

result of this drive for hegemony, and terrorism became the salient feature of the imperialist state's foreign policy. State terrorism takes a variety of forms: Nazi Germany's campaign of invasions and mass extermination; US intervention and attacks on independent countries; Israeli and South African racist dispossession and persecution of the native population, and the massive terror of US-backed dictatorships against their own population. Added to this is the terror of imperialism's economic system which imposes undernourishment on the millions.

## THE ROOTS OF TERRORISM AMONG THE OPPRESSED

The internal contradictions of the capitalist societies give rise to another form of this phenomenon, which can be termed individual terrorism. The objective basis for this is the antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class. High unemployment generates terrorism within the capitalist societies. The individual's social functioning is impaired when work is not available, since production is the basic activity of the human being. One of the many other causes of terrorism is changes in the social and cultural reality in the society where the individual's character is formed. Constructive conditions are absent in a society which is full of exploitation, isolation, social unrest and instability. Not only are the unemployed made to feel useless and neglected, but they are made to feel as harmful elements in the society, inferior and of limited capabilities, a burden on society. This is in addition to inhuman working conditions that reduce human beings to the state of animals, working just to survive, without being given a chance to be productive and creative. All of these factors contribute to the development of violence and terrorism in the capitalist society.

In essence, all of these material facts

express the extent of the contradiction between the social mode of production and the private ownership of the means of production. The products of this contradiction are the real reasons for individual terrorism. The individual starts to search for suitable means to express himself outside the production process in the capitalist society. Out of such frustration, terrorist groups emerge. Certain types of terror groups may be encouraged by the ruling authorities, as a way to confuse and divert the class struggle. The social base of individual terrorism is drawn from sectors outside the framework of the relations of production - the lumpen-proletariat and the unemployed. The proletariat that assumes its position within the relations of production, rejects terrorism as a form of struggle against oppression and exploitation, considering it a struggle among individuals, isolated from the masses.

There are other social components of individual terrorism which stem from the petit bourgeoisie, students and intellectuals. As a result of the centralization of capitalist production and unfair economic competition, strata of the petit bourgeoisie are forced to join the ranks of the working class. Because they are forced into the working class, they do not necessarily develop working class awareness. Some of them may take a nihilistic position and use adventurous methods, violence and terrorism without revolutionary aims, as a means to escape from this reality.

These are the reasons behind individual terrorism. Such an inhuman activity does not exist in socialist societies; the socialist society does not suffer the crises of capitalism; the big bourgeoisie does not exist, and the petit bourgeoisie has been transformed to the position of the proletariat and the working people.

## TERRORISM AND PROPAGANDA

Imperialism uses all its resources to control the minds of the people and

direct them as it wants, through the media. The entire system, through social and psychological propaganda, aims to divert individuals from their humanity, by trying to portray the bourgeois society's values as perfect and eternal. This propaganda aims to show that individuals who attack or contradict these values are abnormal, eliciting a negative reaction to any revolutionary act in the world. At the same time, the bourgeoisie's terrorism is justified as necessary to defend and protect the principles of capitalist 'democracy'.

## RIGHTIST AND 'LEFTIST' TERRORISM

The imperialists divide terrorism into two kinds: rightist and 'leftist'. Marxist-Leninists reject this terminology, but differentiate between revolutionary violence and terrorism. According to Lenin, «Revolutionary violence is a tactic which involves organizing political assassinations, accompanying the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Revolutionary violence is not the opportunist terrorism that is totally unrelated to the core of Marxism. Not only is opportunist terrorism an isolated and rejected step, but it brings about no advances in socialist tactics.»<sup>(2)</sup>

The methods used in contemporary individual terrorism were historically used by the anarchists in the first stage of the labor movement's struggle. Despite the illusions and subjectivity of these anarchists, anarchism was a weapon to be wielded in the face of the capitalist system. This radical confrontation of the whole of the capitalist society was sometimes characterized by heroism and selflessness. In essence, however, it did not go beyond the petit bourgeoisie ideology; it was characterized by impatience and inability to confront the effects of the crisis of the bourgeois society. Lenin indicated this by saying, «Anarchism is an inverted form of the bourgeois ideology.»<sup>(3)</sup>

Therefore, it is necessary that the present definition of 'terrorism' be based on scientific Marxist-Leninist understanding, taking into consideration the class character of all so-called terrorist acts, and specifying their aims. The bourgeoisie defines every militant act as terrorism. The entire bourgeois media is activated against all revolutionary military practices that are in the interests of the masses, whereas this same media supports the criminal acts of actual terrorist groups.

The history of the international revolutionary movement has concretely proven that in certain moments of the struggle, when the masses of the workers are not politically aware, so-called terrorist acts can have important political effects that accelerate the subjective conditions of the struggle. Lenin said, «The wish to deny the value of single, heroic blows is far from our



State terror: The Israeli army invades Lebanon.