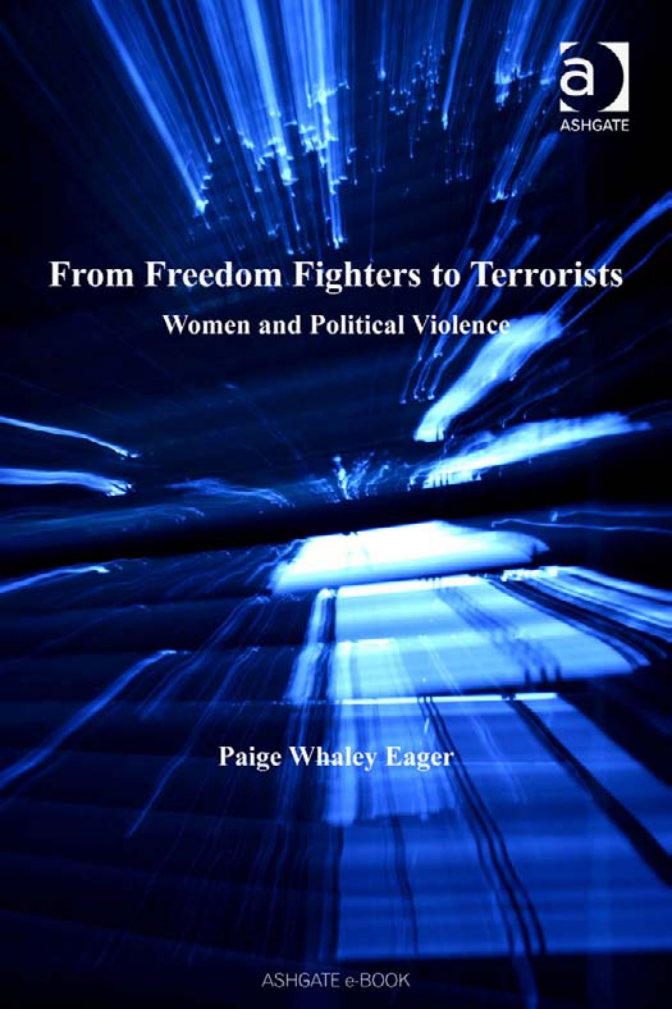
ASHGATE
From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists
Women and Political Violence
Paige Whaley Eager
ASHGATE e-BOOK

FROM FREEDOM FIGHTERS TO TERRORISTS

Dedicated to my husband, Michael Jack Eager,
and my son, Cameron Jack Eager

From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists

Women and Political Violence

PAIGE WHALEY EAGER
Hood College, USA

ASHGATE

Published by
Ashgate Publishing Limited
Gower House
Croft Road
Aldershot
Hampshire GU11 3HR
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
Suite 420
101 Cherry Street
Burlington, VT 05401-4405
USA

Ashgate website: http://www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Eager, Paige Whaley, 1973-
From freedom fighters to terrorists : women and political violence
1. Political violence 2. Violence in women 3. Women in politics 4. Women terrorists
I Title
303.6'082

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Eager, Paige Whaley, 1973-
From freedom fighters to terrorists : women and political violence / by Paige Whaley Eager.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-7546-7225-8 (alk. paper)
1. Women--History. 2. Violence in women. 3. Women terrorists. 4. Women suicide bombers. 5. Political violence. 6. Feminism. I. Title.

HQ1121.E24 2008
363.3208--dc22

2007034130

ISBN 978-0-7546-7225-8

Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall.

Contents

Acknowledgements *vii*

1 The Second Sex: Women and Political Violence 1

2 Bringing on the Revolution: Women and Left-Wing Political Violence 27

3 Dupes of Men or Willing Participants? Right-Wing Women and Political Violence 71

4 The "Wretched of the Earth" Rebel: Women and Wars of National Liberation 93

5 Tigers, Eterras, and Republicans: Women and Ethnonational Political Violence 133

6 Female Suicide Bombers: Analyzing the Aberrant Woman's Paradox 171

7 Concluding Thoughts on Women and Political Violence 213

Bibliography *217*
Index *227*

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgements

This book has been a long journey, as they all are. I would like to thank a few individuals for their assistance in research. I had the pleasure of having four wonderful undergraduate students at Hood College assist me in the past two years. They are: Andrea Blonder, Freddie Ephraim, Corey Mann, and Robert Stegman. Andrea assisted with French to English translations of work on the FLN and Algeria, and Freddie conducted research on the LTTE in Sri Lanka. Corey was a tremendous assistance on the first chapter of the book, and Robert tackled the right-wing political violence chapter with a great gusto.

I would also like to thank my Provost, Dr. Robert Funk, for financial assistance the past two summers in defraying some of the research costs for the book as well as the support of my departmental colleagues in encouraging me to complete the book. My parents, Frank and Phyllis Whaley, have provided a lot of moral support and encouragement while writing this book. They only wish I researched more pleasant topics. My husband, Michael Jack Eager, is a wonderful husband and partner who is always interested in what I am researching, writing, and willing to listen to my ideas. And finally, I would like to acknowledge my son, Cameron Jack Eager, born in September 2007. While writing during the summer of 2007, I felt a lot of movement from him which reminded me to keep working as his arrival was imminent and much anticipated.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 1

The Second Sex: Women and Political Violence

> History is a virtual chronicle of political violence from either above or below, for or against the state, and as drama, spectacle, and power. It is a chronicle which can be read in many different ways, from the standpoint of the victim as well as the perpetrators, the tragic and the heroic, and both the evil and the good that lives after them (Apter 1997, vii).

Throughout human history, both men and women have utilized political violence to achieve their political objectives. However, engaging in political violence has been largely a man's role. Females who perpetrate, support, both tacitly and explicitly political violence, and harbor those who commit political violence have been viewed largely as an aberration at best and demonic at worst. This book will take a fresh look at women who commit political violence by examining women's role as ethno-national separatists, national liberation fighters, proponents of left and right-wing political violence, and suicide bombers from the late 19th century until the present. My goal in this book is not to posit a general theory of why women engage in political violence, but to examine through various case studies how structural, ideological, and individual factors have all contributed to the actions these women take. First, however, we must examine the question of what constitutes political violence and why this term is purposely utilized rather than terrorism.

Political Violence vs. Terrorism

> Terror always refers to someone else's behavior. Terror is a strategy and not a creed (Tilly 2003, 264).

I view political violence as a much broader category than terrorism. Although there is not a single accepted definition of political violence, I view it as encompassing guerrilla warfare, national liberation movements, and sometimes even strikes and demonstrations that turn violent. "Political violence disorders explicitly for a designated and reordering purpose: to overthrow a tyrannical regime; to redefine and realize justice and equality; to achieve independence or territorial autonomy; or to impose one's religious or doctrinal beliefs" (Apter 1997, 5). Political violence can be directed towards property, political authorities and law enforcement, but it rarely intentionally targets civilians. Moreover, political violence has a far more value-neutral connotation, whereas the word terrorism has a far more negative connotation. According to Boaz Ganor, terrorism is the "the intentional use of, or

threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets in order to attain political aims." According to Ganor, terrorism must involve three main components: (1) the threat or actual use of violence; (2) the aim of the activity must always be political such as, but not limited to: changing the regime, changing the people in power, or changing social and/or economic policies; and (3) the targets of terrorism must be civilians. Thus, terrorism is qualitatively different from political violence in that terrorism "exploits the relative vulnerability of the civilian underbelly" (Ganor 2006, 6). Terrorism expert, Bruce Hoffman, distinguishes terrorists from other types of criminals and terrorism from other forms of crime by focusing on the following criteria. To qualify as terrorism: (1) there are political aims and motives; (2) violence or the threat of violence is utilized; (3) the act is intended to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target; (4) the act is conducted by an organization with a chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure; and (5) the act is perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity (Hoffman 1998, 43).

This is not to say that those who engage in political violence do not also often engage in terrorism, but the intentional targeting of civilians is different than a guerrilla group who 'accidentally' kills civilians. Another illustrative example of the difference between political violence and terrorism is the 19th century Russian anarchists who took great pains to spare civilian casualties and expressed remorse when civilians were killed in assassinations and bombings. Although heads of state, diplomats, and police figures were often the targets of assassination attempts in the 19th and much of the 20th century, the advent of 'spectacular terrorism', or terrorism designed to inflict mass civilian causalities, has been more common since the 1970s onward (Hoffman 1998). Hence, the question of whether most political violence is now in fact terrorism is important to contemplate. In the end, though, there is no doubt that the term political violence is more value neutral, especially in a post-September 11th world; however, I certainly do not wish to minimize the pain and suffering acts of political violence and terrorism engender for victims, families, and societies at large. However, political violence as the object of this study will allow an examination of a larger 'data set' of women who have been engaged in left and right-wing political violence, ethno-nationalist/separatist political violence, national liberation movements, and suicide bombings.

Another reason to separate the term political violence from terrorism is that those who engage in political violence can sometimes be classified as irregular combatants such as guerrillas, partisans, and resistance groups (Schmid 2004, 203). These agents of political violence are even covered under international law, so long as they comply with the following criteria under the Hague Regulations and Geneva Conventions, such as: (1) 'irregulars' must be commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates; (2) they must have a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance; (3) they must carry their arms openly; and (4) they must conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war (Schmid 2004, 203). While there is sometimes no bright-line in the real world between irregulars and terrorists, many scholars who study political violence do feel there is a qualitative difference.

Women and Political Violence

> Female violence is what happens when politics breaks down into riots, revolutions, or anarchy, when things are out of control (Elshtain 1987: 170).

Even before the wave of female Palestinian suicide bombers began in 2002, some scholars from the fields of sociology, criminology, psychology, and political science have focused their attention on women who commit acts of political violence. As we certainly know, the media often is captivated by these women, and the public at large, depending on the context, sometimes cheers and valorizes these women or at other times condemns and demonizes them. For many, the sheer fact that women give birth is reason enough to be aghast when women consciously plan and execute acts of political violence.

