

New Options

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Twenty-eight Ways of Looking at Terrorism

Dec. 27, 1985: in nearly simultaneous attacks, terrorists kill 14 innocent people at airports in Rome and Vienna. *Nov. 23, 1985:* an EgyptAir plane is hijacked after leaving Athens, and in a rescue attempt the next day, 57 people perish. *Oct. 7, 1985:* Palestinian gunmen seize the Italian ship Achille Lauro and murder a handicapped Jewish-American passenger.

How to make sense of these incidents? In our eyes, one of the most frightening things about the recent wave of terrorism is the narrowness of the public debate. The moral poverty of the killings is matched by the poverty of the discussion about how we should respond. Terrorism might not yet be "banal," as a recent Rand Corp. report suggests, but the conventional responses to terrorism—from the left, the right, and in between—have become just that.

It is for this reason that this issue of NEW OPTIONS is entirely devoted to one theme: alternative and perhaps more healing ways of looking at the New Terrorism.

The new terrorism: predictable views

We good, they bad

But first, a look at the three traditional views. On the political right, there is nothing particularly Earth-shaking about the terrorist threat. It is just the latest strategy of predominantly Marxist revolutionary groups and their allies. It is the latest tactic of the cold war aimed at the vulnerabilities of Western democracies and aspiring Third World democracies. It is, above all, a *coordinated* effort among groups and across borders fueled by Cuba, Libya and the Soviet Union (since the Beirut kidnapping of the Soviet diplomats, the role of the Soviets has been downplayed vis-a-vis

the role of Libya).

The right-wing solution to this situation is to seek to put diplomatic, economic and military pressure on Cuba, Libya and the Soviet Union and on all who deal with them. Robert McFarlane, until recently President Reagan's national security advisor, perfectly captured this perspective when he remarked that we ought to "focus our power on dealing with the root causes of terrorism—where people are trained, where they are housed, fed, sustained."

We normal, they crazy

The liberal response to terrorism typically downplays the degree of coordination among terrorist groups and among the nations that fund these groups. It focuses not on bad nations but on bad people—in fact, mad people, crazy people. A spate of articles in liberal newspapers and magazines have dwelt at length on the alleged personality characteristics of terrorists. Richard Cohen, columnist for the *Washington Post*, laments, "We wait on the actions of Palestinian crazies (sincere or not, what does it matter?) and, sometimes, Israeli zealots such as Ariel Sharon." Then he adds the inevitable Tragic Note: "History laughs at Big Powers and their deluded belief that they can control events. Once again, the sane think they can control the mad!"

Beyond this, liberals are just not comfortable with the subject. The 1984 Democratic National Platform devotes four paragraphs to the "legitimate rights of self-determination of the peoples of Namibia," not one word to terrorism. But there is a liberal solution to terrorism-as-the-product-of-insane-and-irrational-forces, and it is the dominant solution offered by our news media. It is a combination of short-term policies aimed at deterrence coupled with even shorter-term policies meant to deal out quick and effective punishment when deterrence fails.

Newsweek's widely-noted article, "Ten

Ways to Fight Terrorism" (July 1, 1985), is the most ambitious attempt to date to articulate and codify this approach, as well as provide a suitable rationale (e.g., "if terrorism is to be curbed, the civilized world must . . . invent stronger ways to protect itself"). Among the deterrence measures suggested: tighten airport security, expand intelligence gathering, improve international antiterrorist cooperation. Among the punitive measures: don't rule out rescues, lean on terrorist allies, order selective reprisals.

They bad, we worse

The radical-left response to the latest wave of terrorism is just as boringly predictable as the right-wing and liberal responses. It is that ultimately, "in the final analysis," the terrorism we are subjected to is our own fault. Or more precisely, Ronald Reagan's fault.

An editorial in the newspaper *In These Times*, probably the most influential social-democratic publication in the U.S. today, captures this perspective well when it says, "Ultimately, the blame [for terrorism] rests with [the Reagan] administration's policies, and those that preceded [it], rather than with the desperate people striking out in reaction to events over which they have little or no control" (June 26, 1985). As if to convince readers that this was no mere emotional outburst, the point was repeated two issues later: "The problem is not the terrorists but the policies of the Reagan administration" (July 10, 1985). *The Progressive* apparently agrees: "It was this country's foreign meddling, after all, that triggered the current wave of lawlessness" (August 1985).

Beyond blame and guilt

The problem with the conservative, liberal and radical-left views is not that they are "wrong," but that they are narrow—too narrow to explain terror in its full dimensions and too narrow, therefore, to permit us to come

up with effective and appropriate solutions.

Each of these traditional views embodies part of the truth. Terrorist groups are cooperating across international borders. Some terrorists are unbalanced, even irrational. Some U.S. policies are deeply resented, often for good reason, in many parts of the world. But even taken together, these views do not add up to a convincing explanation of the New Terrorism.

Fortunately, many U.S. scholars and activists are coming up with innovative post-liberal/post-conservative/post-socialist perspectives on terrorism—perspectives that, when added to the three above, might well enable us to come up with life-serving understandings and strategies.

The new terrorism: emerging views

The new terrorism

George Lopez, 35, co-editor of a recent anthology on terrorism, occasionally gives briefings for State Dept. officials, but is happier in his role as convenor of the Peace and Global Studies Program at tiny Earlham College in Richmond, Ind. He is convinced that the new terrorism is qualitatively different from the old.

"By the mid-1970s," he told NEW OPTIONS early one morning from his Earlham College office, "there'd been a conscious decision by [most world] governments to work together to try to prevent terrorism; and many states did take coordinated action. After 1978 we witnessed a downturn of terrorist incidents, in part at least because the coordinated measures had some effect, in part because the political climate changed (e.g., the Camp David accords; the demise of some ethnic struggles).

"But terrorism took off again after about 1983. And it is very different from before. For one thing, it is not meant to 'wake the masses.' And it is not meant to make political demands or to assert political rights. It is basically just for punishment—for example, to punish the Israelis.

"It is much more distant from [traditional power politics]. It is much less related to the wider political context of, for example, the bargaining power of the PLO in the Middle East. It is distant from any political strategy that could influence chances for peace in the Middle East.

"Finally, it is clear that the [fiercest] terrorists—like Carlos, like Abu Nidal—are those who've had a base of operations or sponsorship of some kind in some nation that is

usually perceived as being antagonistic to Western interests.

"In the 1970s, there came to be quasi-rules for terrorist events: negotiations were possible, sandwiches were sent in, etc. The new terrorists aren't setting up that kind of deal. On the Achille Lauro, they were [just going to] take passenger after passenger and shoot them. Today the terrorists aren't playing fair.

"Now no politician is going to say that in public: 'It's not fair.' But in private they do distinguish politically motivated activists who are terrorists, from those who have no purpose but anarchy, horror, punishment, and striking out at civilization in general."

Before we hung up, we asked Lopez how he could spend his entire professional life dwelling on the subject of terrorism. He said living in Indiana helped keep him grounded.

