
Retrospective Theses and Dissertations

1985

Towards a Typology of the Ideology of Left-Wing Terrorist Groups

Linda Ruth. Adams
University of Central Florida

 Part of the [Political Science Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/rtd>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Masters Thesis (Open Access) is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

STARS Citation

Adams, Linda Ruth., "Towards a Typology of the Ideology of Left-Wing Terrorist Groups" (1985).
Retrospective Theses and Dissertations. 4755.
<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/rtd/4755>

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF THE IDEOLOGY
OF LEFT-WING TERRORIST GROUPS

BY

LINDA RUTH ADAMS
B.A., University of Central Florida, 1982

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the Master of Arts degree
in Political Science in the Graduate Studies Program
of the College of Arts and Sciences
University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Fall Term
1985

PREFACE

As long as man has been involved in a social contract, political violence has existed. Yet, the question arises as to why has political violence today only added to society's menace? Obviously, if political violence has existed as long as man, how did man deal with it in the past or what has distinguished today's political violence from history which makes it uncontrollable? These are the questions that have been posed by those studying political violence within the last decade. Answers provided for these questions range from well-validated psychological theories to assertions which proclaim that political terrorism is a sociological phenomenon. It is the purpose of this paper to offer a different explanation from those posed concerning the question of terrorism's occurrence in left-wing movements. Before presenting arguments on left-wing terrorism, the author will provide an overview of existing theories and where the topical field is headed. In order to discuss exactly where terrorism as a field of research is, and where it is going, an historical overview on how the field evolved will be presented. The section following the historical overview will cover some of the more substantive findings and theories.

An Overview of the Field of Terrorism

Like most topical areas which are new in the social sciences, research efforts begin by discussing the problems and effects of the event under analysis. This of course was the case for the early studies completed on terrorism as well. One of the first books addressing terrorism as an international problem was Hannah Adrendt's book, On Violence. Adrendt's piece provided the beginning for early normative theories. By the early part of 1977, many changes occurred in the research efforts on terrorism basically because Edward Mickolus provided the discipline with its first data base. The data base, called ITERATE, would stimulate a whole new line of research work, from normative theory to empirical theory. Thus, from 1980 until the present, one may assert that the area of terrorism is in an empirical theory building stage. From the more recent endeavors stem several hypotheses which explain political terrorism. We will now turn to these suggestions.

Theories Explaining Individual Behavior

The study of political violence is a pluralist discipline. That is, academics from sociology, political science, psychology, and communications attempt to explore why terrorism exists. Within these disciplines there are

two frequently found hypotheses that explain the individual terrorist's behavior. Gregory T. Winn states that often it is maintained that terrorism occurs from a rejection of society. The second hypothesis Winn acknowledges is that "terrorism may occur out of ideological and idiosyncratic possibilities toward violence."¹ Moreover, and according to Winn, 13 theories exist which explain terrorism in terms of individuals who have rejected society.² The themes underlying such theories is that terrorism thrives because individuals are displaced and alienated in modern society. On the other hand, theories which are supportive of terrorism's occurrence out of ideological and idiosyncratic possibilities range from stating that terrorism is a result of Marxism to theories on anomie. These theories are usually used to also explain terrorism as an individual and group level occurrence. When one views terrorism as a local, state, national, or international event the theories offered change dramatically.

¹Winn, Gregory. "Terrorism, Alienation, and German Society," in Behaviorial and Quantitative Perspectives on Terrorism. Ed. by Yonah Alexander and John Gleason (New York: Pergamon Press, 1981), p. 257-262.

²Ibid.

Terrorism on the State and International Levels

Many theories have been offered as to why terrorism has proliferated on the state, regional, and international levels. We will begin this section by reviewing those theories which explain local violence. Few studies directly assess local violence as a problem. Those studies which do are usually strictly normative. Some examples of local violence are the Irish or Palestinian problems. Normally, local studies are interwoven into sections of books which are part of a larger review on state and regional terrorism. Theories which have attempted to explain terrorism as a state and regional phenomenon are quite diversified. Some have ascertained that terrorism on the state and regional levels is part of a diffusion and interaction process. Other theories have found that terrorism occurs in some areas out of regional conflict. Theories on the systems level usually attribute terrorism to several variables. One variable is the media. That is, researchers usually attribute an increase in terrorism to the media influences. In fact, one study recognized that 93 percent of the police chiefs believed that TV coverage encourages terrorism.³ Another variable

³One article strongly supporting the argument that terrorism occurs through diffusion is Heyman, Edward and Mickolus, Edward, "Imitation by Terrorists: Quantitative Approaches to the Study of Diffusion Patterns in

which has often attributed to the increase in international terrorism is the availability of weapons. Others have argued that terrorism may be attributed to the level of political stability in a country.⁴ Yet, despite these findings, few individuals have attempted to show that terrorists are not psychopaths, nor is terrorism a regional freak occurrence, and nor can it be categorized as an international phenomenon. Thus, our position is one where we are attempting to look beyond the conventional suggestions offered on left-wing terrorism. In order to do this, we begin in Chapter One with a review of left-wing theory. The works of Karl Marx, Lenin, and Mao are presented. Our conclusion concerning Chapter One is that the ideology of the orthodox Marxists is a composite of ingredients which was determined by their external environment and previous revolutionary beliefs. Chapter Two explores how violence evolved into the left-wing belief system. It begins by reviewing the works of Fanon, Guevara, Marcuse, and Sarte. Chapter Two documents that violence as part of left-wing ideology stems from the

Transnational Terrorism," in Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives on Terrorism. Edited by Yonah Alexander and John M. Gleason (New York: Pergamon Press, 1981), p. 175-225.

⁴Carlton, David; Alexander, Yonah; and Wilkinson, Paul. Terrorism Theory and Practice (Colorado: Western Press, 1979), p. 160.

revisionist approach to Marxism. The author moves from a discussion of the revisionists to a discussion on left-wing terrorism in Chapter Three. Chapter Three will reflect upon what the author believes has occurred in the left-wing movement to encourage terrorism. The argument the author posed in Chapter Three is that terrorism has evolved as part of ideology through a process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. In more specific terms, the author concludes that the ideology of a terrorist group is determined by the beliefs of past group plus variables which are independent of a group.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE ORIGINS OF THE NEW LEFT	1
Marxism as an Ideological Movement	3
The Marxist-Leninist View	18
Mao and the People's Revolution	24
Conclusion	33
A Generalized Model	35
THE SECOND GENERATION: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW LEFT, 1965 TO 1975	37
Suggestions Explaining the Ideology of the New Left	39
Fritz Fanon	42
The Cuban Revolutionary Movement	50
Herbert Marcuse	58
Jean Paul Sarte	64
A PROPOSED TYPOLOGY	73
The Mixed Ideologue	77
The Problematic Ideologue	81
The Subordinate Ideologue	81
An Assessment of the Mixed Ideologue's External Environment. The Al Fatah Case	85
A Problematic Ideologue	92
The Subordinate Ideologue	98
Conclusions	102
A Synoptic Account of Chapter One	105
A Synoptic Account of Chapters Two and Three	105
Conclusion	108
LIST OF REFERENCES	116

THE ORIGINS OF THE NEW LEFT

While there remain a great many left-wing theorists who have contributed to left-wing ideology, this chapter will begin by reviewing those pieces of work which have served to prompt the left-wing revolutionary movement known today. Karl Marx is the first left-wing theorist to be discussed. Primarily, Marx's work is reviewed because his concepts have served to provide the framework for left-wing revolutionary theory. His conceptualization of history, dialectic materialism, and alienation have developed into beliefs which have become widely accepted by many great philosophers and countries. Yet, by the turn of the twentieth century, many of Marx's ideas, while never totally rejected, were questioned. Revisions in Marx's theory then transpired into new ideas and ideologies. Most of these ideas and belief systems that have emerged from Marxism can be categorized into three very general schools of thought. There were Marxists, such as Lenin, who suggested that Marx failed to identify the role of the communist party in the revolutionary movement. Such a presupposition by Lenin was based upon his idea that revolution could not be achieved by the workman's ability alone; therefore, the communist party must stimulate most

revolutionary action. The second school of thought was developed fundamentally by Rosa Luxemburg and later fully conceptualized by Mao. Like Luxemburg, Mao maintained that the lower classes are intrinsically red and, consequently, the communist party need not apply subordinate stimuli to achieve revolutionary goals. Mao's interpretation of Marxism may be termed the humanist school of thought. The third group of Marxists are the classics and they still relish the idea that revolution from the proletariat, internationally, will occur without the subordination of a communist party. The classical school is often referred to as the school of spontaneity.⁵

In the extreme, then, it may be summarized that those supporting the Leninist viewpoint are individuals who concur that revolution cannot occur by means of the working class alone.⁶ The humanists suggest in their theory the importance of the part in a revolutionary movement; however, they do not extend this argument beyond the point that the

⁵A. S. Cohan reviews extensively the divisions of revolutionary theorists. In this text, I have briefly touched upon the topic to alleviate an unresolvable, as well as lengthy, dispute concerning whether or not revolutionary stimulation is crucial to class mobilization. Yet, I have also referred to this problem in detail throughout the text, nor could I stress enough, the importance of this division in theory, since it remains the distinguishable characteristic of the classical theorists. Cohan, A. S. Theories on Revolution (Great Britain: Thomas Nelson and Son Ltd., 1975), p. 90.

⁶Ibid.

communist party should only assist the work and his ideas. The extremists are the traditionalists who draw the line on the party's involvement in a revolutionary situation since they pose that class mobilization manifests itself without the revolutionary stimuli. The important thing to remember, though, despite the division in Marxism, is that Marx's theories still form the basis of the largest portion of left-wing beliefs. This chapter will then begin by reviewing Marx's more prominent concepts. The sections following Marx will review Lenin's and Mao's contributions to left-wing ideology. Some may question why the works of Lenin and Mao have been selected for review rather than Stalin, Trotsky, or even Luxemburg. Referring back to what was said earlier, both Lenin and Mao served to develop the two most popular divisions of left-wing ideology known today: Leninism and Maoism.

Marxism as an Ideological Movement

Little is actually agreed upon on what type of political organization Marx was suggesting. Oddly enough, though, what little he did suggest about a political system has certainly become the predominant philosophy of left-wing movement. Before discussing the Marxist political society it is crucial to understand that prior to any socialist political development the maturation of

capitalism must be reached in a capitalist system. Cohan describes this transition in terms of the hierarchical advancement of capitalism. Thus, one must assume that the entire capitalist society must acquire, in the most absolute sense, the highest level of advancement where there can be no room left for expansion economically, socially, and politically.⁷ Once this stage in capitalism is reached, the environment is conducive for the proletariat to revolt. What exactly takes place after the proletariat triumphs is concisely summarized by Leon P. Baradat in his book, Political Ideologies. According to Baradat, as the proletariat revolution comes to an end, the proletariat dictator would have to emerge in order to assist the proletariat in developing a classless society.⁸ Here, it must be recognized, Marx is referring to this stage of political development as socialism. As the citizens of the socialist society would become adjusted to the communal way of life, the proletariat dictator would eventually disintegrate into what Engels called "just the administration of things."⁹ All individuals in society would be free to govern

⁷Ibid.

⁸For further details concerning Marx's proposed communist system see Baradat, Leon, Political Ideologies: Their Origin and Impact. 2d ed., (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1984), p.179.

⁹Ibid.

themselves, thereby being responsible for the good of all "... and democratic utopia would prevail."¹⁰ As the formal structuralization of socialism dissolves, society enters into its most advanced possible state of political development, which is communism. Although Marx provided a political system that became the ideological concept for the left-wing movement, more of his opinions concerning history and capitalism generated the framework for contemporary revolutionary philosophy.

History

Marx's explanation that history evolves through the process of dialectic materialism does not mean that society was necessarily guided by economic determination but that people revolutionize society when they become consciously aware of the shortcomings in their socio-economic environment.¹¹ For example, "... in ancient

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Engels clarifies in a letter to Joseph Bloch Marx's position concerning dialectic materialism. Essentially, at the time of this letter, there appeared to be a debate within the left-wing movement as to whether or not dialectic materialism was concerned primarily with economic determinism or not. Engels points out that social and political factors certainly play a large role in determining history and not just economics alone. Generally speaking, I have tried to portray Marx's and Engels' view of history in simplified terms and with the incorporation of the social and political factors depicted in class struggle as much as possible. For further reference see Engels,

Rome the patricians and knights dominated the plebians and slaves until the Roman system no longer warranted social and economic productivity."¹² In the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, and guild masters ruled the journeymen, apprentices, and serfs until the agrarian system no longer met the socioeconomic needs of a mercantile world. In capitalism, the system became socioeconomically stagnant from the forces of production.¹³ How, then, does Marx further explain this historical evolution beyond the assertion that society evolves through a progression of revolutions?

To answer this question, it is easier to conceptualize Marx's theory of history in very simplified terms. First, in each of Marx's examples of history there is a class being ruled and one class which rules. The ruling class, which is usually only a minority of society, dominates the forces of production, politics, and culture. One must then develop even further the Marxist idea and understand that there is absolutely nothing in a society which is

Friedrich, "Letters on Historical Materialism," Marx and Engels Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. Ed. by Lewis S. Fener. (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), p. 397-400.

¹²Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich. "The Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. Ed. by Lewis S. Fener (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), p. 7.

¹³Ibid.

free of ruling class interference.¹⁴ The ruled class, then, suffers in all aspects of life. That is they are uneducated, economically deprived and exploited by the working class, and have no social standing of their own. The only reaction which an individual would naturally acquire under the circumstances of the capitalism is oppression. Appendix One provides an illustration of Marx's historical theory.¹⁵

Appendix One depicts in the first triangle of society that there was a very primitive era of communist which was followed by a brief internal era of conflict and replaced by an era of slavery. According to the Marxist

¹⁴I may defend this position by letting Marx speak for himself: The bourgeois, whenever it has gotten the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, and idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn assunder ... ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, then callous "cash payment." It has resolved personal worth into exchange value and, in place of the members less indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up single, unconscionable freedom-free trade. In one word, for exploitation, the bourgeoisie has even stripped of its halo every occupation. In this quotation we see not only Marx's analysis of the totality in capitalism but also this situation reveals the relationship of the forces of capitalism. The inference, here, is that in capitalist society the bourgeoisie is so overwhelming that they, and their characteristics, dominate all structures. Marx, Karl, and Engels, Friedrich, "The Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. Ed. by Lewis S. Fener. (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), p. 9, 10.

¹⁵Baradat, Leon, p. 170.

analysis, and isolating the conditions of communal society, the ruled individuals of communal society progressed because they became somewhat aware of the conditions in their social and political environment. The ruled individual, then conscious of ruling class constraints, seeks to mobilize with his class and revolt against the barbarians. These individuals replaced the communal society by becoming a ruling class, themselves, and establishing an era of slavery.

In the feudal society, the landowner ruled the bourgeoisie. As such, the bourgeoisie revolutionized society to an era of capitalism which permitted them to exploit society.¹⁶ Likewise, Marx explains this same process in capitalism. "The modern labor, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper ... and it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society."¹⁷ Awareness of the proletariat of this situation leads to

¹⁶Marx is explicit in his scenario of history when he poses the following: Hitherto every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in a period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeoisie under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop the bourgeoisie. Karl Marx, p. 19.

¹⁷Ibid.

revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class. Not only does one see the development of a class within one era, but the Marxist analysis assumes also the development of eras over time. In other words, each historical phase advances socially, economically, and politically. This may be viewed as the overall development from feudal society to capitalist society, or from the primitive to the advanced. The key to understanding and summarizing how Marx explains why society continued by evolving from one class structured system to another rests in what has been identified by Engels in terms of absolutism and class antagonisms within the concept of dialectic materialism. Dialectic materialism considers not just the economic implication of society's reasons for change but rather, as Engels asserts:

The economic situation is the basis but the various elements of the superstructure political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political juristic, philosophical theories, religious reviews and further developments into systems of dogmas also exercise their influence upon the course of historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. There is interaction of all these elements in which amidst all the endless hosts.¹⁸

¹⁸Engels, Friedrich, p. 398.

It may be concluded from this description of dialectic materialism that economics is the key to developing the dominance of the ruling class which then serves to create friction within the history of man, in general, and the class system, specifically.

The antagonisms within class-structured societies present a two-sided conflict. First, from whatever source, the main means of production in society is bound in a positive relationship with the dominant or ruling class. For example, in feudal society the type of economic production was agriculture and thus the lord owned the land and dominated the serfs. On the other hand, the oppressed class is bound to society's economic means by a negative relationship through constant contact or interface with the forces of production. Marx and Engels both attempt to portray this from two perspectives: the mundane and the abstract. In the mundane sense, interface with production means that the oppressed individual faces the work environment unwillfully; he must go to work everyday because all men must survive. In the abstract sense, interface with production means that the oppressed individual faces all the monopolies of the work environment, in capitalism the bourgeoisie, bourgeoisie culture, bourgeoisie politics, and the bourgeoisie way of life. It is a continual pattern, therefore, for the oppressed class not only to be dominated in the work environment, but in

all aspects of society. The most obvious outcome of any class-structured system is a clash between the ruling and the ruled individual. To summarize, in practical terms, Marx's concept of history, it can be said that the disintegrating forces that emerged from the agrarian system invariably produced capitalism because the ruling elite no longer found profitability in the peasant population, and class consciousness by the peasant population led to a reorganization of society which, then, produced capitalism. Likewise, the bourgeoisie made the lord and the serf obsolete.¹⁹ According to Marx, capitalism becomes the determinant stage of socialist development.