Societies, regardless of cultural and/or religious influences, seem especially uncomfortable with women who are violent. "It seems there are only a very limited number of instances in which society can understand a woman being violent" (MacDonald 1991, xvii). Exceptions to the rule include: fending off an attacker, especially a rapist; defending her children; fighting back against a terribly abusive husband; some sporting activities,[1] and to some extent women engaged in military combat. However, while women participated in active combat and support roles in the U.S. Civil War, World War II, and the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, many are still uncomfortable with this issue. On the other hand, world history celebrates stories of fierce women who fought such as Joan of Arc or the 'ferocious few'– "women who reversed cultural expectations by donning warrior's garb and doing battle" (Elshtain 1987, 8). During World War I, some Russian women took part in combat during the Czarist period. Although few women served openly as soldiers, the role of women in war and national liberation movements has changed tremendously. However, women's role as warriors and mothers has been difficult to reconcile. While the "image of the woman holding a rifle and baby was found in liberation movements throughout the third world" (Goldstein 2001, 81), many women were expected to retreat to the private sphere of the home once the conflict was over or national liberation was achieved.

However, the women who commit violence outside of these aforementioned exceptional circumstances are often viewed as aberrant and 'less than a woman'. Explanations for why women do engage in violence in general, not necessarily political in nature, have included: elevated levels of testosterone,[2] traumatic events in childhood, and excessive feminism or lesbianism. For example, psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud believed criminal women were sexually maladjusted deviants with penis envy (Denefeld 1997, 94). Statistically, there are no more lesbians than heterosexual women committing crimes, and studies have found that women who commit violent crimes are more likely to hold traditional/conservative views rather than feminist views (Denefeld 1997, 96). The number of individuals who engage in

1 See Rene Denefeld (1997).

2 See Denefeld (1997) and Goldstein (2001).

political violence and terrorism is a very small subset of individuals, but the number of women who cross over into this supposedly 'male territory' is even rarer.

Women who perpetrate political violence often have been viewed as engaging in such actions due to personal connections and grievances. I do not find this to be a problematic statement, but I will demonstrate in this book that this rationale in no way delegitimizes or makes less substantial women's involvement in political violence and terrorism. Men too are motivated to engage in political violence and terrorism through a combination of ideological and personal motivations. For example, studies on male suicide bombers have found that men who came of age during the 1987 Palestinian Intifada and often experienced a personal loss or insult to the pride (e.g. being denied entrance into Israel proper, or a run-in with the IDF forces) were more likely to be suicide bomber (Haddad 2004). While women engage in political violence for all types of reasons, and yes, some may even do it for love (Nacos 2005), it is perplexing why the so-called 'personal reasons' consume much of the public's and media's fascination. Deborah Galvin (1983) argues,

> Exactly why individuals become terrorists can only usefully be appreciated on a case-by case basis. Some motives are clearly personal, while in other cases individual interests may be set aside. The literature suggests women are more idealistic than men. They hold onto these ideals longer and seem less affected by cynicism. Men are more naturally lured into terrorism by promises of power and glory, while females seem attracted by promises of a better life for their children or the desire to meet people's needs that are not being met by an intractable establishment (p. 23).

Galvin's statement is now over 20 years old; however, the part in particular about women being more idealistic than men also was reflected in Eileen MacDonald's (1991) discussion with German counterterrorism specialist, Herr Lochte, when they were discussing the women involved in West Germany's Red Army Faction (RAF). The title of MacDonald's book, *Shoot the Women First*, came from a conversation she had with Locthe. Herr Lochte told MacDonald, "women terrorists have much stronger characters, more power and energy" (p. xiv). While men delayed in firing, women have opened fire immediately in his experience in dealing the RAF. When MacDonald asked Herr Lochte why this seems to be the case, he replied, "Women had more to overcome just being in a terrorist group in the first place; they had to fight the sexism as well as the enemy; and the best way to prove that they were equal was to show that they were even more ruthless than the men" (MacDonald 1991, 222).

This statement, however, could be partially true in other non-violent contexts. How many times have we heard women say they have to be a better soldier than their male comrade to prove they are worthy of wearing the uniform, or a woman CEO has to show that she can handle the stress of a high-powered position as well as a man? And let us not forget the ongoing debate of whether the United States will ever elect a female Commander-in-Chief? Or discussions about whether Secretaries of State Madeline Albright and Condoleezza Rice can hold their own in a tense negotiation with North Korea or Iran? Obviously, in these scenarios women are not being ruthless in the context of purposely taking another person's life in a terrorist attack, but the comparison is illustrative.

Exploring Women's Participation in Political Violence and Terrorism

> The female terrorist represents, perhaps, the ultimate pariah of the modern world. She is viewed as possessing an identity that exists outside the limits of political and moral discourse (Zwerman 1992, 135).

The field of study of political violence and terrorism has recently become more crowded since the September 11th attacks; however, political philosophers such as Hannah Arendt and Frantz Fanon to political scientists such as Walter Laqueur, Ted Gurr, and Martha Crenshaw have been examining the hows and whys of political violence and terrorism for decades. This section will provide a brief overview of some of the major 'theories' or analytical approaches to studying political violence and terrorism. After discussing the major theoretical approaches, I will examine whether feminism (in all its varieties) can provide any leverage on the study of women and political violence and then provide an overview of how the book will progress in subsequent chapters.

Rational Choice Theory According to rational choice theory, an individual decides whether or not to participate in collective political violence on the basis of a cost/benefit analysis of a situation. He or she compares the benefits of participation in a movement to the costs associated with participation. If the benefits are greater than the costs, then she will participate; otherwise, she will not. Edward N. Muller and Karl-Dieter Opp (1986) describe the thought process of an individual according to rational choice theory.

> An individual, for whatever reasons, holds a very negative opinion of the political system under which he or she is governed, and there exists an opportunity to participate in a social movement that seeks to effect political change by means of rebellious collective action. This individual is faced with a decision between two courses of action: taking part in rebellious behavior, or staying at home while wishing the rebels well. Rational individuals will compare the benefits and costs of participation with those of inactivity, and choose the course of action in which their expected utility is maximized (p. 471).

From the perspective of rational choice theory, the benefits associated with participation are generally defined as the attainment of values that are deemed "central to the well-being" of the participating individual (Klosko 1987, 557). In the context of collective movements, the benefits of success and group participation itself are often defined generally as *selective incentives*, or personal goods reaped only from participation in the movement, (Olson 1965) and *collective or public goods*, or goods that can be shared by the entire group including individuals who do not participate (Moore 1995, 424; Muller and Opp 1986). In the case of politically violent collective movements, the reward for success (the overthrow of the current regime) is a public good, available to all individuals regardless of whether or not they participated in the movement (Moore 1995, 424).

As this description implies, rational choice theory relies on two general assumptions about human nature. First, individuals are self-interested. A person is more likely to act on his own behalf rather than on the behalf of groups, with the

possible exception of family and friends. Second, an individual's actions are intended to be "efficient and maximizing" (Klosko 1987, 557). An individual analyzes the available alternatives and chooses the one most likely to achieve the desired ends with the least amount of costs. In this manner, individual actors are assumed to be sufficiently cognizant of their own interests and the relative efficacy of the various alternatives (Klosko 1987, 557; Moore 1995, 421).

In spite of rational choice theory's parsimonious explanation for individual behavior, one theoretical consideration has rendered it inadequate, or at least incomplete, as an explanation for collective behavior. As Olson (1965) first noted, collective action often presents the rational individual with a peculiar situation: because the rewards of collective action are available to everyone with an interest in the action, individual participation is not a necessary prerequisite for receipt of the benefits. Individuals recognize that their individual contribution to the group will not significantly increase the group's ability to succeed, particularly in the context of large groups. Therefore, a rational individual will surmise that the appropriate choice is not to participate, or "free-ride", as this phenomenon is often called. Even more, because an individual's contribution appears unnecessary when a group appears to be succeeding, the likelihood of group success actually serves as incentive for individuals not to participate (Finkel, Muller, and Dieter-Opp 1989, 887). Either way, the individual chooses to avoid all costs associated with participation and still receives the benefits. Yet, because history proves that individuals do participate in collective movements, violent or otherwise, the free-rider problem must be overcome in order for rational choice models to adequately explain the behavior of individuals and groups. As such, rational choice theorists have put forward several creative explanations for why individuals participate in collective movements in spite of the free-rider problem.

Olson's answer to the free-rider problem involved the use of selective incentives and disincentives on the part of the group leadership to secure individual participation. Selective incentives, as previously mentioned, are rewards available only to those who participate in the collective movement. According to Olson, these incentives are primarily material in nature such as power and status (Finkel et al. 1989). Tullock and Silver extended selective incentives to include "entertainment" and "psychic" values (cited in Muller and Opp 1986, 473). Selective disincentives (coercion), on the other hand, take the form of punishments aimed at those who fail to contribute (Moore 1995, 425-26). The goal of selective incentives and disincentives is to alter the costs and benefits associated with participation and non-participation in the group. Through selective incentives, the benefits associated with participation are now greater, rendering non-participation the less rational option. In the same way, selective disincentives increase the costs associated with non-participation.

The selective incentives solution to the free-rider has been criticized for several reasons. Moore (1995), for instance, asserts that selective incentives as understood by Olson and others cannot account for the participation of large numbers of individuals who cannot reasonably expect to economically benefit from a successful rebellion at a level greater than if they did not participate. In essence, not everyone who participates can be offered a high-paying position or a large some of money in return for their participation. As for selective disincentives, coercion is simply

not tenable in the context of large collective movements. The resources needed to coerce a large number of individuals are simply too great, and, even if they existed, the coercion model cannot explain how the group was able to gain the necessary resources to begin with (Muller and Opp 1986, 472). In addition, social incentives are only applicable in the context of small groups, where the members are in close personal contact with one another (Moore 1995, 428-29). These shortcomings of the selective incentives solution to solve the free-rider problem have led to several more increasingly complex solutions.