Their terror—and ours

One thing many news stories fail to mention is that, even today, "private" terror pales in comparison to state terror. Saul Mendlovitz, vice president of the Institute for World Order, puts it well when he says, "It is important not to exaggerate the scope of the problem of terror, especially when compared to the systematic terror wielded by 'legitimate' governments or official leaders ranging from Stalin to Pol Pot and from Hitler to Amin, or to overlook the cold efficiency of Latin American 'death squads.'"

One recent Amnesty International publication, "Political Killings by Governments," includes detailed reports on incidents in 20 countries since 1980, as well as analyses of such preferred government techniques as "official cover-ups," "disappearances" and "mass liquidations."

"State terrorism really had its headline in the [French government's] sinking of the Rainbow Warrior," old G.O.W. Mueller, terrorism expert at the U.N., told us with fiery passion from his Long Island home. "It's not always them against us. It's also often us against them, or us against us!"

The new warfare

The most important long-term effect of the new terrorism may have to do with the way we make war. The new terrorism will almost certainly make our current notions of warfare and "appropriate weaponry" thoroughly obsolete.

"Terror is terrifying to the [traditional] military mind," energy analyst Amory Lovins told NEW OPTIONS. "[After all,] whom do you retaliate against? And now that you can put World War II in a little box under your bed, ox-carts, cars, UPS, briefcases, become the most likely delivery vehicles [for bombs]. Incidentally, if Star Wars were ever deployed

—and it did everything Reagan claims it would—then it would surely move [enemy] bombs out of missiles and into car trunks. . . .

"The possibility of anonymous attack undermines whatever basis there ever was for strategic [nuclear] deterrence."

Lovins's claims were recently echoed by independent military analyst Bernard J. Sussman. "Reprisals are extremely difficult when the culprits cannot be precisely identified or located," Sussman wrote. "This will become worse as anonymous bombings and the use of pseudonymous proxies or mercenaries increase. . . . When both large and small governments adopt such methods, the weaponry of old strategies, such as MX missiles and armed satellites, becomes not only a waste of money but a hindrance to the adoption of newer strategies that are desperately needed.

"Instead of throwing away money on fighting the last war with fancier armaments, we should begin planning to face a terrorist war with entirely new and comparatively low-cost weapons."

Global irresponsibility

Benjamin B. Ferencz is pessimistic about our chances for coping with terrorism—and he has earned the right to be. An independent scholar ("not an academic," he says proudly), he is the author of a highly-regarded trilogy on international law enforcement, written mostly at the U.N. library; as a young man he was a prosecutor for the United States at the Nuremberg war crimes trial. He has seen quite enough in his life, thank you.

"The international community doesn't want to cope with terrorism," Ferencz told us bluntly from his home in New Rochelle, N.Y. "If they wanted to, they know what [they'd have] to do. . . .

"The measures taken at the U.N. [regarding terrorism] are deliberately laced with

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Groups

loopholes in order to permit every [nation] to pursue what it perceives as a legitimate goal. The U.N. measures are therefore inadequate. You can only combat terrorism on a [cooperative,] international basis, with [a coherent body of] international law. . . .

"People should demand a lawful regime. We had a terrorist society—the Wild West. We established courts, law enforcement agencies, etc., and enforced the law. If you look at the U.N.'s Terrorist Convention, you'll see that it says that if terrorism is done for self-termination or for freedom from alien domination or [whatever], it is [not really terrorism]. This is not serious. . . .

"We know which groups and which nations are not prepared to [get serious]. The notion of waiting for a consensus with, for example, Qaddafi and the PLO is ridiculous. . . . Terrorism will continue and will expand until [nations are prepared to write clear and consistent international laws]."

Global progress

G.O.W. Mueller is more hopeful than Ferencz—and he's no less worldly-wise. In 1965 he published the first-ever book on international criminal law; from 1974-82 he was director of the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the U.N.

"When I started out [at the U.N.],” Mueller told NEW OPTIONS from his office at Rutgers University-Newark, “we were unable to agree on [even a] definition of terrorism—on who are freedom fighters and who are terrorists. In Dec. 1985, there was unanimous condemnation of all terrorism as acts against civilian targets outside the framework of military action.

"In 1973, we realized terrorism is too amorphous a concept to deal with. So we broke it down in terms of its component parts—and then we did make progress. [We were able to write conventions on] airplane hijacking, on the kidnapping of diplomatic personnel, on hostage-taking. . . .

"Recently the U.N. General Assembly has been debating the [establishment] of an international criminal court that would include jurisdiction over international terrorism. There is a greater willingness now to discuss these matters—now that Soviet diplomats are getting kidnapped [and killed]. . . ."

Dangers of counterterrorism

It is possible to frustrate many terrorist acts through increased intelligence and surveillance, as *Newsweek* and others suggest. But it is probably impossible to prevent them altogether. And a number of analysts have emphasized that, beyond a certain point, such "cures" might be worse than the disease.

"Intelligence and surveillance effectively

rob terrorists of two of their most powerful weapons: the choice of target and the element of surprise," Saul Mendlovitz told NEW OPTIONS from his office at the World Policy Institute in New York City. "[But] there are high costs associated with mounting antiterrorist campaigns. Surveillance, even if diligently carried out, poses a danger of abuse for any free society. . . . Worse still, antidemocratic elements often raise the banner of anti-terrorism as a pretext for gaining public support for repressive policies and practices."

An even more skeptical view of counterterrorism comes from Irving Louis Horowitz, protege and biographer of the great sociolo-



JOANNA MACY: "We have to rip the demon mask away"

gist, C. Wright Mills, and a U.S. representative to Amnesty International's conference on terrorism, held in the Netherlands in 1982.

"A society without terrorism is quite possible to achieve," says Horowitz, all too sincerely. "Fascist systems manage quite adequately to reduce terrorism by a series of devices: mass organizations in which membership is compulsory; block-by-block spying networks; mandatory police identification certificates; clear delineations of 'friends' and 'enemies' of the regime.

"With the increased sophistication of computerization techniques, such mechanisms for social and personal control are increasingly available. The question remains: does a citizenry wish to pay such a premium price for social tranquility? One might consider the quantum of violence within a society as a crucial indicator of genuine social health."

"It is fascism"

But Horowitz is brought up short by the New Terrorism. "I don't consider this to be terrorism by any traditional definition," he told

NEW OPTIONS from his quasi-rural office on the campus of Rutgers University-New Brunswick. "[It is] really fascism: ethnic group and religious group persecution directed at Jews. It's a concerted, fascist assault clearly directed at Jewish objects, Israeli objects, Jewish-owned shops. . . .

"It's a classic case of fascism."

The end of the world

"Terrorism is the last step in a trend toward social and cultural disintegration," says Moshe Amon, a young Israeli historian and philosopher who's taught at several North American universities. "Terrorism is tolerated by large segments of our society, as if the social body itself [has declared] a moratorium upon its own life in recognition that it cannot sustain itself any more."