Capitalism

The capitalist system, which is largely dominated by the bourgeoisie class, is a society characterized by free trade, usually the liberal ideology, wage labor, and global exploitation. In a capitalist system, Marx stresses that the differences between the socioeconomic

¹⁹Marx explains the disintegration of the feudal system by asserting: The feudal systems of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by classed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new market. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class ... meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. There upon steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. p. 8.

status of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat provide the conditions for the proletariat's class awareness.²⁰

One must essentially notice that class cohesiveness and mobilization become the dividing point on left-wing theory. In traditional Marxism, or those supporting the argument that revolution occurs spontaneously, the capitalist class struggle is actually determined by the proletariat without the subordination of an elite communist party. While one should not blatantly assert that the proletariat will mobilize in capitalist society because of the conditions stimulated by the bourgeoisie, some assumptions may be derived from Marx's scenario of capitalism which induce one to pose that the proletarian revolution is directly attributable to the bourgeoisie. Several conditions encouraged by the bourgeoisie, indeed, depict such a relationship between the classes. Marx first provides us with the fact that the proletariat is treated by the bourgeoisie like capital and, therefore, the proletariat becomes a productive function of business that fluctuates cyclically with capitalist industry. Moreover, in the last section a reference was made to the absoluteness of bourgeoisie society, and as a result of this absoluteness, one may concur that the proletariat

²⁰Engels justifies this in his letter to Joseph Bloch, p. 398.

has no room to expand his personal drives and freedoms. Not only is the proletariat faced with capitalism's insecurity but he is overwhelmed daily by the immense totality of bourgeoisie economics, culture, and way of life. The proletariat's natural reaction to the capitalist system is to become alienated. Due to his relationship with the capitalist society, alienation consists of various forms that are directly associated with his oppression.

The first and most obvious type of alienation the proletariat experiences is one that occurs from his unpleasant work environment. The second type of alienation the proletariat experiences is that of the actual physical task of work. For example, the type of machine a laborer would use while working in a bourgeoisie factory is naturally different from the laborer's physique. His body composition, then, is estranged from the tools he works with.²¹ The third type of alienation the proletariat experiences is one that occurs from the constant negative confrontation of the capitalist system. The proletariat acts within society's systems only for a functional purpose, which is work; otherwise the proletariat is not a part of bourgeoisie politics, culture, and way of

²¹Heilbroner, Robert. Marxism for and Against. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), p. 73.

life. From this third perspective the member of the proletariat finds himself alienated in a most complete sense which is from society as a whole. As individual dissatisfaction and alienation increase, situational awareness becomes more prevalent within the individual, and then within small groups. Prior to any revolutionary action such sentiments must become representative of the entire lower class. There, what takes place in the capitalist class struggle is such that as individual dissatisfaction increases, the lower class slowly becomes mobilized. Mobilization is first sought out by workers in the form of labor movements. As the lower class becomes increasingly organized and cohesive, the proletariat becomes overwhelmed with the sentiments of revolution. Thus, the classical Marxist analysis views the proletariat's relationship with the bourgeoisie in stages. These stages may first be defined in terms of those elements which prompt the proletariat to identify with his class, such as the way he is treated by the bourgeoisie, the absoluteness of bourgeoisie society, and the natural reaction to becoming alienated from bourgeoisie society and capitalism. As the friction between these two classes intensifies the last phase of the class relationship in capitalism is revolution. Here one may again question that, if the proletariat initiates revolution, where in Marx's scenario

of the proletariat revolution does the role of the communist party fit in?

For Marx the role of the communist party in the revolution is actually minimal. The communist party should be more strictly confined to the bureaucratic duties of implementing a socialist society. The function of the communist party during the revolution should be clearcut: laying the groundwork for the future of the socialist society. Marx was, therefore, more specifically concerned with only the role of the communist party which he maintained should be confined to the duties of guarding that countries and nationalities are abolished, ideas are modified concerning religion, morality, philosophy, and the framework for a communist society must be prepared.²² Consequently, after the bourgeoisie is defeated, the party must assume the responsibilities of a government bureaucracy until society evolves into a classless state. Revolution, then, becomes the crucial stage in determining not only the role of the proletariat but the communist political system as well.

²²Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich, p. 28.

A Summary on Marxism

The concepts of Marxism that largely still remain, but at times have been slightly modified, are his theories on history, dialectic materialism, and alienation. It appears that Marx's more controversial concepts are those in which he portrayed his scenario of the proletariat revolution. One may ask where exactly did Marx fail or what did he not predict in his scenario of capitalism which would call for twentieth century theorists to reject his conceptualization of capitalism? The point is not that Marx did not underdevelop his theory on capitalism but rather that he never recognized that all countries are not capitalist countries. In other words, he never addressed the problem of whether or not a proletariat revolution could or would occur in a country where the proletariat is not the majority of society's members. In assessing this shortfall, one must conclude that the lack of recognition concerning this problem questions communism's implementation in any other society besides a capitalist state. Moreover, since the core of Marxism, in the political sense, stresses the rule of the majority of society's members, how, then, if a proletariat class was not predominant in a population, could a proletariat revolution occur? What further serves to cloud Marx's prediction model of a proletariat revolution is that this

revolution never did unite the proletariat, universally, at the turn of the twentieth century or even now. Those supporting Marxism were, therefore, cast into three different viewpoints concerning this problem. First, Lenin took the position that the proletariat would never mobilize unless a vanguard party provided stimulation to the masses. Secondly, Mao supported a humanistic position in which he maintained that the communist party should not be inseparable from the movement and the people. Furthermore, Mao supposed that the communist party's role in applying revolutionary stimuli should be minimal since the people are intrinsically Marxist. Finally, those believing that the working class can and would mobilize, as Marx attempted to predict, support the position that the actual conditions of revolution should be left up to the people alone. The communist party should, therefore, provide the basis of bureaucratic functions. Regardless of these revisions in Marxism, many of Marx's original concepts still remain part of left-wing ideology.

It can be said that many of Marx's predecessors have in one way or another resolved a great many questions which plagued some of his concepts. For example, such questions as should revolution be inspired by the communist party, should revolution be violent, and whether or not the peasants may acquire revolutionary status, were the common

issues which were resolved by the early twentieth century left-wing theorists. Our discussion will now turn to Marx's first major revisionist who became well-known for his modification of Marxism, both theoretically and practically.

The Marxist-Leninist View

At the turn of the twentieth century many debates plagued communist parties internationally concerning the question of whether or not revolutionary stimulation was permissible in left-wing doctrine. Moreover, as the popularity of Marxism spread, the practical application of his theory further proved to be impaired by many unrealistic suppositions. Rather than proceeding directly into the discussion of how Lenin confronted these problems, we will first discuss those concepts of Marxism that Lenin found acceptable in practical application. According to Cohan, Lenin did accept the basic Marxist model of society and revolutionary change.²³ Yet, the disparity between Marxism and Leninism arises from the fact that the Marxist analysis, first, assumes that the socialist society is based upon a proletariat revolution. Secondly, the Marxist

²³While Cohan is not explicit in asserting this, he does contend that Lenin accepted the Marxian model of society and revolutionary change. A. S. Cohan, p. 9.

analysis also argues that a capitalist society must prevail prior to the implementation of socialism and communism. Within these two concepts is where Lenin made the first revisions of the Marxist doctrine.

For Lenin, there could be no proletariat revolution because the Russian society was still largely in a feudal era rather than a capitalist era. Furthermore, even in those parts of Russia that were highly advanced and capitalism had established itself, Russia was, from a territorial perspective, so large that revolutionary mobilization from the working class would be a very improbable event. Blackley and Paynton described Lenin's situation by asserting that "... revolution would have to be encouraged rather than simply awaited."²⁴ In Russia, then, it was evident that, above all, there was no proletariat class and, furthermore, capitalist development was minimal, and the vastness of the country made the permeability of socialism unlikely. Lenin attempted to resolve this by taking the Marxist analysis of revolution a step further.

In order to deal with the feudal conditions of Russian society, Lenin foresaw revolution in two stages. The first

²⁴Blackley, Robert and Paynton, Clifford. Revolution and the Revolutionary Ideal (Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1976), p. 157.

stage of the revolutionary process would begin with a proletariat revolution, conditional upon whether or not there was a working class, and, in the event the proletariat class is small, one must seek other allies for the revolution:

In the case of Russia the peasantry may be the likely ally. But the peasantry is not necessarily capable of seeing the benefits of a socialist revolution. Interestingly, neither is the working class likely to develop to a mood of revolutionary consciousness on its own.²⁵

Lenin's recommendation, then, became that in the phase of a feudal revolution, the bourgeoisie and the peasant may be considered as part of the proletariat struggle in order to defeat an existing regime. When the sources of feudalism have been omitted, a second revolution, or proletariat revolution may occur. This point, in Leninism, leads one to question two broad issue areas: How did Lenin foresee this revolutionary process and to what degree would the communist party play a role in determining the course of revolutionary action? These questions may be answered by a very generalized conceptualization of Lenin's revolutionary model. Then one must focus more specifically on the elements in the revolutionary process.

²⁵Cohan, A. S. p. 80.

Lenin's Revolutionary Model --
The Organizational Approach

Lenin's revolutionary model has often been referred to as the organizational approach to implementing a revolution. The organizational approach to revolution is based upon two basic assumptions. First, the organizational model predicts that the proletariat class will not mobilize on their own behalf in order to defeat bourgeoisie society. Lenin asserted this idea in his publication, "What is to be Done":

The theme Lenin addresses is that class consciousness that will lead to revolution (since it) cannot happen when the workers are left to their own devices. Rather the history of all countries shows that the working class would combine in unions. They prefer the desire for short term rewards, not revolutionary activity.²⁶

The second assumption underlying the organization model is that a revolutionary situation may materialize if the people are prompted and stimulated by a leading figure. In this instance the leading figure of the Russian revolution became the communist party, or the Bolsheviks. The communist party, therefore, must consist of the ideologically advanced members of society. Lenin further defines the communist party as the vanguard of the people which should guide the people to "... understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the

²⁶Cohan, A. S., p. 87.

proletariat movement."²⁷ Lenin's strategy of incorporating the proletariat and peasant into a movement may best be summarized by Appendix Two. As Appendix Two illustrates, Lenin viewed the revolutionary process in terms of three dimensions. His logic for the three dimensional revolutionary model was, first, that within an oppressed class, there exist many subgroups. These class subgroups were essential to the revolutionary model since the proletariat, semi-proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, and bourgeoisie were necessary in order to overcome a combination of forces: feudalism, capitalism, and czarism. The diversity within each of these class groups is quite vast, which brought Lenin to the realization that each class subgroup may have an ideological consciousness ranging from high to low. The recognition of class differences enabled the Leninist model to put to use the individuals who were more clearly associated with the middle class and often more ideological.

Lenin's views on ideology focused on the fact that the ideological individual is much more aware of his social, economic, and political environment; he is an opinion leader. As such, in revolutionary circumstances he would understand far more the implications of revolution and would not be as prone to engage in a revolution because he calculates the

²⁷Cohan, A. S., p. 87.

risks involved. In the event that the revolution failed, an ideologue would be able to interpret the implications of change, which implies that he would understand that his security could possibly be jeopardized in revolutionary circumstances. A less ideological individual has very little concept of the future of politics, economics, and socialization, if he comprehends any of this at all. The less ideological individual would be far more prone to revolt against an existing political system not only because he does not understand the actual implications of communism but also because in the long term he has little to lose.²⁸ Since the ideologue may comprehend a revolutionary movement, Lenin utilized these individuals to act as opinion leaders for the less ideological subgroup. By facilitating this position within the revolutionary movement, the ideologue acts as a mediator between the vanguard and the less ideological subgroups. As information then diffuses through the class system concerning the revolutionary movement, the lower class would be the first group to take revolutionary action. Revolutionary action from the advanced working groups, or ideological groups, would occur slower since these individuals are conscious of their environment. Yet, as the revolution

²⁸Mandel, Ernest. "The Leninist Theory of Organization," Revolution and Class Struggle. Ed. by Robin Blackburn (New Jersey: The Harvester Press, 1978), p. 79-135.

proliferates they, too, join in to assist the mass of peasants and proletariats in the movement.

This process may be summarized by stating that the masses, or least ideological members of society, will be the first to act in the revolution, and that they are not fully aware of why they are engaging in the revolution other than that they have been provided enough information from the more advanced groups which inspires their reaction. Once the masses engage in revolutionary action they slowly become more experienced concerning the revolutionary process, the communist party's issue position, and the movement begins to proliferate. The advanced workers, who are somewhat more ideological, are conscious of what may or may not occur in revolutionary circumstances and as a result are less prone to seek initial revolutionary involvement. The third dimension of Lenin's revolutionary model recognizes that the vanguard (or communist party) directs all the action within the revolutionary movement. Here lies the dividing point which has been referred to many times concerning the left-wing movement. Leninism became a factional split because its philosophy stresses that the stimulation from the communist party is essential since the workers will not mobilize on their own behalf. It is also, however, this aspect of Leninism which deviates the greatest from Marx's original work.

Lenin's idea that workers cannot and will not take action on their own initiated the greatest factional split among leftists. The first to address Lenin's conceptualization that the communist party should remain an elite and subordinate figure in the revolutionary movement was Rosa Luxemburg. Inherent in Luxemburg's work was the emphasis of faith in the masses.²⁹ She criticized Lenin in two major areas. First, Luxemburg believed that Lenin's idea that the revolutionary vanguard should remain the nucleus of the movement was contradictory to Marxism. She supported her position on this issue by criticizing the separation of the communist party from the people. In relation to this shortcoming in Lenin's theory Rosa Luxemburg later attacked him for his beliefs that the party should remain isolated from the people. According to Cohan, "perhaps Luxemburg's ideas were more clearly associated with what Marx himself was suggesting since she contended that the communist party should be at the forefront of revolutionary ideas, but its dependence upon the worker is never forgotten."³⁰ As will be seen later, Mao attempted much more than Lenin to intermingle the role of the communist party in alliance with the people's demands. Those who attack it for the apparent separation between the vanguard's

²⁹Cohan, p. 90.

³⁰Ibid.

role as an elitist figurehead in relationship to the masses. Outside of Lenin's conceptualization of the revolutionary process, many have refuted him also for supporting the position that violence is essential in a revolutionary movement.

Those who associate him with violence often attribute the origins of contemporary terrorism to Lenin. For Lenin, terror was not a method used as a blade of revolution. Rather he used terror to defeat any possible opponent once the communist party was gaining political strength. One may concur that Lenin's view of terror was that it was a method used to crush the possibility of any potential "coup d'état ." Lawrence W. Beilenson contends that Lenin's use of terrorism was strictly defensive because Lenin criticized obscure violence in that it was "inefficient in bringing about a proletariat revolution."³¹ Moreover, Beilenson maintains that had Lenin been confronted with either the situations of Palestine, Cyprus, or Algeria, he might have changed his mind about offensive terrorism.³² Yet the point still remains that Lenin recognized the essential ingredients of a revolution, which are violence and destruction. At this point, one must attempt

³¹Beilenson, Lawrence. Power Through Subversion. (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1972), p. 79.

³²Ibid.

to delineate the important contributions Lenin made within left-wing ideology.

A Summary of Leninism

The element crucial to what has been discussed up until this point has been the role of the communist party in a revolution. In the Marxist analysis the communist party plays actually a minimal part in the revolutionary process and the proletariat's desire to revolt against capitalism occurs spontaneously -- without some type of divested figure subordinating the movement. This theme also remains central to the left-wing humanist school of thought which Rosa Luxemburg supported. The Leninist conceptualization of revolution is one which recognizes that the lower class will never attempt revolutionary change on their own. Workers will meet their needs by maintaining the status quo. His remedy for creating revolutionary circumstances is that the vanguard party must stimulate revolutionary action. Beyond this revision one may also view Leninism in the light of three concepts in which Marx failed to define.