In the wake of the selective incentives solution's failure to adequately solve the free-rider problem, other rational choice theorists of collective political violence have proposed several alternatives. For instance, Muller and Opp proposed what they called a "public goods model." An individual is aware of the ramifications of the free-rider problem. He understands that if everybody chose to free-ride, a movement would surely fail. In this manner, an individual takes on a "collectivist conception of rationality" (Muller and Opp 1986, 484). An individual recognizes that what is individually rational is collectively irrational. Taking their cue from social learning theory, Muller and Opp further argue that "dissident groups" take into account the success and failure of past groups. If past groups are viewed as having been successful, then the dissident group will deem the influence of the group as "an undifferentiated whole" to be high (p. 484).

> If 'everyone' acted in accordance with the assumptions of conventional rational choice theory, all would abstain and no public good would be provided. If 'everyone' participated, on the other hand, the public good would have a chance to be provided. The individual, faced with this dilemma, may first reason strategically that the participation of everyone is *necessary* to have a chance of obtaining the public good, that is, that the group can succeed only through the contributions of *all* members (Finkel et al. 1989, p. 888).

Muller and Opp's public goods theory is not without its critics though. Klosko (1987) criticizes their public goods model on the grounds that it fails to qualify as a rational choice model. According to Klosko, Muller and Opp's public goods model, while providing a possible explanation for the free-rider problem, requires that individuals "miscalculate the probable effects of their participation" (p. 559). While rational choice theorists commonly allow for a certain amount of subjectivity regarding individual decision-making, Klosko asserts that an individual does not qualify as rational when he makes a decision on the basis of an "egregious miscalculation" (p. 559). It is worth noting, though, that the merits of an individual's decision can only be made in retrospect. Their repercussions are rarely, if ever, known until acted upon. In other words, while Muller and Opp may be correct, their solution is not a rational choice model. In addition, a later study published by Finkel, Muller, and Opp (1989) showed support for their public goods model only in the context of legal protests, not the type of collective political violence discussed in this book. Their study did, however, reveal that an individual is willing to support collective action when her feelings of personal influence are high and the group's chances of success are high.

While there are several other solutions to the free-rider in addition to the ones mentioned above, none of them have gained the necessary consensus to be

considered final.[3] Thus, rational choice models of collective political violence are often rejected in their more conventional forms (Crenshaw 1990, 8). In spite of this, several researchers have put forward modified versions of rational choice theory, integrating structural variables into their explanatory frameworks and focusing on the behavior of groups.

Within the context of rational choice theory, female participation in violent political groups is largely ignored. While some of the studies conducted by rational choice theorists include women, the researchers fail to address whether there are differences between male and female conceptions of decision-making, risks, costs, and benefits. Because rational choice theory treats all individuals as rational actors, it seems unlikely that rational choice theory could show that men and women make decisions as a result of differing psychological or biological make-ups. As a result, the most salient influences on divergent male and female conceptions of decision-making are socially determined. For instance, within a society restrictive of women, there are costs for women associated with group participation, violent or otherwise, that are not present for men. On the other hand, there are also benefits. These gender-defined costs and benefits are likely to extend to within the group as well as society-at-large. In general, the gender-defined costs and benefits will vary from society to society and group to group. There is no monolithic set of values shared by every society that influences the decisions made by men or women.

Structural/Societal Theory For structural theorists, violent political groups choose political violence as a strategic method:

> The group possesses collective preferences or values and selects terrorism as a course of action from a range of perceived alternatives. Efficacy is the primary standard by which terrorism is compared with other methods of achieving political goals. Reasonably regularized decision-making procedures are employed to make an intentional choice, in conscious anticipation of the consequences of various courses of action and inaction (Crenshaw 1990, 8).

Whereas both rational choice and structural theories of collective political violence treat the individual as a rational actor, the free-rider problem is largely irrelevant for structural theorists because, according to structural theory, individuals are strategically aware that individual participation is necessary in order for the group to attain its goals.

Although treating individuals as basically rational actors, structural theorists do not assert that there is one standard by which rationality can be measured. Violent political groups and their members are easily capable of misjudging situations and rendering decisions on the basis of faulty and incomplete information. In this way, individuals are rational insofar as they make decisions based on their limited perception. In addition, unlike conventional rational choice theorists, structural theorists assert that psychological factors can act in ways that limit an individual's ability to act rationally (Crenshaw 1990, 8-9). These psychological mechanisms,

3 See Moore (1995) for an overview of the various existing solutions to the free-rider problem and their relative merits.

though, are largely unexplored within the context of structural theory (Brynjar and Katja 2005, 15).

While rational choice models concentrate predominantly on the individual level of analysis, structural theories study the group and the factors that contribute to group decision-making. Rather than concentrate on the nature of individuals and the effects of psychological mechanisms, structural theorists seek to describe the underlying factors that lead groups to utilize political violence. Structural theories of collective political violence explain political violence as a consequence of a multitude of macrolevel factors. Thus, societal conditions, group dynamics, and individual interests function as interacting factors that influence the potential course of action take by groups. While not all groups affected by similar circumstances turn to political violence, structural theorists have outlined several specific factors that increase the likelihood of collective political violence.

The two most significant categories of societal factors that contribute to the outbreak of political violence are "preconditions" and "precipitants" (Crenshaw 1981; Eckstein 1965). First, preconditions are the "factors that set the stage for terrorism over the long run" (Crenshaw 1981, 381). These factors are sometimes "permissive"—creating the conditions for political violence to occur or sometimes more concretely related to group mobilization. Examples of permissive factors include mass communication, transportation, urbanization, traditions of violence, and lack of terrorism prevention on the part of governments. More directly, political violence is generally the result of grievances held by a subgroup of a population. Following Gurr's (1968) relative deprivation hypothesis, Martha Crenshaw contends that these minority groups utilize political violence in an effort to either gain or regain something that they consider rightfully theirs such as land or political rights. These grievances are in part dependent on the group's subjective perception of what they do and do not deserve. A group needs only to believe that it is deprived relative to another group, whether it is absolutely deprived or not, in order for it to feel as though it is being treated unjustly. In addition, individuals are likely to resort to terrorism when they are alienated from the political process (Crenshaw 1981, 383).

Precipitating factors, better understood as trigger events, are events that chronologically occur before the onset of violent group activity. They are often the result of an overzealous government responding to some form of mass protest. For instance, the death of a peaceful bystander Benno Ohnesorg in 1967 West Germany during a protest against the Shah of Iran served as a catalyst for the terrorist activity of the Red Army Faction and other West German terrorist groups.[4] As important as they are, trigger events do not necessarily lead to political violence. It is the interaction of preconditions and trigger events that inspires a group to take up arms against their government (Crenshaw 1981, 384-85).

While societal factors produce the conditions that promote governmental opposition, according to structural theory, the actual decision to resort to political violence is carefully calculated by groups.

4 This incident will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 2.

> As purposeful activity, terrorism is the result of an organization's decision that it is a politically useful means to oppose a government. The terrorist organization engages in decision-making calculations that an analyst can approximate. In short, the terrorist group's reasons for resorting to terrorism constitute an important factor in the process of causation (Crenshaw 1981, 385).

As a result of a rational and calculated process, a group's decision to resort to political violence is affected by two general concerns: (1) its intended goals, and (2) the limits placed on it. First, groups that utilize political violence often do so in an effort to draw attention to some perceived injustice. The flamboyant nature and sheer horror of terrorist attacks, for instance, provide opportunities for violent political groups to air their grievances through mass media outlets. In addition, political violence is often intended to disrupt a government's political processes, inhibiting a government's overall efficiency.

Second, violent political groups often resort to political violence as a result of constraints placed on its ability to affect change. In non-democracies, political violence often serves in place of the legitimate methods of political participation and communication that are unavailable to the group. In democracies, individuals may eschew legitimate methods of participation after utilizing them to little or no effect in the past or as a result of ideological imperatives; for instance, the Marxist concept of revolution. As a further constraint, while a violent political group may recognize the need for decisive action in order to redress some perceived injustice, the majority of citizens often do not mobilize in opposition to the government. In democracies, this is likely because most people are willing to utilize legitimate methods of political participation or they simply are not sufficiently repressed. In highly authoritarian states, the costs associated with participation prevent the majority of people from participating. Either way, political violence allows violent political groups to compensate for their relative lack of numbers (Crenshaw 1990, 11). Also, acts of terrorism directed at the general population as well as the government serve as negative sanctions for the masses to support the rebellion. The famous saying that "terrorism is the weapon of weak" is applicable to many violent political groups.

Psychological Theories Psychological theories of political violence are primarily concerned with understanding how individual level factors contribute to violent political activity. Of greatest concern for psychological theories is the mental functioning and personality of the individual. Psychological terrorism theorists, who are not necessary psychologists or psychiatrists by profession, begin their examinations of political violence under the assumption that individuals primarily engage in violent political activity as a result of distinct psychological mechanisms. According to psychological theorists, these violence-inducing mechanisms are either shared psychological responses to sociological influences (psycho-sociological theory) or the result of individual mental trauma (psycho-pathological theory) (Brynjar and Katja 2005). While at first appearing trivial, the difference between these two explanatory approaches is important.

In the context of the psycho-sociological model, every individual, violent political actor or not, is assumed to be influenced by the same specific psychological

mechanisms. While these mechanisms are present in the psychological make-up of every individual, only individuals that experience particular social conditions will actually participate in violent political activity. In other words, while everyone has the potential to engage in this behavior, only those subject to specific environmental variables will ever do so. One of the earliest and best examples of this model is the relative deprivation hypothesis.