At the core of our disintegration, according to Amon, is the "spread of personal reliance on the state." As we've become less and less responsible for our selves, the mentality that leads to the use and abuse of others—up to and including the random killing of innocents—has flourished. "The terrorist is the product, and the most perfect representative, of this trend to evade responsibility. He is not responsible for the existence of anything; he turns over the responsibility for all his actions to a group. . . ."

The hope of the world

An entirely different analysis comes from William Clark, maverick former vice president of the World Bank and chair of The Other Economic Summit (NEW OPTIONS #17). In Clark's novel *Cataclysm* (1985), a summing-up of everything Clark learned in 40-plus years as a journalist and diplomat but wasn't allowed to say in print, it is only terrorism that is going to bring Britain and the U.S. to the conference table to work out equitable economic arrangements with the Third World. But it is terrorism of a special sort.

According to Clark, this new kind of terror might reasonably be called "inconvenience terror." It will be practiced by the Third World against the countries of the North once the Third World realizes that in Europe and North America, at least, "the IRA style of assassination and gun-toting terror [is] totally counterproductive." In its place, the Third World countries will begin to practice a kind of terrorism meant to demonstrate "that the well-organized, computerized, automatized world of the urban North cannot run smoothly while ignoring and repressing the poor in the outside world and in their midst."

Cataclysm is full of examples of how this new "inconvenience terror" might be made to work. On one level, in fact, it's a kind of handbook for would-be Third World terrorist-

activists and their supporters in the North.

Clark would have us begin by using short-burst radio transmissions to interrupt Euro-American radio programs with information on deteriorating conditions in the South. We could also manipulate television satellites to insert one-minute spots into national TV programs. These Third World-generated radio and TV programs could eventually be used to make economic and political demands on the North. If the demands weren't heeded, additional means of inconvenience terror might be used.

For example, we could use pocket-sized transmitters to disrupt electronic check-out counters—in order to remind people what it's like to live in the collapsing big cities of the Third World. We could penetrate the computers generating electricity to our cities—in order to demonstrate what it's like to live in countries where the electricity system is largely defunct. We could tamper with computerized water purifiers, causing unpurified sewage to mix with purified water—in order to "bring home" what it's like to live in the Third World where literally tens of millions of people die every year for lack of purified water.

In *Cataclysm*, Clark outlines a strategy consisting of one part education, one part fear, that just might induce the North to make economic and political peace with the South. After 40-plus years on the international scene he sees no other way, in practice, to bring about such a restructuring.

The new terrorism: some causes

Arrogance vs. fanaticism

Abdul Aziz Said (pronounced "sigh-eed"), professor of international relations at American University in Washington D.C., is going to be the token "non-mainstream" speaker at an important meeting of terrorism analysts sponsored by the U.S. government this April. Said, a member of the national boards of directors of such groups as Human Rights Internet and the Mid-East Communication Council, is thinking of titling his speech something like, "The West and Islam: Arrogance and Fanaticism."

"Terrorism has sharpened our words, but not our understanding," Said told NEW OPTIONS from his inner-city apartment just hours before he was to leave for a peace conference in Poland. "[In many ways] Muslims have been saying they want respect, freedom, legitimacy. But that's not what the West sees. The West sees the Islamic revival as a threat to Western civilization.

"This Western reaction feeds into the cycle [of hostility and misunderstanding] and hastens the self-fulfillment of [both sides' worst] prophecies. Thus, Muslims react with more zeal and violence while the West becomes more sanctimonious.

"[The West really is so sanctimonious. Consider this:] The rules and practices of present-day world politics are largely Western in form and content. The West is outraged now because terrorists don't play by the rules. However, the rules favor the West! The deployment of the battleship New Jersey fits the rules. Car bombs and hijackings do not. The terrorists don't have a battleship New Jersey."

Twisted brothers

Even if terrorists aren't, strictly speaking, "mad," and even if the rest of us aren't altogether "sane," it may still be true that the new terrorists are unusually psychologically damaged human beings who find in terrorism a ready-made and personally appealing outlet for their frustrations. So say many analysts and—interestingly—a number of ex-radical activists from the 60s.

David Rapoport, who has taught political science at UCLA, writes of "terror as personal therapy." According to Rapoport, "One can gain therapeutic value from conflict, especially if a cause seems worthy. One who stands up for his convictions feels more like a person for doing so. Perpetually overcrowded psychiatric facilities emptied during Berkeley's revolutionary days. Never did life seem more interesting or worthwhile."

Our generation has a special relationship to terrorism, having already been both the perpetrator of terror through such groups as the Weathermen and the Symbionese Liberation Army and the target of state terror, e.g. on the campuses of Jackson State and Kent State. In *Growing Up Underground* (1981), activist Jane Alpert tries to capture some of the unbalanced personality-types in and around the Weathermen. Her lover, Sam Melville, for example:

"After working until midnight on my *Rat* article, I found Sam lying in bed, listening to WBAI. Bob Fass was taking calls about the turmoil at City College. The caller on the air was condemning the strike leaders.

"How long has this jerk been on the air?" I asked Sam as I crawled into bed next to him.

He made no answer. To my surprise, he was wearing his clothes under the sheet. Then he said in the darkness, 'I'm going to blow up WBAI.'

"I stared at his face, partially visible in the moonlight. His left eye was jumping.

"Are you stoned?"

"No," he said. I didn't believe him.

"Tell me why you want to blow up WBAI.'

"Because they're liberal assholes. It's time they learned that things are serious.'

"But, Sam, they're the only station in New York that gives the movement any airtime at all.'

"That's exactly why we need to shake them up.'

"You're crazy,' I said.

"The words came out of me before I thought of censoring them.

"Don't you talk to me that way,' Sam said, sitting up.

"I cannot remember what I said then, but it must have been another mistake. Sam leaped from the bed, gripped the edges of the six-foot mirror mounted on our bedroom wall, and tore it from its brackets. For one terrifying moment, he held it over me while I covered my head with my hands. Then, coming to his senses, he relaxed and laid it gently against the wall."

Alpert's summing up of this incident is meant to apply to more than just her lover: "For Sam, politics was just an excuse. He was as likely to turn his violence toward me or toward Nathan or Pat or WBAI or the *Guardian* as toward the people we agreed were the enemy."

Just kids

James Shenton might well reply that all that psychologizing isn't necessary. According to Shenton, who teaches history at Columbia University, and was Mark Rudd's faculty advisor in the pre-Weatherman days, possibly the most important single fact about terrorism is how *young* the terrorists are.

"[Most] terrorists are young adults or adolescents," Shenton told NEW OPTIONS late one night from his home in northern New Jersey. "The Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated by a 15-year-old; the entire conspiracy that led to that assassination took place in a high school. . . . The terrorists in Russia in the late 19th century were all college students. . . . Almost everyone involved in John Brown's band was in their late teens or early 20s. . . .