The first concept which Lenin identifies is the duties and tasks of the vanguard. Lenin asserts that in the two phases of the revolutionary struggle the Bolsheviks should continuously stimulate the classes by agitation and

propaganda. Moreover, the revolutionary party should also be concerned with the funding of the movement. This duty as stated by Lenin is:

(securing funding) from subverting actions (by having them) furnish money, arms, supplies or other help to the dissidents in the country to be subverted.³³

In addition to these duties, the vanguard's second task should also be directing the phases of organization in the revolutionary model. Lenin's realization that a proletarian revolution may consist of the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie, and the peasant as a revolutionary class is a second revision accepted and central to most contemporary situations.³⁴ He advances this revision in Marxism one step further by arranging these distinct classes into an organizational revolutionary model which associates the characteristics of different classes into one structured revolutionary movement.³⁵

The third distinction of left-wing theory that is identified by Lenin is the role which violence plays in a revolutionary model. For Lenin, violence was essential to a revolutionary movement. Terror, strategically speaking, was only used by Lenin in the defensive

³³Beilenson, Lawrence. p. 81.

³⁴Cohan, p. 90.

³⁵Ibid.

sense in order to deter any exploiters resisting the movement. One may at this point question the distinguishable characteristics between Lenin's conceptualization of violence and terror. We must assume that violence from Lenin's view was associated with the regimented forms of warfare.³⁶ Whereas, terrorism, Lenin conceded, was the resorting to clandestine tactics such as assassination. Regardless though, Lenin realized the potency of a violent revolution and it became a determinant feature of his success. Many of these revisions in Marxism became further improvised in the Chinese revolution.

Mao and the People's Revolution

The Maoist analysis of revolution is in many ways similar to Lenin's theory on revolution. Mao, however, attempts to revise the Marxist-Leninist analysis of revolution in three major areas.³⁷ Mao's situation was that, in China, a feudal system had existed for 4,000 years. For Lenin, feudal society was not as extensive as the

³⁶Beilenson, Lawrence, p. 81.

³⁷Note many individuals within the literature argue that Mao provided more than three revisions to Marxism. Because this section is only a brief synopsis of his work, only those three revisions which are most relevant for this work are provided.

Chinese problem. In order to overcome feudalism, Lenin combined several classes in the revolutionary process: the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the peasant. Similar to Lenin, Mao incorporated various classes in the revolutionary movement to, first, defeat the forces of feudalism and, second, to defeat the forces of capitalism. Mao's analysis, though, of the revolutionary situation incorporated five classes in the revolutionary model to defeat the forces of feudalism. These classes were: the landlord class and the managerial class, the middle bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the semiproletariat, and the proletariat. Thus, the first major revision was the argument that any oppressed individual is a component of the revolutionary alliance. One may question more directly why Mao included so many classes in his revolutionary model when compared to Lenin, who was also confronted with revolutionizing a feudal society but only viewed revolution in terms of a three-dimensional process. Looking specifically at the Chinese situation it may be pointed out that, above all, China is the largest country in the world, with, at that point in time, no educational development and great cultural diversity. Moreover, foreign exploitation began to occur which took advantage of the class situation. In addition, the class situation was such that the majority of society consisted of the

peasants. The ramifications of this were that foreign exploitation was so extensive that proletarianizing the peasant would never occur. Thus, Mao would postulate a revolution where nearly all classes would participate, excluding only the elite.

The second major revision of Leninism that Mao posed was the concept of the people's revolution. In comparison to Lenin, who stressed that the party should initiate revolutionary actions within the masses, Mao supported the position that revolution should be a natural process in which the people³⁸ can be trusted to strive for revolutionary goals because they are intrinsically socialist. For Mao, the communist party's role in the revolution is to support the masses rather than subordinate them. In other words, the communist party is a part of the people as opposed to Lenin's view where the party remained distinct from the people.

Since the Maoist model of revolution provides that revolutionary stimulation is not essential to a movement, this concept has remained a great ideological controversy among leftists. Mao is straightforward in presenting this position: "... that ideas for the revolution must originate from the masses who were participating in the

³⁸Baradat, Leon. p. 240.

revolution."³⁹ One may then begin to question that if the communist party plays a minimum role in subordinating the revolutionary movement what are the tasks of the communists in the revolutionary stages? The function of the communist party is the third major division between the Leninist and Maoist viewpoints.

Mao mainly confined the party's duties in the revolution to stages of strategic methodology. He stressed that "... first, revolutionary armed struggle can only be learned through practice. One's fighting ability increases through experience."⁴⁰ The conditions of success rely upon:

1. The population's support of the Red Army.
2. The terrain is favorable for operations.
3. All the main forces of the Red Army are concentrated.
4. The enemy's weak spots have been discovered.
5. The enemy has been reduced to a tiered and demoralized state.
6. The enemy has been induced to make mistakes.⁴¹

The disparity, then, between Mao's views on violence and Lenin's is that Mao supported terrorism's existence as

³⁹Beilenson, Lawrence. p. 202.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

central to revolutionary success. Moreover, Mao's views on the people's struggle viewed guerilla warfare as essential. Accordingly, guerilla warfare was Mao's subversion effort which served to replace an existing government. One author labels Mao's approach to war as the Maoist Mutation.⁴² At this point one must turn to the conclusion of this chapter, which attempts to piece together all these different views.

Conclusion

We primarily have first and above all other things attempted to stress in this chapter the divisions that have occurred in left-wing revolutionary theory from Marx to Mao. These divisions in theory have emphasized different approaches to conceptualizing revolution. Beginning with Marx, the revolutionary process was viewed historically and in his scenario of capitalism he maintained that the proletariat revolution is a natural process. In elaboration of what exactly is meant by a natural process to revolution, Marxism never associated the communist party with stimulating a revolutionary movement. The communist party's duties were, more or less, ensuring that under revolutionary circumstances they would encourage and assist the masses rather than subordinate them. When practical

⁴²Ibid.

application of Marxism began to occur, Lenin realized that in some cases the proletariat may not mobilize within a capitalist society. Lenin came to this conclusion not by a mere estimation of the circumstances but by the fact that the conditions necessary for revolution remain in flux. We may define the circumstances which may alter a Marxist revolution, in terms of Leninism, by stating that in some situations a proletariat class is not a majority group in society, hence, capitalism may not be determinant of a revolution if it does not exist. These very broad assertions about Leninism can be expounded upon by recognizing that when a proletariat class does not exist the peasant within a feudal society may become allies of the revolutionary movement. The peasant of a feudal society is often uneducated, not informed, and may not gain class consciousness, let alone rationalize revolutionary mobilization. Thus, the revolution must be managed and a distinct elitist group must stimulate the masses and subordinate the revolutionary movement. Revolution along the Maoist line is, theoretically speaking, a medium between the Marxist and Leninist positions.

The humanist approach to revolution attempts to link the communist party directly to the wants of the people. The communist party should not remain distinct from the people but rather the communist party and the people should work

toward revolutionary goals. Stimulation from the communist party in a revolutionary situation is obsolete in Maoism because the people are naturally motivated. We may question, then, the differences between the humanist approach to revolution and the spontaneity approach to revolution in terms of what really are the differences between these two theories. For the classical Marxist (or those supporting the conceptualization of spontaneous revolution) the communist party does not clearly divest itself from the movement until after the revolution. At that point, Marx asserts that the tasks of socialization should be underway and remain static until society dissolves into what Engels called, just the administration of things. The humanist approach to revolution does acknowledge the implications of the party's role in working together with the people toward revolutionary goals.

A Generalized Model

The relationship between Marx's thesis to Lenin and Mao's thesis is most obvious. Lenin and Mao revised Marxism in the light of the features in Marxism which were inapplicable to their nation. It was, then, not from a denial of Marxism that revisions were made but because such improvisations were essential to accommodate external

factors dictating their particular movement. We may illustrate this relationship more clearly in Appendix Three.

Appendix Three illustrates that the ideological input to the Bolshevik movement was orthodox Marxism. Revisions occurred in Marxism because the traditional left-wing views could not adjust to the external inputs determining the ideology of the Bolshevik movement. Culture, population, size, and class diversity were all components external to a revolutionary movement, such as the Bolshevik and people's revolutions, which demanded traditional beliefs to be altered. As a consequence, the Leninist and Maoist ideologies were a product of Marxism and national elements. From the manifestation of these new ideologies stemmed two antitheses to Marxism: (1) that class alignment with the communist party may not occur from the proletariat, and; (2) that the role of a communist party may differ depending upon external factors. These two components became synthesized into the belief system of the new left. Furthermore, conditions external to the new left's beliefs mandated even more revisions in left-wing ideology.

THE SECOND GENERATION:

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW LEFT, 1965 TO 1975

In this chapter we will see more clearly the evolution of violence in relationship to the class struggle. We will also concern ourselves with the implications of humanist, spontaneity, and the Marxist-Leninist ideologies in that they seem to merge into a new ideology bringing forth a new type of left-wing movement. The left-wing theorists which were selected for review are Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, Herbert Marcuse, and Jean Paul Sarte. Before proceeding into the discussion of these theorists' contributions to left-wing ideology, it is important to discuss why these individuals were selected for the study. In the case of Frantz Fanon, his theories have had more implications for the evolution of contemporary left-wing terrorism than perhaps any other individual. For one, Fanon concerned himself with the fight for freedom from the Algerians. The brutality exercised by the Algerians in their revolution for independence was so extensive that many individuals still write about it today.⁴³ Fanon's

⁴³Hutchingson-Crenshaw, Martha. "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Volume XVI, Number 3, p. 343-383.

theory on the decolonization process shows the rationale and reasoning behind the Algerian native's behavior. He also serves the purpose of illustrating why such behavior has become crucial to the revolutionary movements of today. The reasoning behind choosing Che Guevara is two-fold. First, Guevara was strongly influenced by the works of Fanon. In fact, Lowy contends that "... it is highly probable that Che knew and adopted (for his own revolutionary intentions) Frantz Fanon's violent indictment of the corruption of the new bourgeoisie of Africa."⁴⁴ Moreover, under Che's press command, Fanon's book, The Wretched of the Earth, would first be published in Cuba. A number of elements are also of similarity between the ideas of Fanon and Guevara. The most apparent similarity in their theories is their position on violence. Another crucial similarity, which also serves to infuse new ideological beliefs into the left-wing movement following the Algerian and Cuban revolutions, were Guevara's and Fanon's position on humanism. Following the discussion on the Cuban movement, the works of Herbert Marcuse will be reviewed. Marcuse in many ways is radically different from Fanon and Guevara; however, he is of importance to the left-wing movement in that from his writings stem the

⁴⁴Lowy, Michael. The Marxism of Che Guevara (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), p. 80.

direct rejection of the Soviet type of communism. Thus, his message to the new left is the denial of orthodox Marxist-Leninism. Last we will review the work of Sarte who may synthesize all the ideas of Fanon, Guevara, and Marcuse by suggesting a grander theory on violence and humanism. Before proceeding into this discussion it is crucial to provide the reader with a brief summary of the theories which inquire as to why a new left-wing ideology emerged.

Suggestions Explaining the Ideology of the New Left

Massimo Teodori, in his book, The New Left: A Documental History, summarizes several theses that plausibly explain left-wing behavior from an interdisciplinary perspective. While many of these theories have become outdated in the light of terrorist behavior, most are still strongly supported in the literature on political aggression. Moreover, most of these points Teodori proposes are concepts which are more descriptive of the left-wing movement in the United States. This, however, does not mean that these theories are totally inapplicable to international behavior especially since similar assertions have been made on the international level.

The first thesis Teodori offers which may explain left-wing behavior is the theory of nonconformity. Thus,

the individual desires revolution out of the rejection of lifestyle. In further support of this perspective is the "context in which both the economic system and social institutions gradually tend, explicitly or implicitly, to invade and define every aspect of a citizen's life, restricting the fundamental rights of self-realization, self-expression, and control over one's life."⁴⁵ However, because the system is increasingly liberalizing, the ability to meet human needs is much easier. As a consequence, then, the rejection of society compounded by new liberal tendencies provides anyone with ample opportunity to become radical. The second theory Teodori offers as explaining the ideology of the new left is attributed to the redistribution of power at all levels and to a different conception of the way society should be organized."⁴⁶ Thus, the ideology of the new left was a product of radicals deeming it essential to reform a technocratic system. The third thesis Teodori claims that could explain the transition of a new left-wing ideology is the need for a direct struggle. "The earlier faith in the application

⁴⁵Teodori, Massimo. New Left: A Documentary History. (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1969), p. 36-37.

⁴⁶Ibid.

of pressure to the liberal groups of the nation is replaced by direct action as the essential means of struggle and as the democratic model of political expression in the specific context of post-industrial society."⁴⁷ The ramifications of this are that the older types of coalitions give way to autonomous, and potentially radical groups. The fourth thesis that Teodori reports as explaining the evolution of a new left-wing ideology was the rejection of Marxism. As a consequence, radical groups were prone to maintain an organization praxis based upon the following criteria: "A) decentralization, B) a direct method of self-government, C) abolition of institutionalization, and D) non-exclusion."⁴⁸ The fifth thesis, quite similar to the fourth, which he argues is also plausible is the need for participatory reform. From Teodori's description of the ideology of the new left, we will consider the substantive elements of the new left's evolution from orthodox Marxism to factional splits in the seventies and to terrorism in the eighties. In order to complete this task it is essential to begin with the roots of theory which altered these changes. The works of Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, Herbert Marcuse, and Jean Paul Sarte will now be reviewed.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Frantz Fanon

Frantz Fanon wrote his most noted book, The Wretched of the Earth, during the Algerian revolution. In this book, Fanon views the problems confronting a socialist revolution in a colonized society. While Fanon's view of a socialist revolution is somewhat different from the views of the theorists presented in Chapter One, one may conclude that Fanon's perspective on violence, the class struggle, and his beliefs on the humanist school of thought is where his greatest divesture from orthodox Marxism occurs. Thus, in the sections to follow, each of these concepts will be reviewed.

Fanon on Violence

The role of violence in a struggle for decolonization and socialism is important to the whole conceptualization of Fanon's revolutionary message. Mainly, for Fanon, violence is essential in a revolution because it is the freedom of expression of a colonized people. To clarify what Fanon means by a freedom of expression it may be noted that he assumes that a colonized society is a coerced society. Individuals, therefore, have natural constraints placed upon them. The ramifications of these circumstances induces the individual to release himself, freely, under revolutionary conditions by the means of violence. Violence

is then the only possible freedom a colonized individual may acquire.⁴⁹

In his review of the colonized world one may not only witness coercion of freedom and individual rights but coercion according to Fanon also means in the most absolute sense. Here is where the baseline of Marx may be found in Fanon. While Marx did not argue that coercion alone was a force stimulating the proletariat's revolutionary behavior, he did believe that the totality of a capitalist society drove the proletariat to revolt. The theoretical similarity in Fanon and Marx is that both the colonized society and the capitalist society are such absolute forces that individuals are inspired to revolt against an already existing political system. It is this absolutism in a colonized society in which Fanon posed that a native will, indeed, revolt. Prior, however, to the native expressing violent revolutionary behavior he must become somewhat consciously aware of his colonized environment. Fanon illustrates an individual's conscious awareness in that it begins in the forms of hatred, envy, and jealousy towards the colonists who have taken away the fruits of the native's country. What leads one to conscious awareness in the native occurs in terms of emotionalism, Fanon's

⁴⁹Blackley, Robert, and Paynton, Clifford. Revolution and the Revolutionary Ideal. Cambridge: (Schenkman Publishing, 1976), p. 228.

contention that:

... it must begin in a man's dreams all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, and if possible, with his wife ... The colonized man is an envious man.⁵⁰

Unlike Mao, who portrayed the role of violence in only a strategic sense, Fanon attempts to link violence as a man's inherent behavior because he has been colonized, but also he recognizes the role of strategic importance violence may play. Before reviewing the implications violence has for a class struggle, we must first present how Fanon summarizes the class struggle in a third world country.

On the Class Struggle

Essentially, his point is that in the third world nations, where man has remained in tribes for the greater portion of history, a mother country's exploitation has alienated the individual even from his most natural surroundings, or what is left of his natural surroundings, since industrialization has occurred. As a result, Fanon's thesis becomes a revolutionary message in which he implies that in order to delete mass oppression from the native groups, decolonization must occur.

⁵⁰Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth, with an Introduction by Jean Paul Sarte (New York: Grove Press, 1966), p. 31.

Decolonization is defined as "... the meeting of two forces opposed to each other by their very nature which in fact owe their originality to that sort of substantiation which results from and is nourished by the situation in the colonies."⁵¹ The components of Fanon's class struggle appear obvious; they are the native and the settler. Here is where the major contradiction exists between Fanon's conceptualization of revolution and those discussed thus far: Marx always stressed the revolutionary alignment with an oppressed class. What does Fanon explicitly mean by a native? For example, is he implying whether a native is someone living in a country prior to imperialist exploitation or whether the native is actually a tribesman? The native to which Fanon refers is actually a native tribesman. This can be confirmed by Fanon's description of the native's form of worship:

... The native's emotional sensibility exhausts itself in dances which are more or less ecstatic.... One step further and you are completely possessed. In fact, these are actually organized seances of possession and exorcism; they include vampirism, possession by djjinias, by zombies and by Legba, the famous god of Voodoo.⁵²

It may be concluded that Fanon challenges the Marxist stand because Marxism endorses a specific class rather than

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

a type of person such as a native. Fanon further trespasses orthodox Marxism by the fact that members of the working class should not be included as an integrated force aligning with the revolutionary movement. The working class should be considered as part of the struggle for colonization because the proletariat survives by nourishing himself from the mother country's capital. One question should be apparent at this point. Why would Fanon ultimately reject the notion of a proletarian class struggle and support a type of person such as a native? Blackley and Paynton resolve this issue by contending that, specifically, neither Marx nor Lenin dealt with the question of race, probably because it never occurred to them.⁵³ Fanon took aspects of Marxism-Leninism and injected the notion of racism: "You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich."⁵⁴ From a demographical perspective, the native, then, to whom Fanon refers, is the black African tribesman. At this point, it is crucial to explain something which was discussed in the last section.