The relative deprivation hypothesis, as formulated primarily by Ted Gurr, states that violent political activity occurs when "relative deprivation" triggers an individual's "frustration-aggression" response. Relative deprivation is an "actor's perception of discrepancy between their *value expectation* and their environment's apparent *value capabilities*" (Gurr 1968, 252-53). In essence, relative deprivation is the feeling that individuals get when their environment fails to provide them with something that they believe they are rightfully entitled. The frustration-aggression response is the psychological mechanism that directly causes violent behavior. Frustration occurs when individuals are prevented from achieving their goals or, stated simply, when they are deprived. These individuals in turn respond by attacking the perceived "frustrating agent." In the case of violent political activity, the government is often perceived as the frustrating agent.

This explanation for participation in violent political activity, while reliant on psychological mechanisms, asserts that individuals nonetheless exhibit rational decision-making abilities. Although individuals' feelings of anger and frustration are "emotional" in nature, individuals are capable of directing their anger in a rational manner. In fact, according to Gurr (1968), collective political violence is a rational attempt by individuals to "satisfy [their] anger aggressively" (p. 250). While feelings of aggression motivate individuals, rational analyses of their circumstances determine how their anger manifests itself.

While the relative deprivation theory has declined in popularity among political and social science researchers of political violence, psychologists and psychiatrists have continued to expand on it. For example, Fathali M. Moghaddam, building on the relative deprivation model, has proposed what he terms a "staircase" model of political violence. According to Moghaddam (2005), political violence is the result of individuals' perceptions of "material conditions and the options seen to be available to overcome perceived injustices" (p. 161). Moghaddam utilizes the analogy of an ascending staircase to illustrate this process. Individuals begin on the bottom floor of the building. Based on their perception of the doors available to them, they will either exit the staircase or go up to the next floor. Each subsequent floor provides fewer opportunities for the individual to exit the staircase. The higher the floor, the more involved the individual becomes with one or more violent political organizations, until at the highest and final floor the individual is willing to murder themselves, others, or both.

Each floor is characterized by particular psychological processes that affect individuals, selecting vulnerable individuals to move further up the building. For example, at the final floor, the individual has decided that the only method with which to overcome injustice is to participate in violent activity. Psychologically, he has circumvented the mechanisms that prevent humans from harming other humans. Out of a larger pool of individuals, only a few will ever reach this floor. Fewer

individuals will step on the second floor than the first and fewer on the third than the second, and so on (Moghaddam 2005).

The salient aspect of relative deprivation theory is that individuals are drawn to political violence as a result of their perceptions of their social and economic conditions. The psychological mechanisms that encourage violent activity, while *necessary* for individuals to actually commit violence, are not *sufficient* to cause such behavior. Psycho-pathological theories of violent political behavior, on the other hand, assert that psychological mechanisms alone account for violent political behavior. According to psycho-pathological models, individuals who participate in violent political activity exhibit distinct personality characteristics. These personality characteristics cause the violent behavior of individuals, while sociological variables play a limited, if nonexistent, role. Unlike the frustration-aggression response, relatively few individuals exhibit the personality characteristics necessary to participate in violent political activity. Implicit in this analysis of violent political activity is the notion that certain behaviors are acceptable while others are deviant (Brynjar and Katja 2005, 9).

The psycho-pathological tradition is perhaps best illustrated best by Jerrold M. Post's narcissistic-rage hypothesis (Hudson 1999, 20). Post (1990) argues that individuals are motivated to participate in violent political activity almost exclusively as a result of personality characteristics resulting from childhood mental trauma. Childhood trauma causes the individual to undergo specific psychological processes; namely, splitting and externalization. Splitting is a process whereby individuals are unable to integrate the good and bad aspects of their self. As a result, the negative aspects of their selves are projected and externalized onto other individuals. These others individuals, thus, represent the aspects of the traumatized individuals' selves that they are unable to accept and become the source of the traumatized individuals' perceived failings (Post 1990).

According to Post, the splitting process predisposes individuals beforehand to violent behavior, dictating their decision to participate in violent political activity. In essence, the decision to participate in violent political behavior is dictated primarily by mental processes and not macrolevel factors. Therefore, political grievances and other justifications are merely rationalizations for their violent behavior. Post terms these attempts to rationalize their behavior "terrorist psycho-logic." In addition, group dynamics, such as groupthink and pressures to conform, enhance the individuals' willingness to participate in violent political activity.

While psychological theories, such as those proposed by Gurr and Post, do not specifically address the relationship between women and terrorism, there has been a tendency by many psychological researchers to label female terrorists psychologically dysfunctional. These researchers often contrast violent female political actors with the *acceptable* and *normal* conception of women as nurturing, caring individuals. They assert, paradoxically, that the caring and nurturing aspects of women drive their participation in violent political organizations. For example, the same female desire to care for and support a family pushes women to support organizations that purport to protect the weak and needy. This emotionally driven instinct to protect their families translates into a willingness to murder those who are perceived as oppressing their surrogate families, whether the surrogate family be a

class or nation (Crenshaw 2000, 408). These psychological theorists contrast this conception of female psychology with the commonly held assumption that men are calculating, rational, and emotionally stable. Whereas men are held to a standard of greater or lesser rational abilities, women are judged by the level of their supposed emotionality.

Collective Action Approach An esteemed group of political sociologists and political scientists including Donna della Porta, Charles Tilly, and Anthony Obershall view political violence as an extreme manifestation of social movements in general. Many social movements engage in peaceful, conventional forms of contentious politics—most often, but not exclusively making claims against the state, which in the classic Weberian definition possesses a monopoly on the use of coercive force. However, these scholars contend that political violence is best understood as the most extreme manifestation of the protest repertoire available to social movements. Contentious politics spans the spectrum of voting, hunger strikes, sit-ins, rallying, and even terrorism. In this approach, terrorist organizations are engaging in a radical form of collective action. For all forms of collective action, including guerrilla warfare, insurgencies, and dissident movements, four dimensions must be considered: (1) discontent; (2) ideology-feeding grievances; (3) capacity to organize; and (4) political opportunity (Oberschall 2004, 27). Instead of treating revolutions and strike waves as distinct subfields of contentious politics, collective action theorists look for commonalities among these different expressions of political violence (Alimi 2006, 273).

> Underground organizations can be seen as part of a larger social movement sector. The definition of a social movement organization as a self-conscious group which acts in concert to express what it sees as the claim of challengers by confronting elites, authorities, or other groups with these claims aptly characterizes the underground political organizations that expressed what they saw as the claims of challengers. They were founded by social movement activists—often as a result of splits in social movement organizations as a by-product of those interactions between challengers and opponents which constitute the essence of a social movement (della Porta 1992, 12).

Put simply, "a terrorist group is one actor within a social movement" (Alimi 2006, 265).

Why does a certain segment of the social movement become more radicalized and endorse the use of political violence and/or terrorism? The reasons are often context specific, but in general, there may be some within the social movement who do not feel the 'traditional' means of contentious politics are working in achieving the goals of the movement. Others may turn to political violence and terrorism as the social movement is in the proverbial death throes and appears to be breaking apart. And finally, one cannot discount the factor that some may advocate political violence to maintain power over potential and actual defectors from the social movement. In the following chapters, we will see how often both women and men engage in both conventional and non-conventional contentious politics before endorsing and executing political violence and terrorism. Terrorism is not a first

resort for most individuals. Rather, as the collective action proponents argue it is sometimes strategically selected.

In an attempt to meld together structural, organizational, and personal factors, the collective action approach is explicitly relational, meaning that the "role of personal networks play an important role in the different stages of an activist's involvement in radical politics" (Della Porta 1992, 22; Tilly 2003, 6). In other words, most terrorist organizations or groups which engage in political violence are part of a larger social movement organization such as the New Left during the 1960s and 1970s in the United States and Western Europe. Chapter 2 will demonstrate how the Red Army Faction, Weather Underground, and the Red Brigades were part of a larger social movement in Germany, the United States, and Italy respectively. From this perspective, terrorist organizations are not *sui generis.* Rather, social movements provide an existing infrastructure for organization, recruitment, fundraising, leadership, internal communication, and decision-making (Oberschall 2004, 28).

The Collective Action approach to analyzing political violence explicitly rejects the view that terrorists are psychopaths; however, the researchers do examine, when possible, the life histories of those who engage in political violence, and especially examine their personal networks in late adolescence/early adulthood, when peer groups are often the most instrumental in shaping an individual's political identity. The relational networks, which perpetrators of political violence and terrorism are embedded in, are of critical importance for collective action scholars.

Although Karen Kampwirth (2002), does not explicitly take a collective action approach in her research on women in Latin American guerrilla movements, she does examine the relational networks of women including universities, self-help groups, and church organizations. All the articles and books reviewed on left-wing political violence focused extensively on the university connections many members of the Red Army Faction, Red Brigades, and Weather Underground had forged. An examination of relational networks permits an integration of ideological, organizational, and personal factors. Moreover, some social movement theorists examine how social movements take advantage of openings in the political structure such as a change in government to make their contentious claims.

Feminism and Political Violence

> The male element is a destructive force, stern, selfish, aggrandizing, loving war, violence, conquest, acquisition, breeding in the material and moral world alike in discord, disease, and death… (Elizabeth Cady Stanton 1868).