"This also holds true for the various terrorists [today]. The young men and women may be *guided* by older people [such as Abu Nidal], but the terrorists themselves are at an impressionable age. . . .

"The ones who do the shooting are young people acting in defense of transcendent causes, [which tend to appeal to the young]. They're not into subtleties [at that age]; they tend to have an either-or mentality. It perhaps requires youth to act 'irrationally,' without thinking deeply about the consequences of their actions.

"[Given that these are the actors,] how do you control them? I don't know of any answer. [I do observe that] a goodly portion of move-

ments that have had revolutionary consequences have gone through a terrorist phase."

USA: terrorist haven?

There is no question that—as the press repeatedly reminds us—the government of Libya is harboring terrorists. What James Shenton would add is this: the U.S. has also played host to many who were terrorists.

"Many terrorists have used the U.S. as a sanctuary from which they could launch assaults against established authorities," Shenton told NEW OPTIONS. "Before Castro, various anti-Batista revolutionaries were here. Now many anti-Castro revolutionaries are here. The terrorist who shot the King of Italy [hung out] in Paterson, N.J. The Czech republic was founded in Pittsburgh! When the Russian Revolution broke out, many of the most famous Bolsheviks were in the U.S. . . ."

As it turns out, the Sikh terrorists accused of plotting Rajiv Gandhi's murder, and suspected of having sabotaged the Air India jet that plunged into the North Atlantic with 329 people aboard, were trained in Alabama. The Sikhs took a \$350, two-week course at Frank Camper's Reconnaissance Commando School, near Birmingham, in November 1984, where they studied time bombs, silent killing, and other "relevant" subjects.

Shenton's point: "When a challenge to the established order comes from another country, the established order tends to see that country as sponsoring that challenge. But it's not necessarily so."

Information → terror

The conventional left-liberal interpretation of terrorism is that it is a byproduct of oppression. An alternative interpretation is offered by Amy Redlick, who's taught courses on guerrilla warfare and terrorism at Boston College. She sees terrorism as a strategy or tactic *consciously and voluntarily chosen* by rational political actors after reviewing their available options. (Note how Redlick's interpretation appears to assign more blame to terrorists than the desperate-response-to-oppression interpretation, but also to assign them more dignity.)

"There are two basic motivations for the use of terrorism as a strategy or tactic," says Redlick. "First, the overwhelming balance of forces between the rebels and their opposition may offer the dissidents no other option. . . . [But] second, the transnational flow of information may provide dissidents with the inspirational and material spark that will cause them to resort to terrorism.

"For example, a variety of external factors, such as the writings of Frantz Fanon, had subtle and extensive influence on the Quebec and Palestinian terrorist movements. The in-

formation obtained from external sources provided the terrorists with tactical, strategic, and ideological knowledge about the art of bomb-making, hostage-taking, and kidnapping.

"Moreover, information concerning the Algerians, Palestinians and Tupamaros permeated the intellectual milieu of Quebec and contributed to the creation of a climate in which the use of violence appeared justifiable and necessary to a small group of Quebecois.

"Inspired by militant anticolonial rhetoric, this radical fringe of the separatist movement quickly became committed to terrorism in its pursuit of Quebec's independence."

In NEW OPTIONS #1, we published economist Robert Theobald's thoughts on the *promise* of the coming "communications era." Redlick's analysis of terrorism suggests that the communications era, too, will have its dark side.

Nuclear terror

Amory Lovins is well-known for his expertise on renewable energy; over the last 10 years he and his wife, L. Hunter Lovins, have served as consultants to dozens of local, state and national governments on renewable energy policy. What many people don't yet realize is that he is also one of our foremost experts on the connection between energy policy and national security. His recent books have titles like *Brittle Power, Energy/War* and *The First Nuclear World War*.

Lovins thinks that "nuclear terrorism" is a clear and present danger—far and away the most serious threat of all the terrorist threats that the world now faces. He thinks the very *existence* of the nuclear bomb and nuclear power is part of what makes the "new terrorism" qualitatively new.

"There have [already] been hundreds of individual threats of nuclear terror in various degrees," Lovins told NEW OPTIONS from his Rocky Mountain Institute in rural Colorado (see NEW OPTIONS #15). "But there've been only a handful of threats involving bacteriological weapons, which are easier to produce and more effective! I infer from this that nuclear bombs have special, 'theatrical' value which conveys itself to terrorists.

"Hundreds of nuclear terrorist threats have taken place in this country [alone]; over the last eight years, at least six have been serious enough that the government called out [special] search teams. . . ."

"It's possible one or more of these threats *wasn't* a bluff. Perhaps the bomb didn't work; perhaps it was defused [by a search team]. Maybe some of the crazy stuff [the U.S. government does] is in response to nuclear blackmail. . . ."

"I am sometimes impressed at how *lucky*

we've been. We've had attacks on nuclear power plants in 26 states and in over 40 countries—an average of once a week at this point; and yet, most of the attacks have been incompetent or just to make a point (for example, to black out a neighborhood for an hour), not to hurt people. If people *wanted* to hurt us,

Thanks! from the Editor

Just a big "thank you!" for your donations to NEW OPTIONS. At this point we have received over \$21,000 from over 380 of you, so we'll be able to do some promotion this year after all. And that, coupled with our unusually high renewal rate, will keep us in business.

Not only did we get some money for promotion, we received over 200 warm and supportive notes from you. It was a great experience for us and reminded us (not that we *needed* reminding) why we are here.

they could [certainly] do it much more effectively than they have. [Incidentally, I've noticed that outside North America,] Soviet-trained terrorists and CIA-trained terrorists both go for the power plants. . . ."

We asked Lovins if he saw any possible solution and he said simply, "Denuclearization." Did he mean literally ridding the world of nuclear weapons and power plants? "Exactly."

Return of the suppressed

Gordon Feller, the young executive director of Ark Communications Institute (producer of peace products and peace conferences—see NEW OPTIONS #14), doesn't just see the bomb as a standing invitation to terrorists. He sees the nuclear deterrent system as—albeit by itself—a *cause* of the new terrorism.

"Despite Ronald Reagan's rhetoric about how Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) is immoral, that *is* our defense strategy, and the Soviet Union's, also," Feller told us from Ark's lovely headquarters on the Bolinas, Calif. coast. "And with the MAD deterrent system you have to keep local conflicts off the battlefield—because any violent conflict is too dangerous; because the deterrent system is too fragile.

"The underlying conflicts in Central America, in the Middle East, in the Philippines, have never been confronted in a direct, frontal way; they've never been fully addressed or resolved. It's just too dangerous to do so. If there's a small war, it could explode.

"Because our nuclear deterrent system has made us suppress the working out of conflict (one false move and we're all dead), now—in international terrorism—we're seeing the dark side of the nuclear deterrent system. We're seeing the return, in particularly

[ghoulish] form, of all our suppressed conflicts.