In the previous section on violence, a description was given of the natives' experiences which became their

⁵³Blackley and Paynton, p. 228.

⁵⁴Ibid.

predisposition for revolutionary behavior. What was intentionally excluded from this scenario was the ethnic difference between the native and the settler. The additional concept which one must conclude as a force of oppression is not only the coercion experienced by the native but also the racial discrimination which occurs in a colonized world. This, in effect, becomes the thrust of Fanon's antithesis when compared to the more traditional forms of Marxism which emphasize that a ruling class is the source of oppression rather than coercion from a mother country and racial discrimination. In summary, Fanon rejects the traditional theoretical components of a class struggle because, rather than suggesting a ruling elite stimulates oppression, he poses that a mother country stimulates oppression. Fanon further illuminates this point by characterizing a native as the oppressed individual as opposed to orthodox Marxism which views a proletariat as the oppressed class.

The Beginnings of a New Humanist School

What has been identified as the humanist school of thought in Chapter One was that a communist party's role in revolution is not of directly subordinating the masses. This is not to say that the humanist school does not identify with, nor impose, direct revolutionary stimulation to the

masses but rather that a communist party does not directly monopolize the people. Fanon never explicitly presents his opinions on this matter, but he does identify his revolutionary theory with humanism in a more direct sense. The role of the communist party in Fanon's book, The Wretched of the Earth, is never defined. By never identifying the decolonization process with a communist party, Fanon perceives that the individual may mobilize in a revolutionary situation through his own will. One question, then, arises as to how Fanon could causally explain the occurrences of revolution when the only source encouraging the revolutionary movement is the native himself. Since colonization was built upon a foundation of coercion, Fanon's view of the native's ability to mobilize in a revolutionary situation revolves around the cleansing effect violence has on a movement. The process of decolonization is the means through which the native omits the remnants of a coercive society. Because oppression in the colony is so massive, mobilization of the native through decolonization is only natural.

Thus, the native may be reliable and entrusted to become so violent that he can, in fact, mobilize and deter colonial aggression. By instilling such emotionalism in his concept colonization, Fanon makes the theoretical divisions between himself and Marx more evident. As

Blackley and Paynton contend, though, "Fanon wrote about revolutions more to encourage their occurrence in Africa rather than to analyze them."⁵⁵ His revolutionary philosophies stress the passion of man rather than the arousal of man by a communist party, or any individual for that matter. Essentially, this is the philosophy of humanism in violence which emerges from Fanon's work. Moreover, when comparing this philosophy to Mao's view of humanism, Fanon is much more abstract concerning the issue of what type of leadership should emerge. Why Fanon fails to associate the revolution in conjunction with a communist party is explained best by Lowy. Lowy contends that "Fanon's position is one where traditional forms of societies should be rejected altogether because not only did (he) wish to be free from capitalism but also from any institutionalized form of communism as well."⁵⁶

A Conclusion on Fanon

Fanon's theories on society in a colonized world are so abstract that they border on nebulous. Yet, Stevenson points out that a common characteristic of the existentialist movement is that the existentialists may

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Lowy, p. 9.

"omit all metaphysical truths about the universe."⁵⁷ It is from this existentialist perspective that one may view the evolution of a new left-wing theme. This theme suggests that abstractness of a new political society which is based on a revolution and socialism but rejects the dogmatism associated with Marxism. When Fanon describes the revolutionary situation it is under circumstances which omit explaining the involvement of a communist party. When Fanon describes the conditions of a political society, he bases his new society of socialism but rejects the bureaucracy of socialism which has been evidenced in Soviet politics. One revolutionary who was closely associated with Fanon, and will be discussed in the next section, is Che Guevara.

The Cuban Revolutionary Movement

The character of the Cuban revolution is often portrayed by various authors differently. This problem naturally complicates attempts to interpret the course of events which prompted the movement. For example, Blackley and Paynton contend that "... practically from its inception the nature of the Cuban Revolution has been cause for dispute among observers."⁵⁸ Several reasons

⁵⁷Stevenson, Thomas. The Great Philosophers (New York: Bantam Books, 1976), p. 76.

may be provided as to why the Cuban movement is difficult to interpret. The first reason is that there has been no clear-cut picture as to whether "...it was a peasant revolution, or a worker's revolution, or a middle class revolution."⁵⁹ The second suggestion as to why literature on the Cuban movement is clouded with ambiguity is that it was both a political and cultural revolution. By this one may imply that mobilization of the class forces occurred from a rejection of the Batista regime rather than some type of ruling class. The cultural implications prompting the movement appeared to have been associated with the lack of education, individual development, and social confinement the Batista dictatorship strongly imposed upon the Cuban citizen. What serves to further complicate matters is that the Cuban movement was a revolution with a left-wing issue base, but it was not a Marxist revolution until after the seizure of the state. The question then arises as to who fabricated the basis of the left-wing ideology in the Cuban movement? Che Guevara was certainly the man who enriched the left-wing ideology of the Cuban revolution. To understand revolution in Cuba, it is imperative to review Guevara's contributions to the

⁵⁹Ibid.

movement: his conceptualization of the class struggle, guerilla warfare, and his views on humanism.

The Class Struggle

To explain Guevara's theory on the class struggle one must first begin by asserting his perspective of a third world country. In his article titled "Cuban Exceptionalism," Che refers to the conditions of a third world nation as "Latinfundism." The definition of Latinfundism is basically the underdevelopment of a third world country:

...A dwarf with an enormous head and a swollen chest is underdevelopment inasmuch as his weak legs or short arms do not match the rest of his anatomy. This is really what we are—we who are politically referred to as 'undeveloped' but in truth are colonial, semicolonial, or dependent countries. We are countries whose economies have been twisted by imperialism.⁶⁰

From Guevara's statement, one would deduce that the main force of oppression in a third world nation is imperialism.

Similar to Fanon, it is apparent Guevara refers to no specific class in relationship to the struggle but rather his revolutionary reference group is, in general, the people. This generalization of a people's movement becomes refined by Guevara in that those who may become identified with the movement are those who are in "hunger" of evolutionary socialization. Guevara defines the people's

⁶⁰Guevara, Che. "Cuban Exceptionalism." Che Guevara Speaks. Ed. by George Lavan (New York: Grove Press, 1967), p. 31.

hunger as those weary of the wretched selling of their labor day after day.⁶¹ Joseph Hansen, in his book, The Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution, carefully analyzes the Cuban movement and concludes that the revolutionary alignment to Castro first found support through the Cuban student groups. According to Hansen, "... it was a revolutionary youth movement much closer to the campus in the beginning than to either the factories or the fields, although later it became powerful under the influence of the poorest peasants and agricultural workers."⁶² It is crucial to point out that Guevara's theory of the class struggle consisted of an oppressed student alliance with agrarian workers. Moreover, between Guevara's theory of the class struggle in Latin America and Fanon's conceptualization of struggle in a colonized world there exists a parody. The similarity between the two is that while Fanon's scenario of colonization recognizes the oppressed individual, which is the native, Guevara revises this analysis further by not specifically supporting one class or person. Rather the class struggle consists of anyone who is dictated by the forces that are most prone to suppress in a colonized or dependent country.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Hansen, Joseph. Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution: A Trotskyist View. (New York: Pathfinders Press, 1978), p. 262.

The ramifications of this, plus a country's indigenous national development, make it unlikely that any individual can be categorized as a specific revolutionary. A native, student, farmer, proletarian, and other individual may then be considered an element of the revolutionary movement. Dubiously, one must then question how class consciousness could begin to occur among such a diverse set of people, especially since many of these types of individuals are, first, perhaps a small segment of society and, second, people who have vastly different characteristics. This question is resolved by Guevara's realization that all these individuals do, indeed, have one trait in common: the objective conditions for struggle are provided by the people's hunger, their reaction to that hunger, the terror unleashed to crush the people's reaction, and the wave of hatred that repression creates.⁶³

Once these conditions are met, the armed struggle may begin to occur and guerilla warfare should begin. Before proceeding into the next section on guerilla warfare, one major concept must be considered concerning Guevara's review of a class struggle. Guevara was a strong supporter of defining the revolutionary vanguard's role in the struggle. His sentiments toward whether or not revolution

⁶³Guevara, Che. p. 33.

should be directly subordinated or simply awaited appear to lean towards orthodox Leninism:

To act on the pretext that conditions are not yet mature, Che stressed that the Marxist parties cannot await with folded arms the emergences of all the objective and subjective conditions necessary for power to fall in the people's hands.⁶⁴

Thus, Che provides us with a notion similar to Lenin in that, in many countries, revolution cannot be awaited because it is likely that individuals who are so oppressed may never spontaneously mobilize.

His Thesis on Guerilla Warfare

Guerilla warfare reflects the oppressed individual's self determination, revolutionary success, and expression for freedom. It may be viewed to manifest itself in two stages. The first stage which Guevara explains as the conditions that occur prior to revolutionary action: the people's hunger. The second stage is the actual guerilla fight which Guevara implies is the people's struggle. Guevara's portrayal of guerilla warfare is similar to Fanon's concept of freedom of expression in that both recognize violence as the people's expression in the movement and, second, that they both also realize the strategic importance of violence. However, Guevara is often much

⁶⁴Lowy, p. 20.

more prone to treat the analysis of violence in greater detail. For example, in one of his pieces, Guevara gives a detailed comparative assessment of why violence is necessary. When he reviews the reasons that should determine why violence is essential to a revolution he comes to two conclusions. The first is something mentioned earlier in that violence is necessary because it is a form of expression for liberation of the people. His second perspective on violence is one which treats the topic as a natural historical involvement of an exploited society. This view assumes that as long as man exploits, revolution is inevitable. Moreover, "we should not be afraid of violence because it is the midwife of new societies."⁶⁵

From this, Guevara arrives at his thesis on why socialism is not achievable through peaceful coexistence. He further implies that in terms of historical importance in relationship to carrying out an armed struggle, "to repudiate civil war, or forget about it, would be sinking into extreme opportunism."⁶⁶ Yet one must take into consideration that the bourgeoisie tendencies of a third world country will always promote a peaceful compromise under revolutionary conditions. Guevara contemplates this issue only to resolve it by clarification that the enemy will

⁶⁵Guevara, Che. "Guerilla Warfare a Method." Che Guevara Speaks. Ed. by George Lavan (New York, 1967), p. 80.

⁶⁶Ibid.

always attempt to maintain power. As a result, it is crucial never to reach a consensual medium with the enemy because his desire to avoid force is only a facade; later he may perhaps declare violent measures to secure his position. By omitting a peaceful compromise with enemy forces, "... it appears without disguise, that is to say, in its true aspect as a violent dictatorship of the revolutionary classes, will contribute to its unmasking, and this will deepen the struggle."⁶⁷ Related to his position on revolutionary violence are his views on humanism.

Revolutionary Humanism

Guevara's notion of humanism focuses on the conditions of the third world. This relationship between third world conditions and revolutionary humanism can be witnessed throughout his writings. Like Fanon, Guevara argues that "above all, (such) revolutionary humanism finds expression in his conception of men, of the revolution in his communication, ethics, and his virtues."⁶⁸ Lowy additionally associates the common denominator between the humanism expressed by Fanon and Guevara "as precisely the love for man which is conceived in Marxism, it was love

⁶⁷Ibid, p. 82.

⁶⁸Lowy, p. 17.

for man which is conceived in Marxism, it was love for man, for humanity, the desire to combat misery, injustice, and all the exploitation suffered."⁶⁹ Yet, Guevara's terms of humanism are also more specific concerning the will of the people in relationship to a communist party when compared to Fanon who omits such suggestions. Moreover, Guevara also incorporates in his view of humanism the relationship between violence and freedom. By doing this, one may distinguish that violence was, too, for Guevara, an expression of an individual who had been long oppressed. Our discussion of revolutionary humanism will now turn to Herbert Marcuse, whose theories deal with the concept in a more central way.

Herbert Marcuse

Marcuse is one of the few left-wing philosophers who extensively discussed the characteristics of post-industrial society, the class struggle during the age of post-industrialization, and the possibility of revolution occurring in a developed nation. Because his conceptualization of a revolutionary situation dealt with post-industrial society, many of those that have found the credence in his philosophy were from America, France,

⁶⁹Ibid.

Germany, and Britain. Another interesting point about Marcuse is that he was more concerned with industrialization, rather than colonization, dependency, or third world conditions, which, therefore, makes his analysis more relevant to a variety of issues and people. Each of the sections that follow, then, will review Marcuse's more renowned theories: that of one dimensional man and that of revolution.

One Dimensional Man and Revolution

One Dimensional Man was published in 1964. In this book, Marcuse offers two hypotheses which largely occupy the greatest center of his concentration. First, advanced industrial society is capable of blocking any qualitative change for the foreseeable future. Second, the forces and tendencies capable of exploiting the society also exist.⁷⁰ Thus, Marcuse evaluates the circumstances of contemporary society, from the perspective of Marxism, and also taking into consideration the conditions of post-industrial society. Marcuse begins the thrust of this argument by evaluating the social conditions of industrialized man. Unlike class struggles of previous times where one group is at an absolute disadvantage, the industrial man is

⁷⁰Mark, Robert. The Meaning of Marcuse. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), p. 67.

an individual who has experienced no great socioeconomic disparity. He is consumed into, and by, the forces of dialectic materialism. While Marx views an oppressed class separated from the forces dictating dialectic materialism, Marcuse views all men internal to the material development of industrialized society. The industrial man, who unlike a proletarian, becomes an integrated part of industrialization. He accepts his role in society and he identifies with his culture. Since industrialized man has recognized and accepted advanced society, he has left himself no rational choice other than perpetuating the technological cycle. According to Marcuse, "the people recognize themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobile, hi-fi set, split level home, and kitchen equipment."⁷¹ Thus, Marcuse entertains one with the notion that the worker's acceptance of society's advancement, and interaction with it, as a consumer, worker, or even within the family circle, has become inseparable from industrialization. The ramifications of this are that no alternatives for the individual exist in industrialized society because, "the refusal to go along with this pattern labels you as neurotic and impotent."⁷² This brings forth an important point toward understanding Marcuse when

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

compared to Marx. In the Marxist analysis, the oppressed individual is excluded from society and as a result he becomes alienated. In Marcuse's conceptualization of industrialization the opposite actually occurs. That is, in post-industrialized society there is no distinction between men in that all classes seek to reap the benefits of industrialization. Because all men are caught up in the industrial cycle, man finds no alternative course. Thus, alienation occurs in society because all men are generic. Marcuse takes this analysis and not only applies it to society in general but extends it to portray the scenario in the workplace also. According to Robert W. Marks, "The slaves of industrial society, are subliminal slaves."⁷³ Moreover, with the contemporary emphasis on management, conscious awareness of the individual's choice of conditions may never prevail since the "... tangible source of exploitation disappears behind the facade of objective rationality."⁷⁴ The hierarchy of management positions serve to further deprive one of their specific targets.⁷⁵ Yet, it is this conceptualization of man in society which permits Marcuse to go beyond the theoretical limits of any other left-winged philosopher discussed

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid.

this far. By implying this, it is essentially meant that Marcuse's view of industrialization rejects both American capitalism and Soviet communism because these societies have taken a one-dimensional view: industrial advancement. While Marcuse's views on society remain distinct from Fanon and Guevara's, many of his ideas on revolution are similar. Marcuse's view on revolution, by and large, serves to combine the ideas of Fanon and Guevara. Here, essentially, Marcuse brings forth readily the problem in Marxism in that, within contemporary society, the "working class shares the pattern of the dominant classes."⁷⁶ "Moreover, without a break with the present content of needs, revolution is inconceivable."⁷⁷ Thus, it is revolution from Marcus's analysis that supports the position of any oppressed class aligning with the revolutionary movement. While Marcuse never mentions the conditions of a colonized society or revolutionary alignment with a native individual, it is apparent he supports the notion that revolution "requires the emergence of a new type of man."⁷⁸ Yet, Marcuse, similar to Guevara, presupposes that this new type of man may be located within the student population. Marcuse defends this stand when he

⁷⁶Ibid, p. 92.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

contends "the students are as yet uncommitted to the aims and repression of the establishment."⁷⁹ While a purely student revolutionary movement is not likely to occur, Marcuse asserts one other revolutionary alliance is probable:

Underneath the conservative popular base is the substratum of the outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and the persecuted of other races and colors, the unemployed and the unemployable. They exist outside the democratic process ... thus their opposition is revolutionary.⁸⁰

Therefore, Marcuse does not find it crucial to address the dubious role of the working man as the mainstream of revolutionary beliefs. Interesting enough, he never addresses the role of a communist party in a revolutionary movement. Nor does Marcuse believe that conscious conditions of today's man will ever manifest. Yet, some individuals may perceive the need for change which may encourage their insurgency behavior. Traces of insurgent action on the individual level may, then, stimulate the adequate revolutionary conditions. While Marcuse's theory on One Dimensional Society is profoundly different from those theories of the third world, Sarte attempts to link together all the concepts suggested by each of these individuals.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

Jean Paul Sarte

Jean Paul Sarte was the mentor for Fanon, Guevara, and, to some degree, Marcuse. Sarte's importance to the left-wing movement extends beyond in that he encouraged three major revolutions in our time: that of Algeria, that of Vietnam, and that of Cuba. Despite the great diversity between the groups which would come to adopt Sarte's philosophical viewpoints, two ideas are central to most of these revolutionary group's perspectives. The first significant contribution in which Sarte provides the new left with is the conceptualization of humanism. Moreover, his notion of humanism is interrelated to a second, and more important theoretical component in which he provides, and that is his explicit concern for violence within the revolutionary movement.

