prepared jointly by Criminal Justice officials and scholars, political scientists, sociologists and psychologists. These materials could be utilized by the school systems and thus supplement the newspapers--today's main source of leftist terrorist information. Public discussions and debates should be

encouraged as another method alerting the American public about the complexity involved in leftist terrorist problems. Such education would make the public more aware of research needs in the behavioral science areas.

This writer feels that part of the answer to leftist terrorism is to increase the current level of resources extended to study what motivates such a terrorist. Only by knowing the cause of the disease can a cure be effected. Because the public does not want to waste resources on something they do not understand, education is the first step to be taken.

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