"The logic of the MAD deterrent system is we know it'll fail, so we're cautious. But that doesn't permit the true resolution of international crises. So we sit on the crises—we 'manage' them, we don't resolve them. And terrorism results. It's a letting off of steam. It's the return of the suppressed."

Against modernity

In a way, says Feller, it is ironic that the new terrorists make expert use of nuclear threats, of power plants, of high-tech weaponry and jumbo jets. For they are, he says, most importantly of all, traditionalists fighting against modernity.

"The favorite targets of the Third World breed [of terrorist] have been airports and airlines," Feller told NEW OPTIONS. "I would think about that. If you're trying to deal with the threat to religious and cultural tradition, the place you'd want to hit is the plexus point—what connects the Middle East, say, to the rest of the world and particularly the modern industrialized world. That would be airports and airlines. They symbolize the whole modernist technostructure. And so does Israel. Culturally, Israel is the modernist pebble on the Eastern shore. . . ."

"My guess is that as airport security gets tighter, the terrorists will [move on] to huge office buildings and other conspicuous parts of the technostructure."

The new terrorism: some solutions

Revenge—or restraint?

How should a nation respond to terrorist attacks? In the U.S., we are only beginning to deal with this question, but Israeli theorists have been batting it around for nearly 40 years. Yoram Peri is an Israeli Labor Party military affairs specialist who has gained the respect of the Israeli peace movement. His analysis of Israel's options—basically, revenge or restraint—is so relevant to our own situation that it deserves to be quoted at length:

"Fifty years have passed since [Mapai party theoretician] Ziaman Aran spoke of the necessity for ['active response' to Arab terror, as distinct from 'self-restraint'], yet Arabs continue to murder Jews. Now there is no restraint. We set a high price in blood for Jewish lives, yet the [endless] reprisal raids fail to bring about an end to terror. If we continue with them even though they are not efficient, they, in the best case, satisfy our sense of

justice. [But] in the worst and probably more accurate case, [they] generate rage and the will to seek revenge. After all, the law of blood revenge still holds sway in the part of the world where we have chosen to live.

"There is, however, no end to blood revenge. The more you satisfy the lust for revenge, the more you become hooked on it. . . ."

"In 1936, Labor-Zionist mentor Berl Katznelson said that Israel's self-restraint—the adult reaction to Arab terror—stemmed not only from ethical considerations but also from political ones. In this land, he said, we knew that once we chose the path of revenge, the phenomenon of 'blood feud' would arise. . . ."

"Twenty years after Katznelson's words of caution, Moshe Sharett wrote in his diary, 'Without even noticing, we have released the mental and ethical brakes on [the urge for revenge], and have enabled revenge to be elevated to the level of a moral principle!' Sharett, perhaps, went too far; revenge has not yet been accepted by all. But it is in the nature of an extended blood feud to bring [everyone and everything] into its sphere. Will the Israeli leadership succeed—while there are still among us those who learned personally from Katznelson—in carrying on according to his teachings?"

The world-order solution

It is important for powerful nation-states to respond to terrorist provocations "like an adult," as Peri puts it; but it is also important to understand that no nation-state, no matter how mature, can possibly cope with the terrorist phenomenon in isolation. "The problem is beyond the ability of individual nations to manage," Gerald and Patricia Mische, co-directors of Global Education Associates, told NEW OPTIONS from their home in Winona, Minn. "There's a whole global breakdown of national security [systems]. There's a need for international law and international institutions. . . ."

"[The new terrorism] provides a real challenge to U.S. foreign policy," Abdul Said, cited above, told NEW OPTIONS. "The mood in this country is to Take Action. But [our] record on these events is poor: unilateral action has not worked in the past [and] we're setting ourselves up for a fall. We simply cannot take [successful] action without our European and Middle Eastern allies.

"Arab complicity with Qaddafi [is a large part of] the problem. We need backroom discussions with Syria, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, to get cooperation that could monitor the Nidals, isolate Qaddafi, and build long-term cooperation. We also need to distance ourselves from Israel's desire for retaliation. . . ."

"The American response to terrorism is [geared] to the 'supply-side' of terrorism, i.e.

combatting symptoms. But it does not extend to the causes of terrorism. Terrorism is understood by disempowered people to accomplish political objectives not possible in the existing environment of world politics.

"So the call to deterrence and counter-terrorism is a retreat from the real ordeal. A return to arms may provide an emotional release for its advocates but does not end terrorism. Terrorism highlights the lack of institutionalization of grievance procedures, social change and law-and-order in world politics. The remedy to terrorism requires the creation of regional and international standards to promote greater social justice and provide workable institutional mechanisms for dealing with terrorism.

"The U.S. can take the initiative in the U.N. and in regional organizations to establish institutions dealing with the 'demand-side' of terrorism, i.e. grievances of non-governmental groups, arms transfer, and violations of human rights."

George Lopez, cited above, is one of the few American scholars who's given serious thought to the kinds of "demand-side" institutions we might want to build. Among his suggestions:

- An *international criminal court* that could hear cases brought by "non-governmental actors" against former heads of state, corporations, individuals, etc.;

- A general commitment to bringing non-governmental political actors into *some form of dialogue* with national actors in regional and international organizations;

- An *international grievance agency* "to act as a low-level intervenor in disputes and also to provide a redress procedure for forms of state terror";

- An *international mediation agency* that would "attempt to resolve disputes such that states and citizens might not 'need' to resort to violence as a means of conflict resolution";

- A *United Nations Commission for Human Rights* that would provide means for citizens and groups to hold national leaders accountable for violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The decentralist solution

Kirkpatrick Sale, author of *Human Scale and Dwellers in the Land* (NEW OPTIONS #21), paces back and forth in stocking feet in the book-lined study of his Greenwich Village apartment. He also feels the nation-state system has got to be radically altered. But he feels the problem is not only that states are incompetent. He feels it's also that they're too powerful, too repressive, too all-encompassing—in a word, too big.

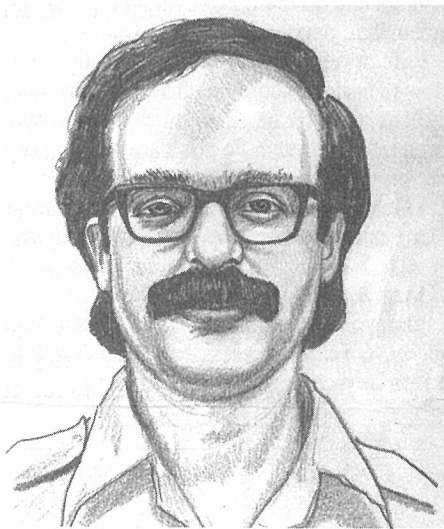
"I don't know of any terrorists that are not fighting for some kind of homeland," Sale told

NEW OPTIONS. "Think of the Basques in Spain, the Montagnards in Yugoslavia, the Palestinians. You can solve the problem that gives rise to terrorism by dividing [nations] so that each of the groups that feels it has to have a homeland, gets a homeland.