The Humanistic Approach

The theme of humanism is something that has continuously been discussed throughout this text. However, it should be evident in this chapter that the concept of humanism assumes another dimension when considered by those who assert the humanistic view in terms of violence. This new dimension, thus, not only defines revolution in terms of a "people's revolution," but it seeks to identify with any masses of revolutionary individuals who are oppressed. By

our implying this, the term humanism used in Chapter Two consists of two components at the grassroots level. The first component of humanism is found in Maoism and in his conclusion that oppressed individuals need not be stimulated by a communist party. This view further extends itself by identifying the communist party as a product of the people's beliefs and where the people, then, are the sole component of dictating the type of revolution, society, and ideas which emerges. Here is where the foundations of the new left's humanist philosophy begins in that a people's revolution does not discriminate; the role of the communist party is minimal and there is no specific prerequisite, other than the oppressed individual, to serve as the basis for a revolutionary alliance. The second dimension of humanism which is first identified with the works of Sartre, is his attempt to take this perspective posed one step further. By doing this, Sartre views humanism from a standpoint which supports any oppressed class. Moreover, Sartre does not extensively or even explicitly conceptualize any portion of a revolutionary movement in relation to a communist party. Rather, those individuals fighting oppression determine the course of a revolution only through the means of violence. This is how Fanon and Guevara arrived at their conclusions on violence.

Sarte argues that the oppressed individual not only resorts to violence as a means of revolutionary determination but it also serves to become a token of expression exemplifying the oppressed one's self confinement. As a result, "violence is presented as the act of human self creation."⁸¹ A vivid example of this notion is presented by Sarte in his introduction in The Wretched of the Earth:

This new man begins his life as a man at the end of it; he considers himself as a potential corpse. He will be killed; not only does he accept this risk, he's sure of it.⁸²

Humanism from Sarte's conceptualization can be summarized as two-fold: there is the implication of violence as a revolutionary means and there is a second notion that violence permits man to express himself in the movement. Another contribution which Sarte supplies the new left is his ability to tie together the critical ingredients Marcuse provides interwoven within the conceptualization of humanism. This infamous argument against Marxism is evidenced in his sentiments concerning revolution on a material basis.

For Sarte the oppressed individual is one who only identifies himself with the world. Sarte's view on oppression is "the revolutionary, who defines himself in relation to the world which oppresses him, "does not even

⁸¹Sarte in Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth, p. 27.

⁸²Ibid; p. 27.

imagine any longer the possibility of getting out of the world, for he has given himself the type of existence of the rock."⁸³ Thus, Sarte clearly rejects that an individual's subjective conditions, whatever they may be (capitalism or communism) are the forces of oppression. In addition, Sarte does not believe that such oppression is enough to crystallize a revolutionary movement, neither should it be the catalyst of any insurgent behavior. Rather, Sarte supported that the individual's need for freedom would be the driving force of any revolutionary movement. By implying this, Sarte rejects Marx's metaphysical materialism.⁸⁴ Sarte then goes beyond Marx by asserting that the revolution should not become so associated with worldly conditions such as oppression because "... the revolutionary who defines himself by the conditions of oppression mistakenly takes these conditions as belonging to the world in itself."⁸⁵ In Sarte's conceptualization, revolution should be viewed as the omission of all things associated with the world. Now we turn to a synthesis of this chapter.

⁸³Lawler, James. The Existentialist Marxism of Jean Paul Sarte. (New York: B. R. Gruner Publishing, 1976), p. 20.

⁸⁴Ibid, p. 169.

⁸⁵Ibid, p. 100.

New Left Ideology

This chapter began by reviewing the works of Fanon, Guevara, Marcuse, and Sarte. It is clear that the second generation left-wing theorists have had numerous things in common. First, they have rejected American capitalism and Soviet communism. Second, they have accepted and extended an argument which offers a philosophy on humanism. Third, they have encouraged violent behavior. Fourth, they have no longer viewed revolution in dogmatic party terms. Finally, they have synthesized the orthodox perspective on Marxism into their own ideological composition which reflects their national and international situations. These five similarities will briefly be presented in the following overview.

The first similarity each theorist has had in common is that they have all rejected American capitalism and Soviet communism (in theory). Fanon denied a positive identification with the United States and the Soviet Union since they both were exploitive of the third world. It was Guevara who would later expound upon the notion of exploitation in the third world and relate it to the South American problem. Marcuse, however, did not reject American capitalism and Soviet communism on the grounds of how they have perpetrated various countries. Marcuse's denial of orthodox communism and American capitalism stems

from the fact that there is little disparity in the ideology of either the Americans or Russians because both have concentrated their beliefs and future on technology and industrialization. All of these arguments become closely intertwined with the second commonality, on humanism, between these theorists.

In all the theories discussed, humanism seems to be a conceptual argument posed by each author. For Fanon and Guevara, humanism found its way in theory as part of an integral concept which justifies resorting to revolutionary violence. In the light of Guevara and Fanon's view, humanism is the expression of freedom for a people who have suffered from the wrath of imperialism. Similar to the perspectives proposed by Guevara and Fanon was Sarte's outlook on humanism. To illustrate Sarte's view on humanism the following sentence from The Wretched of the Earth pinpoints his perspective: "You said they understand nothing but violence? Of course; first, the only violence is the settler's; but soon they will make it their own."⁸⁶ Thus, for Sarte, his sentiments on humanism were bound with his sympathy of understanding the coercion of a colonized nation. The settler who forcefully takes a native's country is responsible for the native's display of violence during the revolution for decolonization. Because Marcuse

⁸⁶Fanon, Frantz. p. 20.

never addressed the conditions of the third world, his perspective on humanism differs quite radically. Traces of humanism in Marcuse's book, One Dimensional Man, are found within his expression for those who have suffered the most from post-industrialization. Marcuse refers to the blacks, the unemployed, and the students, all of whom are coerced in a manner where their ideas must be stifled lest they wish to suffer from being excluded from the generic society. Elements of the humanist philosophy as expressed by each of these theorists has obviously illustrated no separation from the former in relationship to violence. The fourth similarity, then, is violence.

The importance of violence in a struggle was viewed, foremost, as a theory in which the final expression of any one group in society which has been under suffrage for long durations of time should resort to insurgent behavior. This point is perhaps emphasized more consistently throughout most of each writer's work as opposed to the strategic role violence may play. The fourth similarity is each theorists' agreement on the rejection of dogma in a revolutionary struggle.

The rejection of dogma, or orthodox Marxism, did in most instances occur out of the need to synthesize past belief components into a national or international scope in accordance with the problems each author was addressing.

For Sarte, Fanon, and Guevara, the rejection of dogma was necessary for socialism's success in the third world. Fanon would directly address this, and justify the revisionist approach by stating that every time a problem is dealt with the Marxist question must be revised. For Marcuse, a rejection of dogma was essential because both the ideologies associated with the United States and the Soviet Union had essentially become undistinguishable by the fact that both societies believe in and live for technological advancement. It is these common denominators in ideology which produced a third generation of left-wing groups and such groups would become known to the world as terrorists.

Before turning to the next chapter, on terrorism, we will briefly review how the arrival of the new left's ideology occurred (see Appendix Four). Appendix Four illustrates that the factors contributing to the new left's ideology were the proponents of orthodox Marxism and the external conditions which warranted a change in orthodox Marxism. Thus, the external characteristics of a country called for each philosopher to view the specific problems of his nation in terms of a synthesis of the Marxist, Leninist, and Maoist analyses. By doing this, each philosopher extracted the applicable components of the traditional beliefs and synthesized them in accordance with

national problems. Those problems relevant to a country which were not addressed by either Marx, Lenin, or Mao, often made it essential that a possible antithesis would be provided. Fanon's suggestion that the native is a proponent of the revolutionary movement rather than the proletariat, totally defies Marxism and is an illustration of an antithesis. Yet, Marx never provided any comments on third world socialism. Therefore, Fanon's antithesis opposing orthodox Marxism was out of necessity to deal with the conditions of colonization. Chapter Three will attempt to carry this analysis toward a typology of the ideology of left-wing terrorist groups.

A PROPOSED TYPOLOGY

Chapter One began by reviewing the early works of contemporary left-wing theory, including Marxism, Maoism, and Leninism. Chapter Two reviewed the works of some revisionists and we concluded that ideology has taken a new direction beginning with these revisionists. In Chapter Three the ideological nature of the left-wing terrorist group will be discussed. Since the literature available on terrorism rarely attempts to associate left-wing terrorist groups with their ideology, this chapter aims toward an original conceptualization of events which have occurred up to this point, and the development of a typology of left-wing terrorist groups. Most of the ideas in this chapter will draw heavily upon the work of the previous two chapters and what has been learned from the theories that have been discussed. At this point, it is important to present the arguments opposite to the one which will be posed. We begin, then, by reviewing briefly two of the classical viewpoints which are often cited throughout works on left-wing terrorism.

Of the many individuals who study political violence, most define terrorism as irrational. Irrationality usually means that terrorism is extranormal and obscure. Consensus is apparent within both the study of terrorism,

specifically, and political violence, in general, in that most arguments suggest that any aggressive behavior which deviates from the norm of regimental forms of behavior are irrational actions carried out by an insurgent for one reason or another. While this definitional perspective never explicitly refers to terrorist action as nonideological, one must assume this sentiment is often implicit in such an argument. Two of the most popular, however, outdated sources which take this position are Hannah Adrendt's, On Violence, and Ayn Rand's book, The New Left. The point of Rand, like Adrendt, is that those who engage in insurgent measures through a means of terrorism are barbaric:

In exactly the same way, for the same reasons, the unspeakable little drugged monstrosities who resort to violence--and who have progressed, with significant opposition, from sit-ins to arson to such an atrocity as mass terrorization and the bombing of public places--should be treated as the criminals that they are, and not as political dissenters.⁸⁷

On the other hand, Adrendt attempts to present one with an argument filled with irony. Clearly the following statement illustrates this: "... but it is true that the strong fraternal sentiments collective violence engenders has mislead many good people into the hope that a new

⁸⁷Rand, Ayn. The New Left: The Anti-Industrial Revolution. (New York: New American Library, 1971), p. 100.

community together with a new man 'will arise out of it.'"⁸⁸ While both Adrendt's and Rand's positions on violence are somewhat plausible, the authors appear to have missed the point concerning the ideological necessity for the left-wing movement to resort to violence. Thus, the argument presented in this chapter maintains that views similar to Rand's and Adrendt's are shortsighted in that their research endeavors do not look beyond the face value of the terrorist act itself. Nor do such views provide a perspective on the intrinsic value of violence in relation to ideology. In order to substantiate our position we will present the ideological evolution of how and why terrorism has become a rational method for the left-wing terrorist group. To conceptualize this more clearly, we have developed a model which determines the ideological input of terrorist behavior.

Appendix Five illustrates how and why terrorism has come to be a necessity in the left-wing movement. Looking at the right side of the illustration, the first beginnings of the ideological input are identified. Humanism, subordination, and orthodox Marxism all serve to become the baseline of ideology for terrorist groups. In other words, the premises of a left-wing terrorist group's behavior will always be

⁸⁸Adrendt, Hannah. On Revolution. (New York: Viking, 1963), p. 69.

influenced by the works of Marx, Mao, and Lenin, in that all groups strive for a socialist society which Marx proposed, and today most revolutions occur in countries where there exists no large proletarian class which became the component of the Leninist-Maoist argument. It is also noted in the illustration that the inputs of a terrorist group's behavior are also affected, then, by the ideology of the new left. The new left-wing movement dealt with the problems not found in the Marxist, Leninist, or Maoist ideologies. Their input has been integrated with terrorism in that the new leftists' position permits alterations in tradition and suggests that one may behave according to the conditions of an environment whether it be colonization, imperialism, capitalism, Soviet socialism, or whatever force is determining oppression. Conditions, then, of the leftists' external environment allow a logical and reasonable explanation that violence, guerilla warfare, and the rejection of dogma are the only plausible means in which socialism is achievable. While this model may explain the course of events which enabled terrorism to develop ideologically it is not feasibly applicable to all cases. Fault may be found in this model in that it assumes that all groups are homogeneous, in the sense that all groups are determined by the same inputs, and that each terrorist group is the same, acts the same, and believes the same. Yet it is from the generalized model that we can

deduce some more specific types of terrorism. The typology on the following page lists the categories for three distinctive terrorist ideologies which are: groups which may be classified as a mixed ideologue, a problematic ideologue, and a subordinate ideologue.

The Mixed Ideologue

One type of terrorist group which is believed to have emerged can be characterized as a faction which represents both the orthodox left-wing ideology and the new left-wing ideology. Some may question exactly why this presupposition is arrived at since many contend that the new left is a rejection of the old left. Indeed, this is true if one looks at the beginnings of new-left ideology and, therefore, the relationship between the orthodox left and the new left must be probed. The suggestion that a mixed ideologue is a product of all types of ideologies, can attempt to be supported by the argument that his belief system has come to exist through a process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. In order to clarify just how this conclusion is derived, one must refer back to the original works of Marx and trace the relationship that should be apparent from the previous chapters.

In this conceptualization of the mixed ideologue, it is obvious that a left-wing terrorist still seeks the basis of Marxism and that is a communal society. Yet, it is

TABLE ONE

	CIRCUMSTANCES	IDEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION	EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT
MIXED IDEOLOGUE	Revolution exists.	Orthodox Beliefs, New Left Beliefs, and National Association	Third world country, and underdeveloped. No middle or working class dominates the political scene.
PROBLEMATIC IDEOLOGUE	Quasi Revolutionary conditions.	Orthodox Beliefs, New Left Beliefs, and National Association	Developed nation. characterized by some industrialization, and a middle class. Yet, oppression exists.
SUBORDINATE IDEOLOGUE	Revolution is unlikely.	Orthodox Beliefs, especially characterized by a strong association with Leninism.	Developed nation of highest order. Highly industrialized and influenced by the western culture. The working class is not deprived. Nor is it oppressed.

unlikely that all countries can have the potential for a socialist revolution since a proletarian class may be omitted. Lenin argued that a proletarian revolution is not likely in such cases. From this thesis, Lenin creates the notion that revolutionary alignment with the majority of society's members is permissible. Mao then synthesizes the components of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and offers a new antithesis. Mao's antithesis conceptualizes revolution, not in terms of a class specification, but rather in terms of the people's revolution. The people's revolution suggests that any individual under the force of whatever oppressor prevails is a component of the revolutionary movement.

Fanon synthesized and integrated Marxist socialism with the Leninist-Maoist notion of rejecting the proletariat as the revolutionary base. Fanon additionally provides an antithesis which expounds upon this position in that in a colonized society there exists no bourgeoisie, proletarian, or peasant class. Instead, the situation in Algeria finds the oppressed man to be the native individual. Because the native individual has been so coerced, due to suppression and racial discrimination, extreme violence is his only recourse to express the endurance of colonization. Guevara clarifies this thesis only to add that not only is violence the sole means to carry out a revolutionary movement; guerilla techniques illuminate even more the

individual's freedom of expression and at the same time is also of strategical importance to the revolutionary course. Marcuse and Sarte further serve to illustrate the mainstream of the new left ideology.