As with most theoretical approaches to social inquiry, there is certainly not one succinct definition of feminism. In fact, there are many feminism(s); however, despite this diversity the large tent of Feminism can agree on the following as necessary elements to this theoretical approach: (1) critiques of misogyny and sexual hierarchy; (2) a focus on women as subjects of analysis; (3) an expanded account of and altered orientation as to what is important to study in political life; (4) a specific normative focus which critiques *what is* (the empirical) and offers a scenario of *what ought to be* (the normative); and (5) ethical/moral norms in terms of a critical

stance regarding the position of women and envisioning a more desirable state of affairs in social and political life for women (Beasley 1999, 26-36). Feminism can be utilized to critique mainstream political thought which has been viewed as male-centric, since it has been written and analyzed primarily by men for most of human history. Beasley (1999) refers to this approach as "add Mary Wollstonecraft and stir" (pp. 4-5). Other feminists challenge traditional political theory completely and do not think that mainstream/or 'malestream' political theory can be 'rescued' from its male-centric assumptions, hence the need for a radical rethinking of political theory as we know it. Finally, other feminists, namely postmodernists, argue that all of what we think is our understanding of the social sciences is utterly wrong because of the sexual hierarchy and male domination which has kept women in a subservient position. Tragically, our male understanding of knowledge and human history is utterly anti-woman.

Feminists also traditionally critique the false division, as they see it, between the public and private spheres of life. Men, according to feminists, have dominated in the public sphere through their participation in political and economic relations outside of the home. Obviously, women were not permitted in many countries to own property, vote, or run for political office until the late 19th and early 20th century. Women, on the other hand, have been confined to the private sphere of life where they are viewed as being primarily responsible and biologically superior to men in taking care of the physical and emotional needs of their husbands and children. Feminists are quick to point out, however, that women's supposedly natural inclination to keep the fire of the hearth burning while her male companion goes out in the public sphere to make laws and do business is false. Moreover, women are still dominated and subjugated often in the private sphere and are often victims of violence against them and their children. For many women, including those who may even eschew the term feminism, what goes on in the private sphere of life is political as well. By the 1960s, women began challenging the false dichotomization between the public and private spheres. The rallying slogan became, "The personal is political." The concept was created to underscore what was happening in women's personal lives such as access to health care, being responsible for all of the housework, and possibly being sexually assaulted in their own homes were indeed political issues. Women should, therefore, became active in the public sphere by making elected officials aware of these issues and most importantly exchanging ideas and organizing strategies with other women to improve their lives. In short, what could be described as 'political' in nature was now broadened tremendously.

My main concern with this brief overview of feminism, however, is not to understand all the important nuances or 'camps' within the theoretical approach. Rather, this section will be concerned with addressing the question of what leverage feminist theory can bring to understanding women and political violence. In this endeavor, I examine: liberal feminism, difference feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, and postmodern feminism.

Liberal Feminism

With a long literary tradition from Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) to John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869), liberal feminism has been challenging for over a century the patriarchal assumptions that women are biologically defined to be relegated to the private sphere of the home and hearth because they are less rational. Starting with the proposition that women would also benefit from education as much as men do, both Wollstonecraft and Mill argued that women were fully capable of achieving the same capacity for reason and rational thought as men. Liberal feminists argue that women are equal to men in ability; women are capable of doing what men do, including entering the public sphere of life. Liberal feminism, which is often viewed as the dominant strain of feminism in the United States, is mostly concerned with the issue of individual rights and ensuring that women have access to the same opportunities as men. Seminal court cases, civil rights legislation, sexual discrimination battles, equal pay for equal work, and the Equal Rights Amendment were all important milestones for liberal feminists. This group of feminists believes it is fundamentally unfair and detrimental to society to exclude half of the population from making valuable contributions in all areas of human life (Goldstein 2001, 39-41).

Liberal feminists, however, do not believe that women's inclusion into the public sphere, especially positions of political power, will fundamentally change the nature of foreign policy or war itself. Most importantly, liberal feminists reject the idea that women are any more inherently peaceful or compassionate than men by innate nature. For example, in the mid-1990s Bosnian Serb women sat down in roads to prevent United Nations convoys from delivering humanitarian supplies to starving Muslims, and German women ran some of the concentration camps during World War II with extreme cruelty (Goldstein 2001, 224-225). Women also participated in the Rwandan genocide and for that matter all the genocides of the 20th century. Liberal feminists argue that women make good soldiers and commanders-in-chief as well. Therefore, it is no surprise that modern female leaders such as Golda Mier, Indira Gandhi, and Margaret Thatcher have taken their countries to war in the twentieth century.

Liberal feminism, therefore, has the most to offer as far as understanding women and political violence. Because women and men are the 'same', except for the capability to give birth, it is no surprise that women also support and commit acts of political violence and terrorism for the same reasons men do. Moreover, there is no basis in assuming that women are drawn more towards political violence for what could be characterized as emotional reasons as compared to men's rational reasons. In short, liberal feminists would view women who engage in acts of political violence as motivated by the same macrolevel and/or microlevel variables as men.

Difference Feminism

Difference feminists argue that women and men's differences should be celebrated rather than devalued. Carol Gilligan argued in her book *In a Different Voice* (1982) that women have a different moral reasoning schema than men. Gilligan, a feminist

psychologist, endeavored to reexamine the work of psychologist, Lawrence Kohlberg, who made claims about universal stages of moral development based on hypothetical situations of a male-only sample (Saul 2003, 207). When girls and women were subsequently tested for their level of moral development using the same scale Kohlberg constructed, researchers "discovered" that women did not "progress" as far as men did. Gilligan rightfully argued that Kohlberg's male-only sample could certainly not be utilized to make universal claims about moral development in males and females. Subsequently, Gilligan argued when presenting both males and females with similar hypothetical situations that women's approach to morality exhibits "care" thinking whereas men's approach to morality is more exemplary of "justice" thinking. "Justice thinking involves an emphasis on universal principles and reason. It is also characterized as emphasizing impartiality, rights, and justice. Care thinking, by contrast, is described as guided by emotions, context-sensitive, and concerned with particular individuals and situations rather than universality and impartiality" (Saul 2003: 210). Moreover, different feminists have examined studies conducted by psychologists which demonstrate that girl children are more likely to play together without rules and are more concerned with 'relational play'—maintaining good relations with all their playmates, whereas boy children are more rule-driven and want the game to end with a definitive winner and loser.

Difference feminists argue that women, primarily due to their ability to give birth and act as primary care-takers of children, are naturally more pacifist in nature and less inclined to support and endorse violence. Moreover, difference feminists share an assumption that women are more inherently inclined to be peacemakers and are more likely to compromise than men. Peace advocacy through non-violent collective action such as the Women in Black[5] are important points of reference for difference feminists. For example, while Israeli and Palestinians have been killing one another for decades now, Israeli and Palestinian women have come together primarily through their shared identity as mothers to protest the continued violence. Mothers of Russian soldiers have demonstrated to protest the war in Chechnya. And of course, many women have demonstrated to end wars throughout the 20th and 21st century. On the other hand, difference feminists would be hard-pressed to explain why many women throughout much of human history have been eager supporters of

5 "Women in Black was inspired by earlier movements of women who demonstrated on the streets, making a public space for women to be heard – particularly Black Sash, in South Africa, and the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, seeking the 'disappeared' in the political repression in Argentina. But WIB also shares a genealogy with groups of women explicitly refusing violence, militarism and war, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom formed in 1918, and the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in the UK and related groups around the world opposing the deployment of US missiles in the 1980s. Women in Black began in 1988 in Israel. In 1987, 20 years after Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza, the Palestinian intifada began. In response Israeli Jewish women began to stand in weekly vigils in public places, usually at busy road junctions. Starting in Jerusalem, the number of vigils in Israel eventually grew to almost forty. In the north of Israel, where the concentration of Arab communities is greatest, Palestinian women who are Israeli citizens were also active in Women in Black groups" (accessed from http://www.womeninblack.org on 25 May 2007).

war as well. Are they all simply caught up in a wave of patriotism? To address this question, we can turn to the work of Jean Elshtain for important insights.

Political philosopher Jean Elshtain discusses in her seminal book, *Women and War* (1987), the importance of the "Spartan Mother' who reared her sons to be sacrificed on the altar of civic need (p. 62). Elshtain relates a passage from Rousseau's *Emile* where he describes the virtue of the female citizen chiefly in relation to her bearing offspring for war. "A Spartan mother had five sons in the army and was awaiting news of the battle. A Helot arrives, trembling, she asks for news of her sons. Your five sons were killed. The Spartan mother responds, 'Base slave, did I ask you that? Did we win the victory?' Upon hearing that the Spartans have won, the mother runs to the temple and gives thanks to the gods" (pp. 70-71). Millennia after the time of Sparta, Elshtain discusses how during World War II, the magazine *Life* featured the "Real American Heroine, Mom" who said goodbye to her sons with 'a smile on her lips and a prayer in her heart' (p. 191). The Spartan mother perseveres in spite of her losses and pain. For example, Aletta Sullivan of Waterloo, Iowa became a "five Gold Star"[6] mother when all five of her sons were killed on a ship sunk off Guadalcanal. Moreover, Sullivan became the 'main attraction' on a U.S. government sponsored Gold Star Mother tour to rally support for the war. Finally, fast forward another sixty years to the media images we receive in the United States of Palestinian mothers of male and female suicide bombers giving praise to Allah that their child was 'chosen' by God to achieve martyrdom (Victor 2003). While obviously some may be troubled by the juxtaposition of these three examples and argue that the Spartan Mother and Aletta Sullivan sacrificed their children for noble causes, while the Palestinian mother of a shahid (male martyr) or shahida (female martyr) is simply sick, crazy, or brainwashed, the question to consider is: were all three of these mothers 'performing' in the public sphere and then grieving in the private sphere where they could shed their 'civic motherhood' veneer?

Difference feminists, therefore, will not provide us with much theoretical insight into our analysis of women and political violence. However, on the other hand, they could point out rightfully so that very few women engage in political violence or terrorism, which perhaps proves them correct that the vast majority of women are more peaceful, compassionate, and nurturing than the vast majority of men regardless of time, place, or societal norms. In sum, women who do engage in political violence may do so under exceptional circumstances and then return to their more 'natural' pacifist demeanors.