"Instead of trying to maintain an overlarge collection of various peoples, thus frustrating groups that are truly nations, you allow each region to de-link itself—have its autonomy—develop its territory as it wants to. . . .

"The Palestinian 'fanatics' may seem to be indiscriminate and irrational. But I think you have to presume they have a political point that can be satisfied by [what I call the] Principle of Division and that they are not just drug-crazed bullies. It is conceivable that some *are* drug-crazed bullies without any kind of political sensibility, but surely that's not the larger direction of these groups. You couldn't get people to do what they do if they weren't highly motivated.

"We need to take off the blinders of nationalism that insist that nations are permanent, that they cannot be dismantled. We would eliminate most of the terrorism in the world plus most of the *wars* if we agreed to the Principle of Division. Something like 50



AMORY LOVINS: Denuclearization is part of the answer

out of the 54 wars being fought in the world right now are intrastate not interstate—are being fought by groups within the same state. Most of them are being fought by groups not even wanting to take *over* the state, but wanting to achieve a measure of autonomy *from* the state, like the Basques, or the Tamils in Sri Lanka."

* *

We shared some of Sale's ideas with the Misches, and here's how Gerald Mische responded:

"History has moved beyond [the concept of] sovereignty. The 'real world' today consists of international movements of capital and multinational corporations and [other transnational phenomena that are] moving us toward One World. The longer people like Kirk stay away from dealing with the global community, the less will the decentralist/small-is-beautiful philosophy be relevant to the world."

Patricia Mische added, "Decentralism is not adequate—terrorism is an international problem." But later she phoned back and said, "I don't like it when there gets to be a split between centralized and decentralized [solutions]. Something I find helpful when [thinking about] terrorism is the 'principle of subsidiarity,' from Catholic social teaching. This principle states that our decisions should not be made at a higher level if they could [just as effectively] be made at a lower. But it also allows that there are some issues that cannot be managed effectively only at the local level. For these you need effective national and international systems. And that's how I feel on the terrorism issue."

The new terrorism: deeper meanings

Experiencing our fear

After we'd conducted most of our interviews for this article, we were feeling terribly depressed. So we called Joanna Macy and asked for her thoughts on the subject. Macy is a creator of the "Despairwork and Empowerment" workshops, which have been so helpful to peace activists over the years; she is also the author of an excellent book on self-reliant development strategies for the Third World, *Dharma and Development* (NEW OPTIONS #8).

"Terrorism is an avenue for feeling our interconnectedness with all beings," Macy told NEW OPTIONS. "It's a vehicle for teaching Americans what it's like to feel afraid—which is how most people feel on this planet." Instantly, we relaxed. And realized that the only way to really be able to live with the New Terrorism was to explore its deeper meanings, inner meanings.

"This is a time when societies are dislocating," Macy continued. "The old is passing. Fear stalks the streets and the airports. And the refugee camps. And the people trying to slip through borders. And the people being hunted. And those who are waiting for their sons and daughters to come home—waiting to see if they'll join 'the disappeared.'"

"And the fear stalks the farms. Farm families are asking, 'Can we make the pay-

ments on the debt?' Taxes are so high. There's a fear of losing everything.

"The terrorists make us afraid. And all I know to do about it, on an emotional level, is to see that this is an invitation to experience a little bit of the gut-wrenching fear that shadows the lives of our brothers and sisters at this moment in time.

"I think there's going to be fear walking all the alleyways and corridors of power until we find ways of sharing the resources of our planet more justly. I think that's obvious.

"I don't know that any short-term measures against terrorists could work in the long run—except to keep working for a more just order. That must sound very naive, but I don't know any other way.

"I got a beautiful letter just now from a guy who's doing mediation work between the Tamil terror groups and the Sri Lanka government. He says he sees no other way but for each side to see the other as human beings and not as demons.

"The terrible danger of fear is that we will slip the demon mask over the faces of human beings. We have to rip the mask away so we can see the vulnerable, suffering human beings underneath.

"That doesn't mean we shouldn't try to minimize the opportunities for cruelty and destruction and murder. But revenge pulls us deeper into the whirlpool; acting out of revenge just sucks us in.

"We are getting to a point where it's easier and easier to panic. There is so much economic dislocation; there is so much fighting among the powerless. So some of our work now must be to keep laying the groundwork that can help us rise above panic."

The chickens come home

"Terrorists are a shadow side of all of us," says Corinne McLaughlin, co-author of the book *Builders of the Dawn* (NEW OPTIONS #17). "Terrorists represent the side we don't like to admit—the repressed negativity in us. They sort of act it out for us."

"It's not just the terrorists who are holding people hostage when they hijack a plane," adds Joanna Macy. "[We] superpowers are holding the whole world hostage with our weapons, our tanks and our planes, which we use to further our 'national interests.'"

"So in a very literal sense, the superpowers are holding the whole world hostage. And when the terrorists hold people hostage, they're following a tradition that [we ourselves] are dignifying."

The pain of homelessness

"It is important to speak to the dangers inherent in the feeling of homelessness and rootlessness," David Spangler told NEW OP-

TIONS. Spangler is a spiritual leader and teacher, and author of the book *Emergence: The Rebirth of the Sacred* (NEW OPTIONS #3).

"People are in pain all over the world," Spangler said from his home near Seattle, Wash. "That generates a kind of psychic pain or residue that's crying out; there's a lot of pain within the collective unconscious of humanity. The existence of refugees who are in effect homeless, and have no structure or sense of belonging to a place, creates an entry point through which this psychic pain can enter the world.

"Precisely because these people don't have homes of their own, they have no investment in the concept of home. They may wish to reclaim their homeland. But in the present situation, not having a homeland they don't have a sense of a need to honor the homeland of others.

"I remember playing a board game once, and after a while one fellow got up and said, 'If I can't win, I don't want anybody else to win!' If he couldn't win, he had no investment in [any aspect of the game]. The homeless have no connection with the world; they have been severed from the world [on account of their homelessness]. They have no investment in it."

The dark side of the new

Spangler paused for a moment, then continued in a deeper, slower voice: "Terrorism represents the shadow side of the kind of global consciousness that many [good] folks are trying to develop.

"The consciousness that's trying to emerge now is one in which we discover what it means to be shaped by our planet as a whole [rather than solely by our attachment to place]. A global sensibility is trying to emerge [that would permit] people to see themselves as belonging to the planet as a whole and humanity as a whole.

"But when a new sensibility or consciousness is trying to develop, there can be a tendency to go too far with it. [And] one of the effects of going too far with the new global consciousness is a kind of psychic rootlessness or homelessness. I may begin to see myself as a planetary citizen but not root myself in or hold myself accountable to my locale or nation.

"A major thrust in our current economic and political life is toward a kind of globalness as represented, say, in a multinational corporation. We are such a mobile society—so many of the traditional bonds of place, home, geography, family, all the things that helped define us in the past, don't define us in the same way any more. We are creating a whole culture of psychic refugees—of people who are uprooted in a very basic way.