Marcuse and Sarte both have agreed a socialist society is the nearest perfection of man's existence in a community; however, their antithesis is that as long as man exists struggle will always prevail if he identifies himself with the world. It is from the synthesis of these components that the ideology of mixed ideologue was arrived at in this typology. Given that this group's belief system exists as a composite of many synthesized beliefs, one would anticipate that he, too, has become a part of this revisionist course. In other words, he has synthesized all past beliefs and accepts them. However, his external environment demands that he provide his own antithesis, which would adjust the philosophy of others in order to meet the indigenous features of his country and movement. From this it can be further inferred that in order for a group to be categorized as a mixed ideologue several other conditions would have to be sufficed. First, they would be engaged in an actual revolution. This assumption may be supported since it is rather conclusive that revolutionary circumstances usually prompt a group to provide an alteration of past beliefs. Second, revisions in Marxism usually occur in nations which are underdeveloped

or third world. The third expectation which would further serve to support that the mixed ideologue is from the heritage of the third world is that groups from developing nations would probably more strongly associate themselves with orthodox Marxism (this will be explained in the section on the subordinate ideologue). Another type of terrorist group in which we believe to exist is the problematic ideologue.

The Problematic Ideologue

The problematic ideologue is similar to the mixed ideologue. Yet, this group has been referred to as problematic for two specific reasons. First, they basically have the same belief system as the mixed ideologue, however, two conditions made a changeable difference in this group's behavior: mainly, they are not involved in a day-to-day revolutionary situation and, secondly, a difference exists in this group's external environment; they are more likely to reside in a developed nation.

The Subordinate Ideologue

The third category of terrorist groups includes those groups which can be identified as subordinate ideologues. The subordinate ideologue is a perplexing group. At a first glance, one would almost contend that their ideology

stemmed from irrationality, dictated by utopian idealistic dreams. Yet, contemplating their behavior and evaluating the conditions which surround them assists one in understanding the manifestation of their ideology. Because revolution does not exist, nor is likely to occur in their country, their ideology would stem more from Leninism. By this it is meant that the masses of industrialized society are not extensively oppressed and, therefore, the subordinate ideologue's behavior is viewed as actions which should serve to stimulate revolutionary class mobilization. Moreover, groups fitting this description know that the working class in a developed country, especially a democracy, would not revolt on their own behalf.

Instead of analyzing the characteristics common to terrorist groups, their behavior, and their ideas, which is rather confusing, we have looked at all the possible effects that altered ideology in the past chapters and assumed these factors would be relevant to the ideology of the left-wing terrorist. It would be nearly impossible to distinguish all terrorists' ideologies since the nature of terrorism is so multifaceted. Yet, the difficulty of determining left-wing terrorist ideology lies not in asserting that these types of ideologies exist among terrorist groups, but rather in applying the typological categorizations to insure their accuracy.

A Methodological Note

This chapter began by offering a typology. By no means do we wish to assert a hypothesis and test it. However, what we wish to do is evaluate the criteria of our typology in Appendix Five and the theoretical propositions posed from it. Thus, there are precisely two perspectives of what is being evaluated. In the light of the presupposed model we are evaluating the criteria of it. On a substantive level, we are also attempting to see if we can describe three example groups (Al Fatah, the IRA, and the Baader Meinhoff gang) as members of each of the three types.

In the first case analysis, on the mixed ideologue, the typology is applied to Al Fatah. The selection of the group Al Fatah was germane to this analysis for several reasons. Mainly, a group was needed whose environment fit the criteria of the model. Many groups could have sufficed but we felt that Al Fatah is probably one of the most commonly known groups engaging in a struggle for liberation. Not only is Al Fatah important, in the popular sense, but this group has come to dominate a great deal of talk with respect to how to deal with terrorist policy. In the case of focusing on the Irish movement, the IRA is of pertinence to this study for its great historical significance in that it is the longest standing terrorist movement in a

non-third world setting. The other movement which will be evaluated according to the criteria of the model is the German terrorist movement of the seventies and eighties. The Baader Mainhoff Gang was chosen for two purposes: first, the author wanted a left-wing movement representing the continent of Europe; and, second, a movement which was active and existing in a capitalist country was needed to fit the criteria of being a subordinate ideologue. Those ingredients which compose of this typology have been discussed. Now one must turn to the question of how to lay out a framework in which to concisely illustrate and apply the typological model. In order to completely assess this typology, the external environment and the ideological input, which are both components of the typology, will be discussed under the subheading which will follow under each typological category. This analysis will begin with the first typological category.

The Mixed Ideologue

A group whose ideology is a composition of various beliefs like Al Fatah would, according to the typology, essentially be a part of the revisionist mainstream. The unique feature, which probably attributes greatly to any left-wing group's revisionist approach, is that the conditions of their external environment demand alterations from those philosophies. Moreover, conditions in the third

world are also so diverse that neither orthodox Marxism or the new philosophy of the left-wing movement in the seventies would not be totally adequate belief components because each third world country is confronted with a different problem. This is certainly the case with Al Fatah, which makes a discussion of their ideology alone irrelevant without considering the problems associated with their external environment.

An Assessment of Mixed Ideologue's External Environment:
The Al Fatah Case

Several components of a group's external environment were posed to be determinant of their ideology in the typological model. Those components indigenous to a group's ideology because of their external environment were: first, there would have to exist some type of class struggle in a third world country which would cause a particular type of revolution; and second, because revolution in the third world is unique to each nation's problems, left-wing beliefs must always be revised. Moreover, in order for a terrorist group to become a political success, oppression of the masses would have to be widespread. This would essentially enable a terrorist group to form some type of popular support. In asking the question what characteristics make the Palestinian movement unique for determining Al Fatah's ideology and whether there exists oppression among

the Palestinian people several answers may be provided.

The genesis of the Middle East conflict began to occur as early as November 2, 1917.⁸⁹ What happened on November 2, 1917, was Great Britain's recognition of a Jewish national home in Palestine through the mandate of the the Balfour Declaration. The Balfour Declaration, then, became the stimulant to induce Jewish immigration into the Palestinian lands. When Jewish infiltration began to occur in large numbers, tension mounted between the Palestinian natives and the Jewish immigrants which essentially became the main factor to encourage the war of 1948. Another factor which contributed to the aggression displayed in 1948 was the emphasis on nationalism which was happening worldwide throughout the nineteenth century. From the perspective of Jewish individuals, a nationalistic movement was not, so to speak, the type of nationalism with which one most frequently associated nationalism. What distinguished the Jewish movement from the other nationalistic types of movements was that the Jews were dispersed and rejected from their national ties. Dispersion, here, means that the Jewish population was not nationally identifiable by any one concentrated area.

⁸⁹Most of the information existing in this section may be found in John Amos' book on the Palestinian Resistance. For more information see Amos, John, Palestinian Resistance (New York; Pergamon Press, 1980), p. 3.

Thus, the type of sentiment expressed by Jewish individuals was not in terms of identifying with the country they resided in, but by rejection of their place of residence by the replacement of the notion of one Jewish homeland: most Jews had the monolithic aspiration of one territorial domain which could only be found in Palestine. The second contributor which assisted in spawning the movement for Zionism was the international rejection the Jews were receiving in their homelands. According to Amos, "Political Zionism sprang up in the 1880s as a response to European, especially Russian, persecution of the Jews."⁹⁰ The factors constituting the stimulation of Arab nationalism were quite different.

The first glimpse of Arab nationalism was evidenced in those factions of the population who were considered Arabian Christians. Nationalism among these types of groups was essential for their survival against other Muslims and Ottoman empire. Arab Christians attempted to "normalize" their criterion of nationalism by referring to their identity only in terms of Arabism.⁹¹ Because the Christian Arabs placed their nationalism in general terms the belief of one unitary Arabism quickly diffused. It was

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid, p. 3.

these two distinctive types of nationalism that made peaceful coexistence a very unlikely occurrence in a Palestinian state.

As the number of Jewish immigrants proliferated, so did their power, and Palestinian elites became profoundly struck by pressure from those people of the lower class who were landowners. On numerous occasions the middle class revolted. This in effect led to the first migration of political elites to the border countries. When the majority of elites fled, so did large portions of the population.

Today most of the Palestinians still remain in the border countries. Their predicament is such that in most instances the lower class exists as scattered fugitives without any real civil liberties. For those Palestinians who have remained in Israel their situation is even worse. W. Phillip Davidson and Leon Gordenker substantiate this fact through a cross-sectional study. Their findings indicate that the Palestinians residing in Israel are quite oppressed.⁹² Additionally, the authors concede that the Jews would be better off without the Arabs. Likewise, there exists an alienation barrier from the Palestinian

⁹²Peretz, Don. "Arab Minorities in Israel," in Resolving Nationality Conflict. Ed. by W. Phillip Davidson and Leon Gordenker. (New York: Dreger Publishers, 1980), p. 107-120.

population as well. Just how do the internal problems of Palestine and widespread oppression relate to the ideology of Al Fatah? Several answers may be provided.

The Ideological Input of Al Fatah

Most organizations associated with the Palestinian resistance movement orient themselves toward the left of the political spectrum. This is especially true for members of Al Fatah. Since the model posed would view Al Fatah as a combination of the new left with the old left plus whatever indigenous problems and beliefs are common to the characteristics of their movement and country, it is germane to illustrate that the prediction of the typology holds true for this group. Al Fatah has certainly attempted to combine the problems of their country and relate them to revisionist trends. In fact, Bard O'Neil stated:

Unlike their traditionally oriented predecessors, the new leaders have not been fatalistic about their circumstances, nor inclined to rely on the Arab states to rescue them. Influenced by modern ideological thinkers, ranging from Frantz Fanon, Michel Aflaq, Karl Marx, and Lenin to Mao, the new elites contend that Western imperialism, of which Israel is merely an extension, is the fundamental cause of Palestinian suffering and deprivation.⁹³

⁹³Bard E. O'Neil. "Towards a Typology of Political Terrorism: The Palestinian Resistance Movement," in International Terrorism Current Research and Future Directions (New Jersey: Avery Publishing, 1980), p. 26.

Thus, the ideology of Al Fatah attempts to combine many beliefs in relation to their situation. To dissect their own ideological contributions to the left-wing movement it may be said that Al Fatah has revised the Marxist trend by intermingling national cultural ties into their struggle. This factor perhaps limits Fatah more than other left-wing groups like the PLFP and PDLF in that they promote Islamic fundamentalism. Associating with a religious expression is obviously a great revision, as was predicted, when compared to the secular emphasis of most of the past proponents of Marxism.

Another revision Al Fatah may be recognized for is the total destruction of only one religion--Zionism. The Fatah organization is so strong on this position that group elites feel not only the two should be destroyed but all social remnants of Zionism must be omitted as well. One Fatah piece of propaganda stated the following:

The liberation action is not only the removal of an armed imperialist base, but more important it is the destruction of a society. The aim of the Palestinian Liberation War is not only to inflict a military defeat ... but to destroy Zionist character ... whether it be human or social.⁹⁴

Neither Marx, Lenin, Mao or any new left theorist has addressed the question of culture or the abolishment of things inherent of a specific type of religion. Thus,

⁹⁴Ibid.

Fatah members obviously are not waging a revolution against class antagonisms but with a type of religious people which are the Jews.

In summary of Al Fatah's ideological input several statements are worth expounding upon. First, that the ideological input of Al Fatah is a combination of all left-wing philosophies plus some of their own national beliefs. From a Marxist perspective, Al Fatah is strongly committed to ending oppression in the name of socialism. Yet, the type of movement Al Fatah supports is far from being one promoting a proletarian movement. Al Fatah leaders, because their problem deals with Palestinian immigrants spread throughout the Middle East, have come to view themselves in terms of a vanguard. This point may be substantiated in that political elites are responsible for the education, maintenance, and subordination of the Palestinian people. In addition to their association with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, one of Al Fatah's goals is the delineation of factionalism between Palestinian resistance groups. This, in effect, would lead one to believe that the commitments of Al Fatah to the Palestinian people are similar to Mao's people's revolutionary model. Al Fatah's major belief component, though, seems to be found in Fanonism. Fatah members view their situation similar to that of the Algerian native in that the

Palestinian, like the Algerian, was stripped of his humanity.⁹⁵ Amos clarifies the parody of the Algerian and Palestinian situation by quoting Fanon himself: "It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native."⁹⁶ Not only do members of Al Fatah associate their movement with Fanon but they are strong proponents of Che Guevara's guerilla techniques. In conclusion of this analysis, the external conditions of the Palestinian problem, combined with the ideology of the old and new left, have produced a mixed ideological group, Al Fatah. The next question which must be confronted is whether similar conditions determine the ideology of a problematic ideologue.

A Problematic Ideologue

A problematic ideologue, if the description posed is correct, would be ideologically similar to a mixed ideologue. What really distinguishes the difference between these two types of groups is that a problematic ideologue is not actually engaged in the day-to-day fighting of a revolution, nor does the problematic ideologue base his home in a third world country. It can

⁹⁵Amos, p. 157.

⁹⁶Ibid.

be said that the problematic ideologue has followed a revisionist course. His external environment, however, is the opposite of those groups who may be categorized as mixed in their beliefs. The ramifications of not engaging in full-fledged revolutionary conditions has great implications on a problematic ideologue gaining popular support. This may be inferred because in true situations the masses are usually vulnerable to pledging their support to any politically promising group. In order to evaluate the criteria of the typology one must again begin by assessing the external environment of the problematic ideologue.

An External Assessment of the Irish Question

Central to the discussion of determining whether there exists a problematic ideologue, two external conditions would influence their ideology: the group would exist in a developed nation and the group's engagement in battle would only occur in quasi-revolutionary conditions. The fact that the IRA or PIRA is not involved in a day-to-day revolution, and that they conduct terrorist acts in a developed nation have had a great impact on the nature of the group's success and popular support. The IRA has been battling the British for so long that some have probably lost their hope. The more recent problems of the Irish question can be traced as far back to the policies mandated

by King James I. King James I exploited the small Irish island with the intentions of insuring that the British Protestants would descend internationally. Dispute has since occurred due to two unresolvable problems. First, the Irish Catholics have remained defiant over British rule. Second, when Ireland became a British colony, the crown reorganized the internal geographic structure of Ireland: Ireland is now a six-county community. Since restructuralization, the northernmost part of Ireland has been subdivided to a point where the British Protestants are the majority and the Irish Catholics are a minority. The British crown has come to favor these Protestant royalists over time. The Irish Republican Army was formed in order to defeat British imperialism and to establish a 32-county Irish Republic. These historical artifacts seem to infringe upon the IRA's struggle in several ways. The working class in the northernmost part of Ireland is Catholic and, as a consequence, religion has come to play a great role in the socialist issue of Ireland. Another factor which has attributed to the complexity of the IRA's struggle is that the group must deal with the problems of decolonization and British dependency. Just how these problems have determined the revolutionary ideology of the IRA will be the theme central to the following section.

The Ideological Input of the IRA

The IRA has been a strong proponent of orthodox Marxism. In fact, the IRA's group members were so dedicated to the workers that by the late 1960s the IRA became totally inactive in a revolutionary sense. By the later half of the 1960s the IRA's strong Marxist-Maoist position led to their demise. Factional splits began to occur between the extreme right-wing and left-wing sections of the group. Those having right-wing tendencies in the organization argued:

The doctrine of Karl Marx is contrary to the Fianna teaching. It is contrary to the Fianna declaration which states: "I _____, pledge my allegiance to God and the Irish Republic." Marx also stated that the working man has no country. We can in no way be associated with international socialism.⁹⁷

Not only was the right-wing section of the IRA rejecting socialism but they were also supporting a stronger position on violence as well. Those individuals, who were demanding such changes soon split with the original IRA and have now come to be known as the PIRA or Provisionals.

Originally it had been conceived that the PIRA, or Provisionals, leaned toward facism. Yet, as one author maintained, right-wing tendencies were extremely important for this group's survival in the beginning "since all

⁹⁷Kelley, Kevin. The Longest Standing War: Northern Ireland and the IRA. (Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1982), p. 129.

financial support came from well-placed politicians and businessmen in the twenty six counties."⁹⁸ Shortly after their development, the Provisionals slowly began leaning toward recognizing those influential philosophers of the new left. In a March 1970 article describing their program, the Provisionals stated the framework underlying their organization:

The republican movement has adopted as the keystone of its political and economic edifice the conception of the worker owner. We are aware that similar ideas have developed in countries like Yugoslavia and Algeria ... From the fact that they are based on moral law, however, they are an integral part of Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Mohamedism, Gandhism and even an extension of Marxism, insofar as they are opposed to the dollar dictatorship of the capitalist system and the political dictatorship of communism in upholding the right and dignity of every human person.⁹⁹

This statement is very crucial for the analysis of the PIRA's ideological input for several reasons. First, by stating that "they are opposed to the dollar dictatorship of capitalism and the political dictatorship of socialism," the PIRA is obviously denying U.S. capitalism and Soviet communism. The philosophies of Marcuse and Sarte obviously address similar arguments. A second indication derived from this statement, which depicts a

⁹⁸McClung Lee, Alfred. Terrorism in Northern Ireland (New York: General Hall, Inc., 1983), p. 158.