---

6 Gold Star Mothers is an organization for women who have lost a son or daughter in service to the United States of America. This is an excerpt from the Proclamation by the President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936. "Whereas the service rendered the United States by the American mother is the greatest source of the Country's strength and inspiration; and Whereas we honor ourselves and the mothers of America when we revere and give emphasis to the home as the fountainhead of the State; and Whereas the American mother is doing so much for the home and for the moral and spiritual uplift of the people of the United States and hence so much for good government and humanity…" (Accessed from http://www.goldstarmoms.com/agsm/WhoWeAre/History/History.htm on 25 May 2007).

Radical Feminism

"Some feminists consider women to be morally superior to men, to be better than men. Women's inherent advantage may be viewed as being derived from their special moral make-up, the specific qualities of their bodies, and/or the particularity of their shared experience" (Beasley 1999, 18). For radical feminists, women are oppressed precisely because they are women. Hence, the notion of oppression can be mitigated by the strong focus on the 'sisterhood of women'. Women are oppressed in all societies and all cultures; therefore, women should relate to one another first and foremost as women and not be divided by socio-economic status, race, religion, or sexual orientation. To put it crudely, a wealthy white American woman will have more in common with a Muslim woman living in Iraq than with her wealthy, white American husband. Although the degree or severity of oppression will certainly vary, both women are experiencing domination or subjugation in at least some form. Radical feminists are more inclined to support women's only groups and some even advocate complete separation from men, hence the nexus with lesbianism for some radical feminists. On the other hand, some radical feminists tend to focus on the politics of the private sphere including sexuality, motherhood, and control of their bodies. Engagement with the public sphere is eschewed because of the systemic patriarchy within the structures, laws, and norms of society.

Radical feminism cannot provide much leverage in helping us understand why and under what circumstances women support and participate in political violence, because it does not provide a rationale for engaging in the public sphere at all. Recall, that political violence is often, but not exclusively, directed towards the 'state' in some manifestation. Moreover, radical feminism would view political violence, especially warfare, as the folly of men. Yet, on the other hand, radical feminists would be critical as to the construction of the public spectacle of 'the Spartan mother' who is supposed to rejoice in giving up her son/daughter for the greater cause of freedom, religion, or the nation. They would argue that these mothers are simply fulfilling the role designed for them by patriarchal understandings of honor, valor, and sacrifice. Moreover, radical feminists would be critical of women who shame or goad men into fighting. For example, Joshua Goldstein (2001) discusses how in Britain and the United States during World War I, women organized a campaign to hand out white feathers to able-bodied men found on the streets in order to shame them for failing to serve (p. 272). The "white feather campaign" was brought back during World War II in Britain, and the British government had to issue badges for men exempt from service on medical grounds.

Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminists are of course mainly concerned with the exploitation of the working class in capitalist societies. "Hierarchical class relations are seen as the source of coercive power and oppression; therefore, sexual oppression is seen as a dimension of class power" (Beasley 1999, 60). Marxist feminists are concerned currently with how women are exploited in developing countries by Western multinational corporations, and how the policies of the international institutions

such as the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization contribute to the feminization of poverty around the world. Radical Marxist feminists are deeply antagonistic towards the capitalist economy and some may support the violent, revolutionary overthrow of the system of exploitation. Only by overthrowing the capitalist system will female oppression be eradicated. For less radical Marxist feminists, women should on their own and with men, where appropriate, band together to advocate on behalf of improved wages and better working conditions.

In relation to providing analytical leverage on women and political violence, Marxist feminism can be of some assistance. Obviously, for those women involved in left-wing political violence and national liberation political violence, Marxism and neo-Marxist political theory was often an important ideological touchstone for these groups. Although Engels, Marx, or Lenin did not give explicit attention to women as leaders or supporters of the proletarian revolution, Mao's idea of protracted guerrilla warfare certainly necessitated the inclusion of women for strategic reasons alone (Elshtain 1987, 84-85). As we will see in subsequent chapters, women have in the 20th century been more engaged in left-wing political violence than right-wing political violence. One of the reasons for this fact may be due to the Marxist/socialist orientation of many of these groups which utilized political violence and terrorism.

Postmodernism Feminism

Postmodern feminists critique both liberal and difference feminists. They see "gender itself and gender roles as fairly fluid, contextual, and arbitrary" (Goldstein 2001, 49). They explicitly reject conceptions of 'women' as a homogenous category and disavow universalizing and normalizing accounts of women. Postmodern feminists equally critique the radical feminists' idea of the unique sisterhood of women as well as difference feminists' idea that all women are bound by a unique ethic of care. There is nothing intrinsically superior or inferior to the category of women; rather, power operates in many facets and women are as capable of being exploitative, caring, compassionate, or violent as men. There are no inherent or stable identities, much less universalizing truths about women and men waiting to be uncovered by social scientists. Finally, for postmodern feminists gender is socially constructed mainly through language. Language, in its tendency to dichotomize a complex world into binary opposites (good/bad, male/female/, black/white), unnecessarily affects our way of conceptualizing the 'appropriate roles' of women and men. As a result of its emphasis on language, postmodernism emphasizes deconstructing texts to expose these 'straitjackets' of linguistic convention which attempt to organize, categorize, and simplify things into essential meanings, which for postmodernists, is impossible.

For our purposes, postmodern feminists would not view women and political violence as necessarily any more or less of an important topic as men and political violence. The reason why scholars and society view women who commit and support political violence as worthy of special analytical inquiry or sensationalized media coverage is because we have socially constructed the homogeneous category of 'women' to be non-violent, caring, empathetic, and cooperative. Women and men, postmodernists would argue, are capable of a whole range of emotion and

actions. Just as we are fascinated by women terrorists, we are equally fascinated, although certainly not to the same extent, by male conscientious objectors. They are the exceptions to the supposed 'rule' of how men and women are supposed to behave vis-à-vis violence. Most importantly, we should look to see how societies have constructed 'meta narratives' of women as observers and tacit supporters of violence, especially war, through language construction.

After providing a thumb nail sketch of five strands in feminist theory, is it obvious that none speak specifically to women and political violence. Although this book does not purport to utilize an explicitly feminist approach to the subject matter, it appears that the greatest leverage can be provided by liberal feminism and Marxist feminism. Another question that a feminist analysis of this topic matter would be interested in pursuing, however, is the exploration of the "Amazon model"[7] versus 'housekeeper" model of female terrorists. In the Amazon model,

> This new woman revolutionary is no Madame Defarge[8] patiently, if ghoulishly, knitting beside the guillotine while waiting for heads to roll. The new breed of female terrorist not only must have its hands firmly on the lever but also must be instrumental in the capture of the victim and in the process of judgment as well as in dragging the unfortunate death instrument. Women terrorists proved themselves more ferocious and more intractable in these acts than their male counterparts. There is a cold rage about some of them that even the most alienated of men seem quite incapable of emulating (H.H.A. Cooper cited in Zwerman 1992: 137-138).

On the other hand, the 'housekeeper' model argues that within insurgent groups, women still tend to take on secondary roles and do not carry out much of the operational planning of political violence and terrorism. Moreover, this model argues that women are relegated to 'care-taking'functions of the group such as cooking, cleaning, or securing the logistical plans of terrorist organizations. Thus, one of the goals of each case study in this book is to examine whether the Amazon model or housekeeper model more appropriately encapsulates the role(s) women performed in political violence and terrorism. It may well be that some women's experience vis-à-vis political violence is a combination of both models.

The Analytical Framework

After examination of all these theories, I am structuring the analysis of the three case studies in each chapter around a combination of the Collective Action model, with

---

7 According to Goldstein (2001), the Amazon myth is just a myth. "The Amazons of Greek myth not only participated in fighting and controlled politics, but exclusively made up both the population and the fighting force. Supposedly, they got pregnant by neighboring societies' men and then practiced male infanticide. Supposedly, they cut off one breast to make shooting a bow and arrow easier" (p. 11).

8 Madame Defarge is the revolutionary wife in Charles Dickens' book *The Tale of Two Cities*. She is the main villain of the book and works tirelessly for the cause of the French Revolution. Affected by extensive personal loss, she seeks revenge against the Evrèmondes. In the end, Madame Defarge is killed by a bullet from her own gun while in a fight.

insights from various strands of feminism. As in international relations theory, all levels of analysis are important to understanding women's involvement in political violence across historical time periods and cultural contexts. For each case study, I will examine, to the greatest extent possible the following factors: the structural/historical environment (macrolevel factors); the ideological motivation of the group (mesolevel factors); microlevel factors (including relational networks, childhood/early experiences); and the response of the 'state' to the political violence.

For the macrolevel factors, I will examine the broad socioeconomic and political changes which were taking place in the particular country. According to Braungart and Braungart (1992), attention must be paid to sociohistorical forces in helping us understand why groups arise within a political generation. Also of interest are the cohort effects, meaning what are the shared socialization experiences of an age group as its members grow up together in a society during a certain time in history; and what were the significant historical events and trends occurring as a generation takes form and mobilizes? For example, for many of the left-wing groups utilizing political violence and terrorism, the Vietnam War was a major sociohistorical force. Other structural factors may include questions such as: Were more women attending university at this time? Were more women being forced out of the private sphere of life to fill in for men who were off at war against a colonial oppressor? Was there an increase in female-headed households, or an active women's movement?

For ideological factors (mesolevel factors), I will examine the ideology and praxis of the particular group or movement through secondary resources, communiqués, and biographies/autobiographies. In particular, I am interested in the following questions: Did the ideology of the group include liberation of women as one of its main goals? Were women part of the founding members of the group which may have affected the ideological rationalization/justification of political violence? How were women engaged in the larger social movement, if there was one? Were women leaders or followers? Did they have agency? Finally, what did the women actually do in the various case studies under consideration? Were they combatants in a guerrilla organization; did they bear arms or actually do more traditional feminine work such as cooking in politically violent organizations and movements? Were women involved in the organization from its inception, or were women included at a later date and under what circumstances?