"Under that [imperfectly formed, or malformed] global consciousness, it becomes so much easier to move people around, and to undervalue the values of home and connectedness with other people. I begin to develop a consciousness that does not view the Earth as a home, but only as a resource. There is a breaking of the bonds of love and caring for the Earth and the things of the Earth—including human community.

"The frightening thing about a terrorist is that he or she seems to have no regard for life—whether his or her own life or anybody else's. Terrorists [seek to extend] insecurity and risk and devaluing of life willy-nilly into society. But at a deeper level, this could be seen as an externalization or personification of our culture's own devaluation of life. [By "life" I mean] both our ecological life, and the web of connectedness that binds us together as human beings and allows us to work for each other's well-being.

"There is that tendency in our culture that devalues the individual and introduces the whole sense of manipulation of people and nations for very abstract reasons. And the terrorist is to me just a very specific reflection of that. He or she does exactly the same thing. In that sense, terrorism would seem to be almost a disease of the transition into a global age. It's the shadow side of that transition.

"In many ways, we are to the Earth as the terrorists are to our culture. To the extent that our culture is not sensitive to what Bateson called 'the pattern that connects,' we can act in ways that terrorize and destroy the larger home of which we are a part.

"Ultimately, I feel that what the [terrorist phenomenon] is calling out for is a return to a deeper valuing of home and place; and on the other hand, a deeper valuing of the Earth as our home. And global institutions that can act out of that perspective!"

Dare to struggle, dare to take it all in

You may feel tempted to pick and choose among the perspectives described above. You should try to avoid that temptation.

One of the severest problems with the traditional political spectrum is precisely that it is a spectrum, a "straight line" of opinion. Those who cling to it—to any part of it, left, right or center—soon acquire a vested interest in seeing the world *one way* and no other. They become adept at excluding or distorting information if it doesn't fit neatly onto their preferred part of the straight line.

This article was written for those who believe that the spectrum of opinion is more like a circle than a straight line. It was written for those who believe that each of the different perspectives on terrorism has something to add to the whole.

In this view, coming up with a solution to terrorism is not a matter of adopting "correct" political beliefs. It is, rather, a matter of learning to listen—really *listen*—to everyone in the circle of humankind. And to take their insights into account. For everyone has a true and unique perspective on the whole.

Fifteen years ago the burning question was, How radical are you? Hopefully someday soon the question will be, How much can you synthesize? How much do you dare to take in?

The sketches of Amory Lovins and Joanna Macy, above, were draun for NEW OPTIONS by A.J. Toos, a young cartoonist whose work appears regularly in The New Yorker and The Saturday Evening Post. Toos's sketches of post-liberal, Greenish thinkers and activists will be a regular feature in NEW OPTIONS.

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Letters . . .

Kristina's web

With your exquisite, anguished, and brilliant issue on terrorism (#24), you have threaded my heart and firmly attached it to a web of all the readers of NEW OPTIONS. It's an eerie sensation.

Until now, I've never understood exactly why I haven't been a political person. It's felt like a puzzling gap in my life. I've been diligently reading NEW OPTIONS, finding just enough clues to keep me reading.

I had a sense there was more. But I couldn't get it into words. I said to my husband, "I think this needs art . . . poetry . . . something beyond this linear type."

You are, however, inventing an art I couldn't even imagine. Weaving together so many powerful views and challenging us all to see a larger picture. This feels like the politics I have been waiting for.

—Kristina Turner
Grass Valley, Calif.

They cut off his genitals

"Twenty-eight Ways of Looking at Terrorism" was interesting as a survey of people who have no effective approach whatsoever for dealing with terrorism. You should have tried for 30 by adding two others: the terrorist's view of terrorism, which could have been extracted from literature (including Fanon, Bakunin, Luttwak and even Sorel), and the Soviet view of terrorism.

On the latter, the Soviet method of dealing with terrorism is instructive. Last year four Soviet embassy employees were kidnapped in Lebanon, and one was promptly shot and left on a street. How did the Soviets deal with this problem? There were no angry denunciations from the Kremlin. The KGB simply started locating all the relatives of the leader of the group which had claimed that it carried out the kidnapping and had the hostages.

First they picked up the leader's brother, who was simply minding his own business elsewhere in the country. They cut off his genitals and sent them with a photo to the terrorist leader. Then they shot the brother, to pay for the Soviet who was shot, dumped his body where it could be found, and left a note advising that the leader was on his way to having no living relatives unless the remaining three Soviets were returned in good condition. Within 24 hours the hostages were on their way back to the Soviet Union.

Very effective. No Soviets have been annoyed by terrorists since.

Then, by contrast, we have the David Spangler approach (#24, p. 8): respond to their desire for a deeper valuing of home and place, and the Earth as our home.

You pays your money, and you gets your choice.

—John McClaughry
Senior White House Advisor, 1981-82
Concord, Vt.

Your article on terrorism is the best [on the subject] yet. Is there no one in Washington who can enlighten this administration?

The terrorists are so much more intelligent than our government, one wonders if we have a chance.

—Father Leo Neudecker
Immaculate Conception Church
Kellogg, Minn.

Ugly American

Kudos for the anthology on terrorism; it's the most insightful treatment that I've seen to date.

Not to be ignored is the "Ugly American" syndrome, that combination of arrogance, decadence and greed that foreigners noted in some American tourists years ago. It's the same unconscious condescension with which drivers treat parking lot attendants—a certain sense of perceived "station" or presumption of superiority which can piss people off.

Many Americans carry at least some aspects of this mantle to some degree, and in my own experience, it takes a friend who is non-American to point out those behaviors that may be offensive. People carrying out terror against Americans might be just the violent fringe of a large body of folks who'd love to thumb their nose at Uncle Sam.

—Frank Chappa
West Orange, N.J.

Principle of division

Your issue on terrorism missed some important insights: that political violence is a tool of male dominance; that there are legitimate ways for those who seek justice to achieve their goals (non-violent action and non-violent conflict resolution); that some Palestinians may consider terrorism legitimate *because* Jewish terrorist groups were instrumental in driving the British and hundreds of thousands of Arabs out of Palestine in 1948.

These are all relevant to the "new option" discussed by Kirkpatrick Sale (#24, p. 6)—the "principle of division." I believe that only if decentralist principles are applied to Israel/Palestine and Lebanon can we prevent nuclear

holocaust from beginning in the Mideast. Diverse communities—Arab, Jewish or Christian fundamentalist; religious or secular; capitalist or socialist—could co-exist in a loose federation whose various inter-community disputes would be resolved non-violently.

—Carol Moore
Los Angeles, Calif.

Forgotten?

In your study of terrorism, maverick banker William Clark is quoted as saying that "the Irish Republican Army (IRA) style of assassination is counterproductive" (#24, p. 3). Perhaps he has forgotten that the IRA freed most of Ireland by this method in 1922—or that the British considered George Washington a terrorist. . . .