⁹⁹Kelley, p. 132.

relationship between ideology of the PIRA and those philosophies of the new left, is that the PIRA has come to recognize and support the Algerian movement. Moreover, they also overtly acknowledge newer extensions of Marxism.

In summary, the PIRA, whether it condones Marxism or not, is consciously or unconsciously supporting a program which is derived from Marxism (a socialist society). Moreover, original group members (or the OIRA) are orthodox Marxists. In terms of what parts of their belief system stem from Leninism, this is obvious: "The Provos, despite all their imperfections and heavy historical impediments, are the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland."¹⁰⁰ Sentiments expressed by the Provos in terms of the Irish people's war would lead one to further infer that they are also proponents of a people's revolutionary model which was proposed by Mao. The main ingredients of their belief system, however, are nationalism and the desire for decolonization (as posed by Fanon). It may be said that the PIRA is not a group who is strongly associated with Marx but the group has come to promote the ideas of Lenin, Mao, and new left supporters. The IRA, on the other hand, remains to be viewed as orthodox Marxists. Thus, if the ideology of a problematic ideologue is a synthesis of old beliefs, new beliefs, and national beliefs, neither the

¹⁰⁰McClung, p. 158.

PIRA or IRA alone could meet this requirement. Yet, if the ideology of both groups is combined they may plausibly be categorized as problematic ideologues.¹⁰¹ The next concept of importance is the Subordinate Ideologue.

The Subordinate Ideologue

The subordinate ideologue was a type that may be categorized as existing in developed countries where the masses are extremely satisfied and politically developed. In such countries as the United States, England, Germany, and France, one would anticipate that the ideology of a left-wing terrorist group is associated with Leninism for several reasons. First, and above all, Leninism stresses that in most cases the worker will not revolt and, therefore, he must be encouraged by a political elite group or revolutionary nuclei. It is one's logical assumption, then, that in developed nations workers will not overtly oppose the existing system (they may strike but it is doubtful that German workers, American workers, or even British workers would try to overthrow their governments).

¹⁰¹We may be justified in doing this since the PIRA was once a part of the IRA. While the diversity of left-wing ideology may be compatible with those associated with the Palestinian movement, it would probably be harder to maintain such solidarity among a very conservative Catholic group.

Thus, a left-wing terrorist organization is very likely to associate their beliefs with the views of Lenin since Lenin promoted the origins of a vanguard. To illustrate whether this assumption holds true, the case of The Baader Meinhoff Gang is presented.

An External Assessment of German Terrorism

Gregory F. T. Winn commented on the perplexing nature of German terrorism:

The Federal Republic of Germany has one of the highest standards of living in the world. The West German people have more freedom than they ever had. Why, then, did the Federal Republic of Germany suffer so greatly from the terrorism in the 1970's?¹⁰²

There is no real answer which could pinpoint the reason for an active left-wing movement to occur in Germany. There was no political dissatisfaction among any major percentage of the population other than the students. Schura Cook, in her article, "Germany from Protest to Terrorism," claims that an active revolutionary terrorist movement in Germany was a latent response of the anti-Viet Nam protests which had been occurring some years prior in the United States.¹⁰³

¹⁰²Winn, Gregory. "Terrorism, Alienation and German Society." In Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives on Terrorism. Ed. by Yonah Alexander and John M. Gleason (New York: Pergamon Studies, 1981), p. 256.

¹⁰³Cook, Schura. "Germany from Protest to Terrorism." In Terrorism in Europe. Ed. by Yonah Alexander and Kenneth Meyers (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1982), p. 154.

Yet beyond the mere presuppositions offered by several writers, few have attempted to explain German terrorism in terms of left-wing ideology.

The Ideological Input of the Baader Meinhoff Gang

Our typology argues that left-wing terrorist groups existing in developing, or developed nations where satisfaction is apparent among members of the population, would reflect Leninism in their group behavior. In the case of the German-based organization called the Baader Meinhoff Gang or Red Army Faction, the group did behave as a vanguard; however, their ideology did not solely consist of the Leninist philosophy. In the most extensive analysis on the Baader Meinhoff Gang, Jullian Becker concedes that in the beginning of the group, it was strongly supportive of Marcuse.¹⁰⁴ Their association with Marcuse was inseparable from their ideology and their behavior. As Gundrin Esslin wrote about one of their first terrorist commitments: "We set fire to the department stores so you will stop buying."¹⁰⁵ Becker associated this specific act they committed with Marcuse in that "Marcuse gave them a

¹⁰⁴Becker, Jullian. Hitler's Children. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1977), p. 56-57.

¹⁰⁵Bradshaw, Jon. "The Dream of Terror." Esquire, (July 16, 1978), p. 31.

justification for their aggression."¹⁰⁶ By this Becker is implying that through Marcuse's book, One Dimensional Man, the Baader Meinhoff Gang justified their violence, that man had become so consumer oriented that the political elites fulfilled the worker's need in capitalism by encouraging and providing material things. Outside of their ideological association with Marcuse one author maintained that the ideology of the RAF stemmed from the "revolutionary writers such as Reich, Marx, Fanon, Lenin, Che Guevara, Mao, Bakunin, and Debray."¹⁰⁷

In summary, it was anticipated that a group whose external environment consisted of conditions in which a revolution was not occurring and that the citizen population was satisfied, one would expect a group's behavior to be displayed in terms of Lenin's portrayal of a vanguard. On the contrary, the Baader Meinhoff Gang's ideology was especially representative of the new left. While some may criticize the model which was offered in terms of its viability to assess a group which may be categorized as a subordinate ideologue, we contend that the basis of the model provided sufficient criteria to evaluate the Baader Meinhoff Gang's behavior; however, our theoretical considerations were incorrect. Yet, given that little

¹⁰⁶Becker, p. 57.

¹⁰⁷Schura, p. 157.

documentation exists on the Baader Meinhoff Gang, it is relatively hard to objectively determine if the group was, indeed, strongly influenced by the works of Lenin.

Conclusions

The whole thrust of this endeavor was to work towards a model in order to categorize the ideology of terrorist groups. Traces of a terrorist's belief system began to evolve as early as the dichotomous split between Leninism and Maosim. At the Second International Lenin addressed all questions central to the problems of how socialism would and could occur in an underdeveloped and a colonized nation . Lenin confined the solution of this problem to only conceding that the communist party should be responsible and subordinate over all revolutionary actions. Mao, who early in his career found a great deal of insight from Lenin's revolutionary formula could not win political success by Lenin's suggestions. Following the socialistic view of Rosa Luxemburg, Mao's perspective was one that extended humanism into revolution. This notion, compounded by the circumstances of China, encouraged Mao to instill within the masses the people's revolution. While the people's revolution, itself, became a popular ideological concept for the citizens of the third world, Mao's second contribution to the Marxist question was perhaps even more

readily accepted. Mao's second revisionist contribution was he would assert that revolution must start in the form of guerilla warfare which begins in the countryside and as the revolutionary movement intensifies it should continue into the inner cities. These improvisations, Mao asserted, stimulated a whole new generation of philosophers on revolution who would come to be known as the new left.

It was nearly inevitable, as one must come to view the evolution of the new left, that at the roots of their beliefs they would be more clearly associated with Maoism. Fanon, Che Guevara, Herbert Marcuse, and even Sarte would all incorporate the humanistic views of Maoism. Essentially, we must ask why Maoism and his views of humanism and guerilla warfare became the crucial stimulant affecting the new left's ideology. Mainly, several historical events on the international scene would encourage new left-wing writers to agree with Mao's views.

The event which prompted the new left to associate more with Maoism was that Mao was concerned with the third world. Sarte, Guevara, and Fanon were all supporting the third world movement for decolonization. The Algerians, who at the time were under French rule, had been demanding their freedom. Fanon, who was a local physician and psychiatrist, treated the revolutionary fighters. Out of his sympathy for their circumstances, Fanon wrote a series

of books that became the philosophy supportive of the Algerian movement. While Mao did understand and encourage humanism along class lines, his views never extended to deal with the question of race as Fanon did. Shortly after, and really during the Algerian crisis, the people of Viet Nam were also rejecting French rule. It was the U.S. intervention in Viet Nam, and the rejection of Soviet politics, that led Jean Paul Sarte and Herbert Marcuse to sympathize with the third world movement and reject the ideology supporting the two super powers. Humanism, as a philosophy would, again, become a strong component of Sarte's message. Out of the emphasis for decolonization grew a strong dismay against almost all the developed nations in the world. Cuba, an American dependent country, was not experiencing a movement for decolonization but was rejecting American dependency. Not only was such dependency harmful to the economic climate of Cuba, but it had a direct impact on the citizens' livelihood. When the timing was right, Castro, with the assistance of Guevara, overthrew the Batista regime. The parallel between the Cuban revolution and the Chinese situation is that, like Mao, Guevara supported a Guerilla movement. These occurrences encouraged a third generation of left-wing supporters which is how terrorism inevitably evolved. We will now turn to a discussion which reviews each chapter.

A Synoptic Account of Chapter One

Chapter One provided the makings for a simplistic model on ideology. It illustrated that the orthodox beliefs of Marxism and the external environment of a country produced the first revisions in ideology. From the Marxist-Leninist ideology stemmed Maoism. Thus, the elements determining the revolutionary beliefs of the early proponents of socialism emerge from classical Marxism and the revisions of Marxism which were mandated by the national features of a people and a country. When orthodox beliefs were confronted by the new situations, of decolonization and dependency, a second generation of Marxist prevailed.

A Synoptic Account of Chapters Two and Three

Determinant of the ideology of the new left were orthodox beliefs and their external environment. Those facets of a socialist movement that were not addressed by Mao or Lenin prompted the new left to take a revisionist approach. Clearly, these individuals were well justified on this position since Lenin and Mao first acknowledged the shortcomings of Marxism. As such revisions proliferated, terrorism was inevitable. The point of working towards a typology of terrorism had one main purpose: to illustrate that terrorists do have political beliefs and the act of

terrorism, itself, has become a composition of such beliefs.

Beyond the more substantive findings of each chapter, the theoretical basis of this paper has been based upon several models. While each of the models, and the typology found in each of the respective chapters illustrates the thrust of our working towards a theoretical argument, we must conclude one very general theoretical note concerning the behavior of left-wing revolutionary groups (see Appendix Six).

As Appendix Six depicts, each current revolutionary group we have referred to, whether it be the Bolsheviks, the Algerians, or even Al Fatah, their behavior has been based upon the beliefs of past revolutionary movements with which they have preferred to ideologically associate their movement. Moreover, as the diagram illustrates, each group's preferred ideology is affected by its external environment. Certainly, this has been true since groups such as the Algerians have had to improvise the ideology of past revolutionary movements because neither Marx, Lenin, or Mao addressed the problem of race. Thus, what we have found actually determines each group's ideological belief is, first, their belief preference (those groups in the past that a current group may wish to model), and, second, their external environment. Yet, as time has

progressed, we have also witnessed that each future generation of left-wing supporters, such as terrorist groups, have come to base their ideology not only on their belief preferences and their external environment, but also on the ideology associated with the movement previous to their own. Thus, each current group's ideology affects how and what each future group may come to believe. An illustration of this is, for example, how the Algerian movement affected the Cuban movement. While we have spoken, here, in very general terms, there have been some indicators which refute the specific findings that past revolutionary movements, and a group's external environment, determine a terrorist's ideology. Such specific findings which indicate that all terrorist's ideology may not be a result of these variables were drawn from the conclusion of the Baader Meinhoff Gang. A group which could not fit the criteria of our theoretical workings, like the Baader Meinhoff Gang, may possibly not meet expectations because of a lack of information on the group and its members.

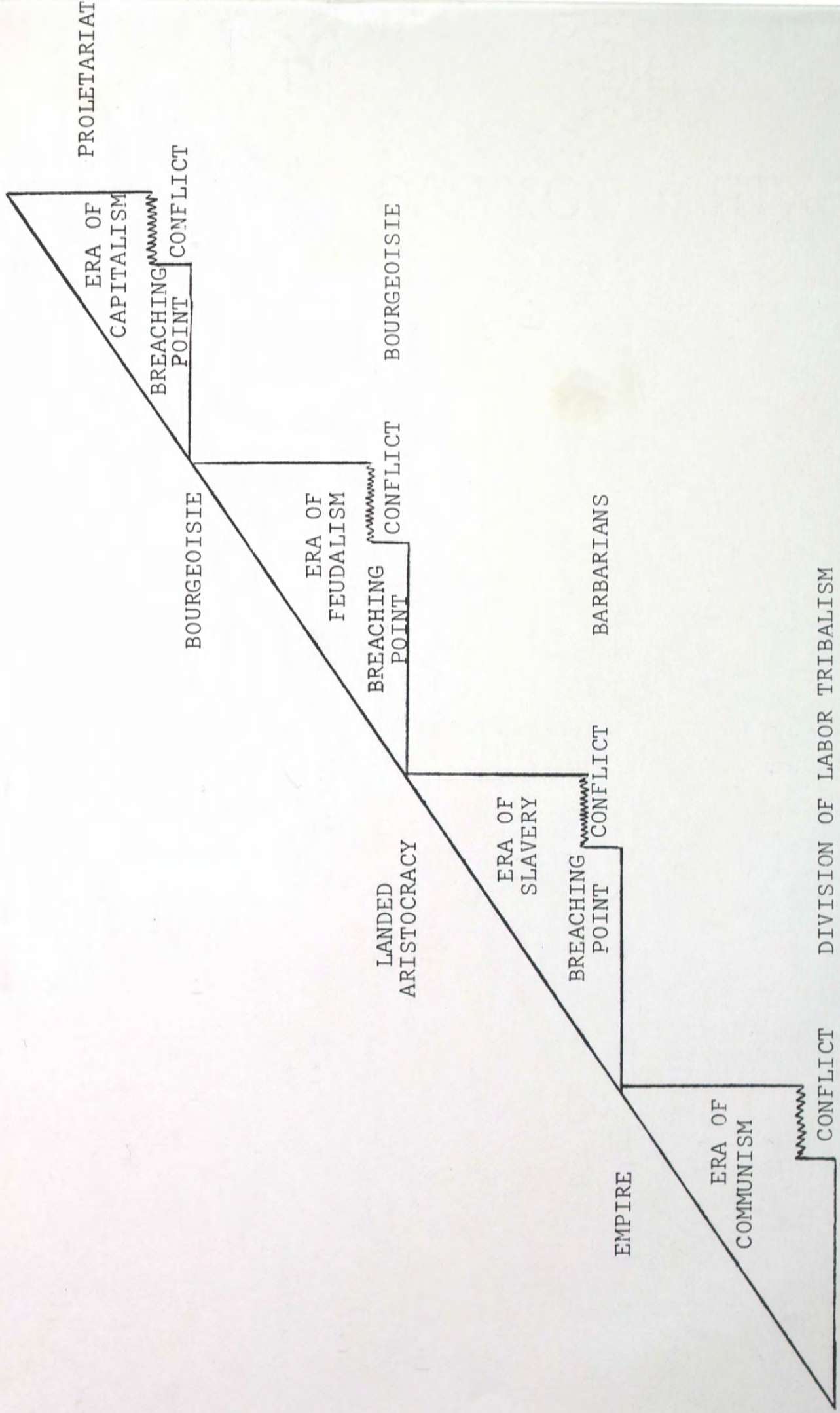
Conclusion

In conclusion, the author begins with a review of left-wing theory. The works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao were presented. The views of Fanon, Guevara, Sarte, and Marcuse were contrasted to the beliefs of orthodox leftists. It

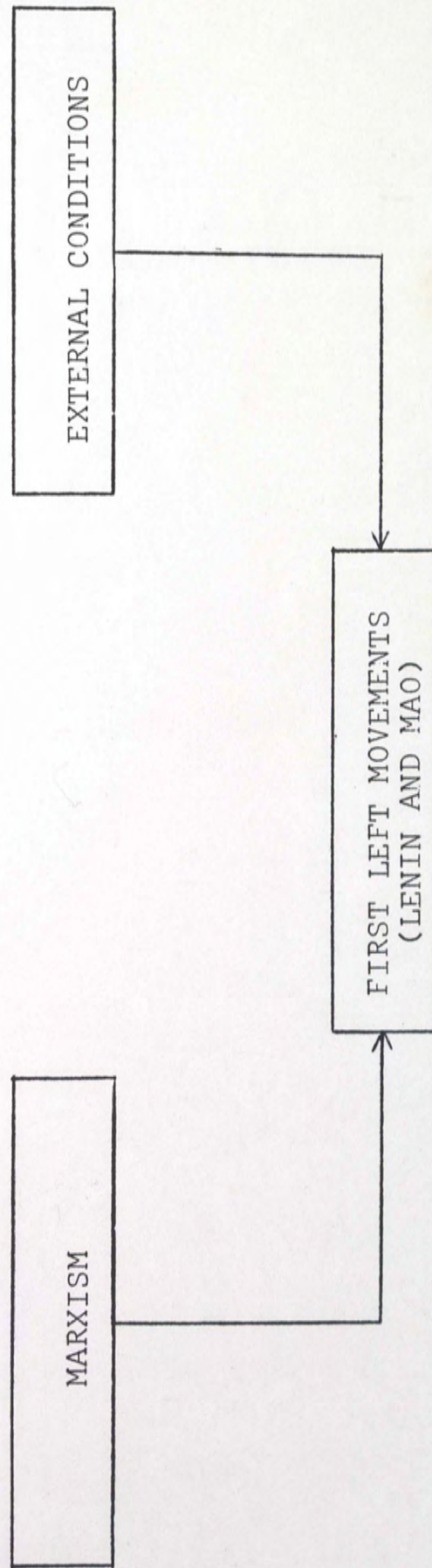
was found that the revisions in which the new left may be attributable to, encouraged a third generation of Marxists who are known as terrorists. Essentially, terrorist groups are no different than past revolutionary groups when it comes to determining where and how they come to believe in their positions. The only difference, excluding the terrorists from those movements which were proponents of what was called the new left, is that they resort to terrorism. Exactly why the terrorist group resorts to terrorism should be evident. It is a type of behavior which has been integrated into how a socialist society may be achieved.