The third factor is the individual level or microlevel of analysis. What are the personal factors which may have affected individual women to engage in political violence? Did they belong to "family traditions of resistance" (Kampwirth 2002)? Were women encouraged by stories of what their forefathers and foremothers did in fighting the 'enemy'? Did the women who engaged in political violence do so for mainly 'personal reasons'—because a relative was killed, injured, or humiliated injured by the 'enemy'? What injustice were they fighting?

The fourth factor is another macrolevel variable: how did the state respond to the political violence exacted against it? Did the state specifically target women engaged in political violence in the same manner as it went after the men? Is it true that women were more committed ideologically to the cause—whether it be separatism, national liberation, or sociorevolutionary in the nature?

A thorough examination of all these factors is obviously a tall order. In some cases, I will not be able to analyze all four factors for lack of available sources; however, I feel this is the most comprehensive approach. While some might accuse me of a 'kitchen sink' theory of women and political violence, the vast majority of literature read over the years in preparation for writing this book, seems to agree upon the following: *There is no one universal theory of political violence and terrorism for men or women.* Thus, this book is a combination of descriptive and theoretical analysis. I aim to make these women, many of whom are nameless, come alive for the reader.

While many readers may be well-versed in the participation of women in the Red Army Faction or Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, many readers might not be familiar with the role of Kikuyu women the Mau Mau rebellion in British Kenya in the late 1950s or even right-wing fascist movements in the United States and abroad. Each chapter can therefore be read on its own; however, I hope readers will realize the value in reading all the various case studies to enhance one's understanding of the wide spectrum of organizations and movements where women have participated in political violence and terrorism. My hope is that students and the general public will enjoy this book. While a lot of the research is based upon secondary sources, I believe this book makes an important contribution in synthesizing information on women's involvement in fifteen various case studies where political violence and/or terrorism was utilized.

Moreover, this book will synthesize a large extant literature while making a few strong claims. *First, women's relative agency in various organizations and movements which utilize political violence and terrorism varies tremendously.* Some women are much more the "Amazon" warrior insofar as being the leaders and ideologues of these organizations and movements; this is particularly the case with all of the left-wing organizations discussed in Chapter 2. On the other hand, women's roles as the 'housekeeper' model will be more well-represented in Chapter 3 on right-wing women and Chapter 4 on women in national liberation movements. The important conclusion to draw, however, is that women have consciously and often successfully challenged within these movements and organizations their assumed roles in society at large.

Second, women's involvement in political violence cannot be explained by any one factor or level of analysis. I posit that women are impacted by the same macrolevel, mesolevel, and microlevel variables as men. Obviously, some women may have been impacted by personal events in their lives, including childhood trauma or the death of a loved one; however, these same personal events undoubtedly have influenced thousands of men to become involved in political violence. Trying to provide psychological profiles of the 'typical' female terrorist or woman who engages in political violence is just as fruitless of an endeavor as it is for men. Women of all socioeconomic backgrounds, education levels, races, ethnicities, and religions have and are currently participating in political violence. Moreover, women are impacted by the same relational networks as men are. They do not often come to commit political violence *de novo*, but rather engage in the 'staircase' theory of political violence and terrorism as described earlier in the chapter. Women may first begin attending secretive meetings, distributing propaganda, or sheltering other members

of the banned or clandestine organization and eventually then come to commit acts of political violence on their own or in concert with other individuals.

Third, women's involvement in organizations and movements which utilize political violence or terrorism is still largely viewed as aberrant. Even the women themselves are often reluctant to discuss what roles they played and, as we will see especially in Chapter 4 on women's involvement in wars of national liberation, some of these women are then viewed as 'damaged goods' by their supposedly grateful nations. They are damaged because they have eschewed the traditional feminine role for women in that society by taking on a 'man's role' by fighting and now are relegated as outcasts by the very society which once championed and applauded their participation. In Chapter 6 on female suicide bombers, we will especially view this conceptualization that these women are in no way representative of the 'normal' female in society. Thus, deep personal histories and interviews with friends and families are often done by well-meaning journalists and researchers in the hopes of uncovering the deep, dark trauma which must have triggered this decidedly 'unfeminine' and by extension 'irrational' behavior in the taking of one's life and others. What is interesting to note, however, is that male suicide bombing, while repulsive to most observers and researchers, is viewed in some way as more 'understandable' given the particular macrolevel or mesolevel factors. In other words, some might argue that it is to a certain degree understandable that a male Palestinian would detonate himself and kill and maim as many civilians as possible given the deep sense of alienation, humiliation, and despair he might feel living under Israeli occupation; however, the rare female suicide bomber's motivations are rarely afforded the same speculation. Instead, her motivations must be purely personal and in a way, more altruistic such as redeeming her family's honor or her own, whereas the male's motivations are more purely political. While feminists would probably be appalled that I am utilizing the "personal is political" slogan to explain this false dichotomization between what constitutes personal versus what constitutes political motivations for violence and terrorism, I believe it is important to note the irony which clouds both scholarly analysis on women in political violence as well as reports in the media.

Organization of the Book

Each chapter will begin with a general introduction and then a discussion of the three case studies. As stated earlier, some case studies will provide more detailed information about individual women involved in political violence and terrorism than other chapters. However, I have done my best to provide an overview of the macro, meso, and microlevel factors. Each chapter will also end with a short summary, including an emphasis on why the collective action approach to understanding political violence and terrorism provides the best analytical leverage in the greatest amount of cases.

Chapter 2 will discuss women's involvement in left-wing political violence and terrorism by focusing on the Italian Red Brigades, American Weather Underground, and West Germany Red Army Faction. Chapter 3 addresses women's involvement in right-wing political violence and terrorism by exploring the role women played

in various fascist movements during the interwar period as well as the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi movements. Chapter 4 explores women's involvement in wars of national liberation movements in the context of the Mau Mau in Kenya, the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria, and Vietnamese women in the First (French) and Second (American) Indochina wars. Chapter 5 discusses women's involvement in Ethnonational organizations and movements, including Irish Republicanism, the Basque (separatist/terrorist) organization ETA, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka. Chapter 6 examines three case studies where women have been engaged in suicide bombings, including Chechnya in Russia, the Palestinian territories, and Kurdish women in Turkey affiliated with the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party). Finally, Chapter 7 suggests new directions for research on women and political violence and provides some concluding thoughts on the topic.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 2

Bringing on the Revolution: Women and Left-Wing Political Violence

In the age of Al-Qaeda and the relentless focus on radical Islamism, the Red Brigades, Weather Underground, and Red Army Faction certainly are not discussed in everyday conversations pertaining to terrorism; however, these three terrorist organizations have been the subject of many conferences, papers, and books since the 1970s. Moreover, for scholars who study women and political violence, these three case studies provide a wealth of information considering the significant number of women involved in the rank and file as well as leadership within these organizations. All three case studies share similarities such as: they emerged in Western democracies during the same time period; they were driven by similar ideological goals; and they were viewed as legitimate threats by their respective governments. Furthermore, consistent with the collective action theory of political violence reviewed in Chapter 1, the women involved in these terrorist organizations did not initially turn to violence; rather, the women profiled in these three case studies were involved in the larger leftist social movement and then became more radicalized.

Red Brigades

The involvement of women in the Italian Red Brigades (*Brigitte Rosse*) is one of the most well-documented cases of women involved in left-wing political violence and terrorism. Weinberg and Eubank (1988) estimate that one-fourth of all left-wing terrorists in Italy from 1970 to 1984 were women, whereas only seven per cent of female neo-fascists during the same time period were women (pp. 538-540). Between 1969 and 1989, 945 women were investigated for left-wing political violence in Italy, out of a total of 4,087 investigated, or 23 per cent of all those investigated (Jaimeson 2000, 56).

The height of the Red Brigades' terrorism was the 1970s and early 1980s; however, the Red Brigades continued to function until the late 1980s/early 1990s. The Red Brigades evolved from a small group of communist students and workers under the command of a former student and radical leader at the University of Trento named Renato Curcio (Drake 1999, 66). With his wife, Margherita "Mara" Cagol, and another communist youth leader, Alberto Franceschini, they founded the Metropolitan Political Collective in September 1969. The collective wanted to coordinate and radicalize the anti-capitalist discontent of the students and workers. In October 1970, the Collective formally announced the creation of the Red Brigades. After a series of arrests and the discovery of hideouts and arsenals in mid-1972, the

group went underground. Despite a period of possible collapse in the mid-1970s, the Red Brigades survived and reorganized under the leadership of Mario Moretti. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Red Brigades engaged in robberies, arsons, and political assassinations, including the kidnapping of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro in 1978. Moro had dominated Italian politics since his appointment as the Secretary of the Christian Democratic Party in the late 1950s. After 55 days as a hostage, his captors executed him. Other spectacular acts of political violence included the abduction of an American General James Lee Dozier in 1981, who was NATO's chief of staff for Southern Europe.[1] In 1988, the Red Brigades assassinated Robert Ruffilli, an advisor to the Christian Democrats. By the mid-to-late 1980s, many of the Red Brigades were in prison; however, in 1999 after a decade of inactivity, the Red Brigades murdered Massimo D'Antona, a labor advisor to the Christian Democratic government at the time (Drake 1999, 68).