—Scott Smith
Thousand Oaks, Calif.

Your coverage of views on terrorism was thought-provoking, informative and complete—well, almost complete.

As a pro-life advocate, I am moved to compare terrorism to abortion. It would be possible, in parts, to exchange the two words in the pages of NEW OPTIONS!

I have been developing my own idea of abortion as a form of "civil war"—within the individual, that is. Because sexual responsibility involves persons (seen and unseen) other than ourselves, it may serve as a model in our civil dealings locally and globally.

—Mary Eileen Johnston, C.M.T.
Secane, Penna.

I'm sorry to say that I found the terrorism issue to be below your usual standards. Most of the supposedly new views on terrorism seemed to me to be restatements of the left/liberal view. In addition, you missed several views that even a non-expert can see.

For example, it can be said (and has been said!) that terrorism consists of one part idealism, one part frustration, and one part conviction that the end justifies the means. Or, for example, it can be said that much terrorism comes from antagonism between the traditional religions.

I see these views as belonging to your post-whatever school of thought—because they are based on the meta-view that, in the final analysis, it is beliefs that shape the world and not economics.

—Chris Sturgess
Toronto, Canada

About that circle

Wanted to complement and complain about terrorism issue. It is typical of the entire pub-

lication. *Great* in giving different, thoughtful and provoking insights. *Nowhere* in terms of giving any clues as to what realistic might be in terms of policy.

The problem with a circle—your closing metaphor—is that it doesn't *point* anywhere.

—Mike Koetting
Chicago, Ill.

Your issue on terrorism is most extraordinary because you clearly show that terrorism is linked to so many other issues that you have presented in NEW OPTIONS in the past.

But your analogy of the circle should be extended. Rather than your statement, "each of the different perspectives on terrorism has something to add to the whole," I would suggest that each of them *is* the whole but in various shades of unrecognized, separated form.

Between the lines of all 28 perspectives in this issue is the implicit message that each of us is searching for this deeper, inner whole. Everything I have ever read in NEW OPTIONS—its very essence, your deepest meaning and intent, the coverage of new community, local self-reliance, deep ecology, new economies, etc., etc.—all are indications of a grassroots move toward the interior, the deeper meaning. That is what the "whole" is.

David Spangler expresses this idea eloquently when he calls for a "deeper valuing of home and place [and] of the Earth as our home" (#24, p. 8). To me that means we are being drawn to our interiors ("deeper valuing"), and to *facilitate* that movement we need the proper milieu, the right "space" to do so. That space must be provided in families and in physically and socially re-ordered communities.

—James Ajemian
San Diego, Calif.

Are labels useful?

I have just read your recent issue on terrorism. As usual, it contained much better thinking on the issue than one finds in the public media. I still have no other solution to that issue than a long-range societal transformation. In other words, terrorism, fear and death may continue to plague us for some time.

I am responding mainly to your final comment about taking it all in without regard to ideological position. In fact, I have been irritated for some months now by *your* tendency to apply ideological position labels to people.

I suppose you do it to place the person in your reader's mind. Such labels immediately invoke an image in the mind of the reader, and the reader may think he/she understands

more clearly. In fact, these labels provide extra baggage that is more thought-distorting than thought-clarifying.

I propose a moratorium on left/right labeling.

—Lester Milbrath

Author, *Environmentalists: Vanguard for a New Society* (1984)
Buffalo, N.Y.

Your issue on terrorism was one of the most insightful pieces of journalism I have read on the subject. I have held each of the three "predictable" views you described [conservative, liberal, radical], sometimes simultaneously (!); an indication of the power of terrorism to stir our deeply held views.

—Patrice Wynne

Publisher, *WomanSpirit Catalogue*
Berkeley, Calif.

The gift of terror

Your issue on terrorism is in my opinion a very important one. In my own thinking of late, it seems very important that we identify terror in our own hearts and relate to it very personally. My own little story of being forced to confront terror(ism) includes two incidents of the past year.

Early one Sunday morning a young Motswana man came to my front door and banged on it. "I need money, Ma, please give me money. I am hungry. I want some bread." I refused the young man money. He refused to leave. In his limited English he finally hit on the phrase, "What's it to you, madam?" I hate being called madam. I was angry at having my own resources questioned. In shame and desperation I handed over some Pula notes. I was shaking. How did someone so crazed-looking get to my front door without my permission? I could not tell if he was high on drugs, or just down and out. But clearly he was desperate and that scared me.

The next day I came home alone and found him sitting on my porch. Waiting. He had a wild look in his eye and I was very frightened. He begged for money. I told him I had given enough. He took his shirt off and showed me knife wounds on his back. He came back again and again. . . .

Another terror incident was the recent two a.m. raid of Gaborone by the South African Defense Forces. The raid was truly terrifying—every grenade, shot, explosion in 10 locations in the city could be heard by me cowering in bed. Over loudspeakers I could hear the words of the invading terrorist troops as they ordered people out before blowing them away. . . .

Not long after these incidents I found myself at a U.S. Embassy security briefing where

the question in the hearts of all of us in the audience was what to do in case of a full invasion. Would we be evacuated in time? Never mind in time for what. The U.S. security official refused to address the terrorist raid and euphemistically told us that basic security included lighting our properties well, having several dogs (to ward off strangers like my young man) and hiring day and night security guards. I have joined the ranks of those expatriate Americans with security guards round the clock. . . .

I confess to extreme ambivalence in participating in an official policy that seeks to remove the scare, the terror from the hearts of Americans abroad by distancing us from the cares and concerns of our community. Here in Botswana, the state of drought and the proximity to South Africa engender *similar emotions* in both the well-off expatriate and the drought-stricken African. *It is our commonality* if we dare to let it be.

I suspect that in the U.S. we do a similar thing. We try to cover terror up with briefings, donations, laws, congressional hearings and our global conscience/human rights image. So under the carpet are battered women, abused children, starving peoples, homeless nations . . . whose *first need* is someone who recognizes their situation is terrifying and is willing to sit with them *in exactly that feeling-state*.

For now, I have begun to live with remembering where terror comes from—that sense of separateness—and what it leads us to do. I know this is not enough. But the gift that has come into my life in this last year is an experience of terror so great I know I must let it lead me to something new.

—Judy Ellison

Gaborone, Botswana, Africa

Like Annie Cheatham (NEW OPTIONS #26), Judy Ellison was at one time executive director of the Clearinghouse on the Future of the U.S. Congress.

Flashes of awareness

Thanks for your vulnerable and heartfelt response to the bombardment of expert opinions on terrorism. NEW OPTIONS is invaluable to me in giving me fresh thinking on such gut-wrenching issues. . . .

Flashes of awareness

when I can see

all things flow together, along with me

all things are one (even terrorists)

that's enough to stun

that's too much to see at once

so I back off

and play the dunce.

—Rich Turner

Grass Valley, Calif.