Looking back on this chapter, we see that a typological model was posed. The purpose of this typology was an attempt to come to grips with the beliefs of terrorist organizations in a day and age when such groups are viewed by the media, scholars, and politicians as irrational actors. The point here is one of two-fold significance. First, on a philosophical level, this study has attempted to evaluate the belief components of left-wing ideology, which has been especially distorted since the evolution of terrorism. Second, academics have come to flounder and drown in massive amounts of classical liberal emotionalism when explaining terrorism. This, in effect, has flawed substantive evidence as well as theory building.

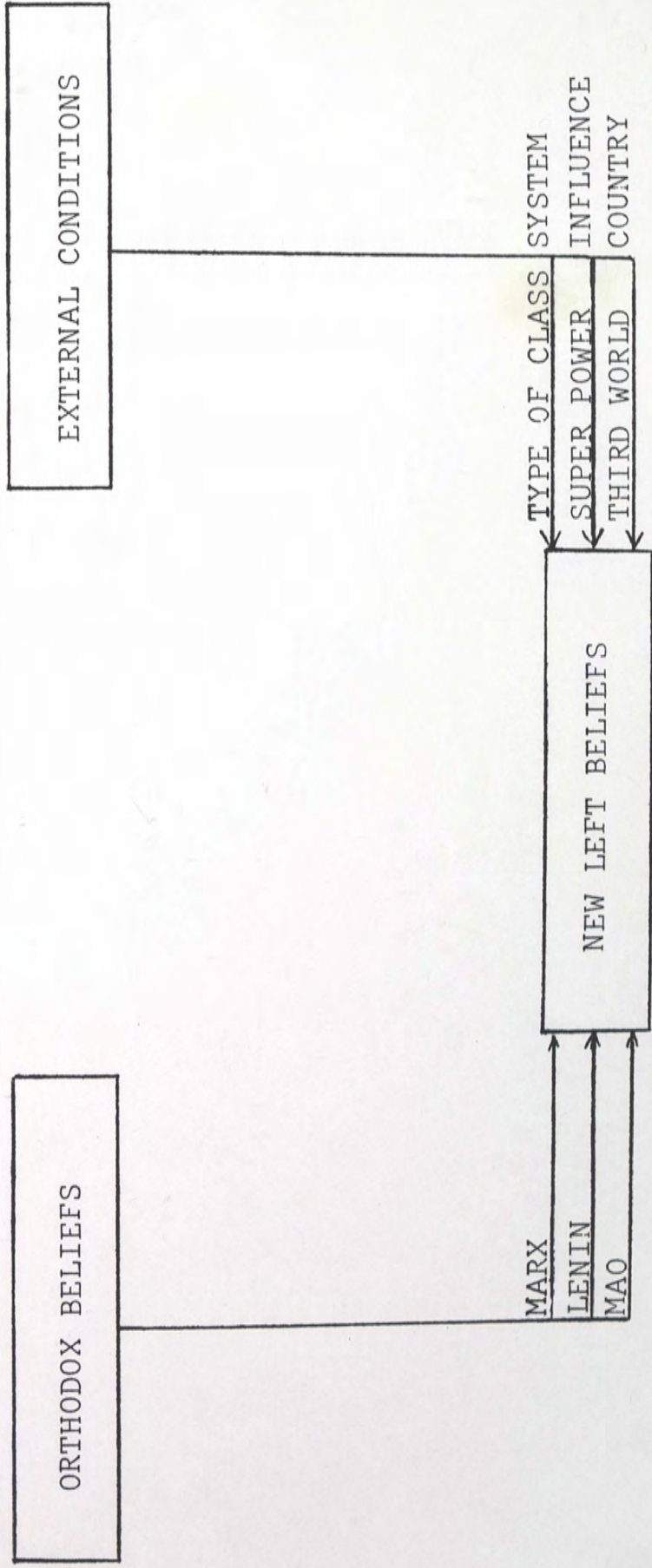
Thus, the typology established in Chapter Three should serve at least to provide an objective criteria for determining the belief components of left-wing revolutionary groups. While this model can be an objective means to evaluate terrorism, there is one great limitation to it as well. This limitation, the greatest barrier to studying terrorism, is a lack of information. Take, for example, the case analysis on the Baader Meinhoff Gang. If more information had been available perhaps the case analysis results could have illustrated a possible relationship between the Bolshevik movement and the German movement. However, because little information exists on this German group it most obviously impairs one's ability to study group behavior. Furthermore, terrorist groups, and especially those which are left-wing, seem to come and go. The size of the group, its success, and the degree of its cohesiveness seem to determine their longevity. Despite these limits, all scholarly endeavors must begin somewhere and this brings us to our conclusion.



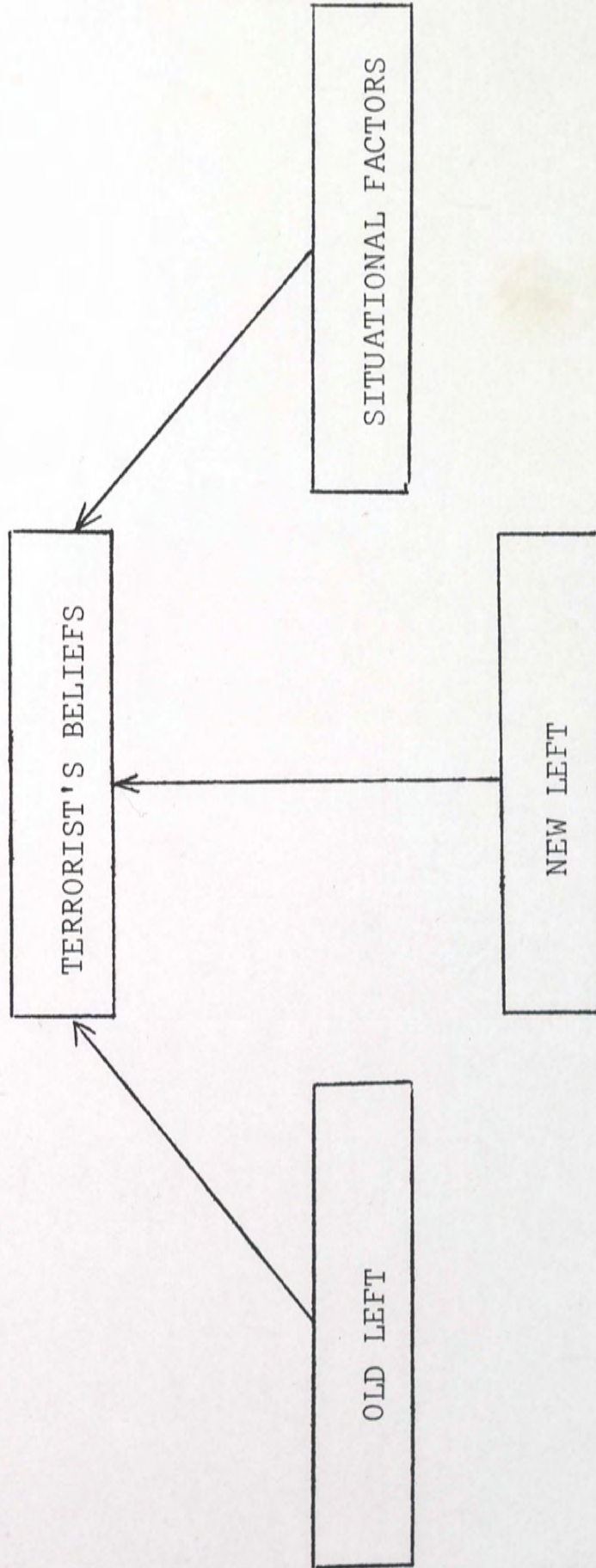
APPENDIX THREE



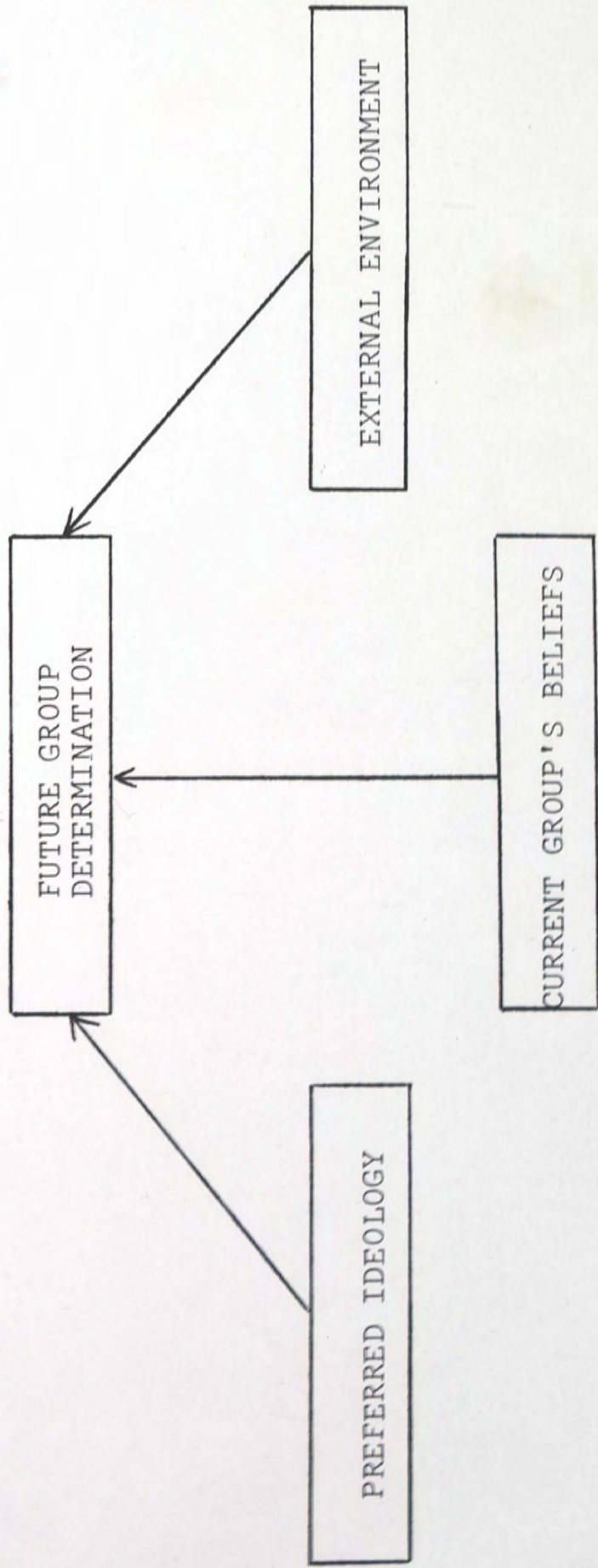
APPENDIX FOUR



APPENDIX FIVE



APPENDIX SIX



LIST OF REFERENCES

- Adrendt, Hannah. On Revolution. New York: Viking Press, 1963.
- Amos, John. Palestinian Resistance. New York: Pergamon Press, 1980.
- Baradat, Leon. Political Ideologies: Their Origin and Impact. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984.
- Becker, Jullian. Hitler's Children. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1977.
- Beckett, Paul A. "Algeria vs. Fanon: The Theory of Revolutionary Decolonization and the Algerian Experience." Western Political Quarterly 26:1 (March 1973): 5-27.
- Beilenson, Lawrence. Power Through Subversion. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1980.
- Bell, Bowyer. The Secret Army: The IRA, 1916-1979. Dublin, Ireland: The Academy Press, 1979.
- Blackley, Robert. "Fanon and Cabral: A Contrast in Theories of Revolution for Africa." Journal of Modern African States 12:2 (June 1974): 191-209.
- Blackley, Robert, and Paynton, Clifford. Revolution and the Revolutionary Ideal. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing, 1976.
- Bleich, Harold. Philosophy of Herbert Marcuse. Washington: University Press of America, 1977.
- Bradshaw, Jon. "The Dream of Terror." Esquire. (July 16, 1978), pp. 24-43.
- Carlton, David; Alexander, Yonah; and Wilkinson, Paul. Terrorism Theory and Practice. Colorado: Western Press, 1979.
- Catalano, Joseph. A Commentary on Jean Paul Sarte's Being and Nothingness. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

- Chaliand, Gerald. Revolution in the Third World. New York: Viking Press, 1973.
- Cohan, A. S. Theories on Revolution. Great Britian: Thomas Nelson, 1975.
- Colletto, Lucio. "Lenin's State and Revolution." In Revolution and Class Struggle. Edited by Robin Blackburn. New Jersey: The Harvester Press, 1978.
- Cook, Schura. "Germany from Protest to Terrorist." In Terrorism in Europe. Edited by Yonah Alexander and Kenneth Meyers. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, 1982.
- Deutscher, Issac. "Maosim: Its Origin and Outlook." In Marx and Engels Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.
- Engels, Friedrich. "Letters on Historical Materialism." In Marx and Engels Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.
- Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press, 1966.
- Guevara, Che. Guerilla Warfare. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Guevara, Che. "Guerilla Warfare: A Method." In Che Guevara Speaks. Edited by George Lavan. New York: Grove Press, 1967.
- Hansen, Joseph. Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1978.
- Heilbroner, Robert. Marxism: For and Against. New York: W. W. Norton, 1980.
- Heyman, Edward, and Mickolus, Edward. "Imitation by Terrorists: Quantitative Approaches in the Study of Diffision Patterns in Transnational Terrorism." In Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives in Terrorism. Edited by Yonah Alexander and John Gleason. New York: Pergamon Press, 1981.
- Hobsbawn, E. G. Revolutionaries Contemporary Essays. New York: Pantheon Books, 1973.

- Hurkabi, Y. Arab Attitudes Toward Israeli. New York: Hart Publishing, 1972.
- Hutchingson-Crenshaw, Martha. "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism." Journal of Conflict Resolution XVI(3): 343-383.
- Kelly, Kevin. The Longest Standing War: Northern Ireland and the IRA. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1982.
- Lawler, James. The Existentialist Marxism of Jean Paul Sarte. New York: B. R. Gruner Publishing, 1976.
- Lowy, Michael. The Marxism of Che Guevara. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.
- Mark, Robert. The Meaning of Marcuse. New York: Ballantine Books, 1970.
- Marx, Karl, and Engels, Friedrich. "The Communist Manifesto." In Marx and Engels Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.
- McClung, Alfred. Terrorism and Northern Ireland. New York: General Hall, Inc., 1983.
- Perez, Don. "Arab Minorities in Israel." In Resolving Nationality Conflicts. Edited by Phillip Davidson and Leon Gordenker. New York: Dreger Publishing, 1980.
- Poster, Marx. Sarte's Marxism. Great Britain: The Plato Press, 1970.
- Mallin, Jay. Terror and Urban Guerillas. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1971.
- Mandel, Ernest. "The Leninist Theory of Organization." In Revolution and Class Struggle. Edited by Robin Blackburn. New Jersey: Harvester Press, 1978.
- O'Neil, Bard. "Towards a Typology of Palestinian Terrorism: The Palestinian Resistance Movement." In International Terrorism: Current Research and Future Directions. New Jersey: Avery Publishing, 1980.
- Rand, Ayn. The New Left: The Anti-Industrial Revolution. New York: New American Library, 1971.

- Sainteny, Jean. Ho Chi Minh and His Vietnam: A Personal Memoir. Chicago: Cowles Book Company, 1972.
- Stevenson, Thomas. The Great Philosophers. New York: Bantam Books, 1976.
- Teodori, Massimo. New Left: A Documentary History. New York: The Bob Merrill Company, 1969.
- Winn, Gregory. "Terrorism, Alienation and German Societies." In Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives on Terrorism. Edited by Alexander Yonah and John Gleason. New York: Pergamon Press, 1981.
- Womack, Brantly. "Theory and Thought of Mao Tse-Tung." In The Logic of Maoism. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.