Macrolevel Factors

After World War II, Italy embarked upon a normalization process much like West Germany. The center-right Christian Democratic Party was the major force in Italian politics for much of post-World War II Italy, despite the fragility of coalition politics. By all accounts, Italy had a moderate patriarchal structure. Even though women had fought alongside men as partisans in World War II, a political and cultural paternalism was promulgated by the Catholic Church and both principal parties, the Christian Democrats and the Communist Party[2] (PCI) persisted (Jamieson 2000, 52). In the early 1970s, the radical New Left became increasingly dismayed by the PCI. As it embraced Eurocommunism and accepted Italy's involvement in NATO, the radical leftists viewed the PCI as abandoning the Marxist-Leninist tradition of revolution. The PCI even pushed for an historic compromise in 1974 to be part of a coalition government with the conservative Christian Democrats.

In conjunction with the political instability in Italy, other currents of change were coursing through Italian society, namely the position of women in Italian society. Women were not afforded equality in the workplace, trade unions, and political parties. Divorce was not legalized until 1970, and abortion was a crime until 1978. However, the New Left and feminist movements, which arose in the 1960s, were of major significance for the Italian political system and culture. "The momentum for the women's movement was strongest in northern Italy where the female workforce in the factories of the industrial triangle of Milan, Genoa, and Turin[3] became the focal point for the political mobilization on behalf of women's causes" (Jamieson

1 In January 1982, a specially-trained assault team smashed the door down and entered the Red Brigades' hideout. The general was safe (Meade 1990, 206). See Alexander and Pluchinsky (1992) for a chronological list of Red Brigades' terrorist incidents.

2 By the end of World War II, the PCI had 400,000 card-carrying members and within a few years, it had surpassed the Socialists as the second most powerful political party (Meade 1990, 25).

3 Turin was the site for the revolutionary struggle because it was the city of Fiat, the premier capitalist institution in the country (Meade 1990, 44).

2000, 53). On the other hand, higher unemployment rates in southern Italy meant that women had fewer opportunities to work outside of the home. Furthermore, the spectacular economic progress of Italy during the 1960s was precipitated by tremendous population shifts from the countryside to the city and from the south to the north of the country (Drake 1999, 62). However, in 1964 the economic gap between the North and South was wider than it had been one hundred years before (Meade 1990, 18). The population of the major cities swelled; between 1951 and 1966 there was an increase of 5.5 million inhabitants in the larger urban areas.

As was the case in the United States and West Germany, university enrollment soared in the 1960s in Italy. By 1968, the number of enrolled students, about 500,000, was double that of ten years before and ten times that of the 1920s (Meade 1990, 19). Although the government supported this democratization of education to now include the children of non-elites, the necessary money was not spent to accommodate the burgeoning university population. The infrastructure of the university buildings was inadequate, and the number of professors in 1968 was not significantly larger than the level in 1920s. The government compounded the problem when it approved a system of open admissions in 1969. The University of Rome swelled in the 1970s to over 100,000. "Serious education and study in such conditions ceased to be possible. Many students stayed away, to study on their own. The university became a social ghetto for young people of this intellectual proletariat; students began to feel a kinship with the traditional proletariat of Marxist analysis" (Meade 1990, 20).

Moreover, the rise of militant feminism was primarily centered in the academic atmosphere, including the University of Turin. According to Susanna Ronconi, the founder of Prima Linea (Front Line) and former member of the Red Brigades, "Some feminists formed vigilante squads, attacking doctors who spoke out against abortion, cinemas showing sex films, and shops that displayed live models of women in their windows" (MacDonald 1991, 173). Many female members of the Red Brigades, Prima Linea, and the Communists Organized for the Liberation of the Proletariat (COLP) had been active in the feminist movement, but felt it was too constricting. "In the end they all left because they became impatient with the endless discussions that never resulted in action" (de Cataldo Neuburger and Valentini 1996, 56). Despite some Italian women's disenchantment with the passivity of feminism, the student movement of 1968 was acquiring an international dimension. Galvanized by the U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, students took to the streets in West Germany, France, and Italy. In short, "America, the liberator of Italy from Nazi-Fascism, became Amerika the destroyer of Vietnamese villagers" (Drake 1999, 71).

In conjunction with the rise of feminism and the New Left movement on many university campuses, political violence became more common place by the late 1960s. In 1969, there were several anonymous bombings, the most notorious being the explosion at the Piazza Fontana branch of the National Agricultural Bank in Milan, leaving 17 people dead (Weinberg and Eubank 1988, 536). The attacks, orchestrated by neo-fascist members of extra-parliamentary groups, were supposed to give the impression to the Italian public that the leftists were responsible for the terrorist attack, which would precipitate a crackdown on their activities and bring the

neofascists, namely the Italian Social Movement (MSI)[4] back into power. However, by the mid-1970s the neo-fascist attacks were brought to end. Most of their leaders were arrested or had fled into exile. By 1976, the volume of right-wing violence had declined by two-thirds as compared to 1971 (Moss 1997, 97). However, a second generation of paramilitary groups did arise in the 1970s and 1980s and, unlike the first generation of neo-fascists, specifically targeted the Italian state, which it viewed as a "hopelessly corrupt institution, not to be strengthened but to be destroyed" (Weinberg and Eubank 1988, 537).

For the militant Marxists and feminists, Piazza Fontana was an important tipping point. In their eyes, it signified the resurrection of the fascist state in Italy. A few years later in May 1974, anti-Fascist groups and union organizations held a rally in Brescia to protest anti-Fascist violence in the province. About 2,500 attended in Piazza della Loggia. A bomb exploded, killing eight and wounding over one hundred (Meade 1990, 56). Interestingly, both perpetrators of left and right wing political violence drew upon the symbols of the Resistance, the period of armed conflict between fascists and partisans from 1943 to 1945 to justify their use of political violence (Moss 1997, 94). For example, "The early members of the Red Brigades (*brigatisti*) had extensive contacts with former partisans, who handed over their Resistance weapons, offered support and designated them as heirs to complete their political and social tasks" (Moss 1997, 95). According to Susanna Ronconi, who entered the Red Brigades at the age of 23, "they joined the armed struggle to not only bring down capitalist society, but after a spate of indiscriminate bomb attacks and presumptions of institutional protection for right-wing terrorism, also perceived a need to fight the return to fascism" (Jamieson 2000, 54).

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The ideological grounding of the Red Brigades and various other groups engaged in left-wing political violence was explicitly sociorevolutionary—only the overthrow of the exploitative capitalist system in Italy would bring about the end to injustice and suffering for the vast majority of the Italian proletariat. Like the early Russian revolutionaries who sometimes worked in the factories, many in the New Left movement attempted to organize the Italian proletariat before explicitly advocating political violence. In the fall of 1969, the union movement undertook strikes and agitation because national contracts were up for renewal. More than seven million workers went on strike and over 300 million hours of work productivity were lost (Meade 1990, 31). Despite the existence of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) since the end of World War II, the radical left increasingly viewed the PCI as part of the Italian political establishment and therefore too divorced from its Marxist-Leninist roots. The New Left groups like Lotta Continua and Worker's Power were present at the factories and in the streets, encouraging the workers not to seek compromise but rather encouraging confrontation in order to bring about the revolution (Meade

4 Other neo-fascist groups included New Order, National Vanguard, and the National Front. For more information on right-wing political violence in Italy, see Weinberg and Eubank (1988) and Moss (1997).

1990, 33). Moreover, in both Germany and Italy, those who joined the armed struggle had already been involved in legal, but radical Leftist organizations. "Of the Italian militants, 38 per cent of them had been involved in the New Left, and particularly in two groups, Potere Operaio (Worker's Power) and Lotta Continua (Continuous Struggle)"[5] (della Porta 1992, 262).

Red Brigades' leadership was composed over time by a total of twelve men and seven women (de Cataldo Neuberger and Valentini 1996, 8). The incorporation of feminist concerns in the Red Brigades' ideological justification of violence against capitalism and the state was evident in what is called the "maternal sacrificial code." de Cataldo Neuberger and Valentini, in their interviews with women involved in the Red Brigades, looked for affective codes in the women's comments. Affective codes are "systems to preserve and transmit information from stored data in a range of possible arrangements" (p. 19). The maternal-sacrificial code is founded on the principle of "giving all and taking nothing in return, which is genetically determined because it is useful to the survival of the child" (p. 19). In other words, according to this affective code explanation, for many women who commit political violence the object of their distress (the nation, the working class) becomes a surrogate for a child. They will give up everything (including sometimes being mothers themselves or abandoning their own children to the care of family and friends) in order to sacrifice themselves for the greater cause. They expect nothing in return for this sacrifice—no glory, fame, or monetary reward.

Microlevel Factors

The vast majority of Italian women experiencing the same frustrations and sense of powerlessness in the 1970s did not turn toward political violence and terrorism. While many men and women remain committed to political change and protest through conventional means, a small subset of men and women embraced armed struggle against their 'enemies.' The question remains, then, which women did cross over into political violence and why? As stated in Chapter 1, this book does not seek to provide definitive general theories of women and political violence; however, we can search for some generalizations within specific case studies. One of the central ideas embraced, though, is even though personal relations or affective ties is probably the most important way for women (and men) to be recruited into groups which engage in political violence, this is not abnormal or gender specific, nor does it minimize women's participation and commitment to the group's goals. In this section, I will examine the types of actions women carried out in the Red Brigades and other leftist groups in Italy during this time period, and seek when possible to utilize some of the women's own words through interviews and biographies to

5 "For Lotta Continua, the true driving force behind the revolution was the working class itself. The unions and the PCI were anti-revolution and stifled the opposition of the workers. The group concentrated its agitation and propaganda in the industrialized North. By 1972, the group had offices in 150 locations in north-central Italy" (Meade 1990, 29). By 1976-1977, Lotta Continua was defunct.

address the question of why they engaged in political violence and what influenced them to do so.

Donna della Porta (1992) argues that for most individuals (men and women alike), joining a terrorist organization was a last step in a career, albeit a short one since the average age of most who engage in political violence, is early to mid twenties, which had been characterized by legal forms of political commitment (p. 260). As we have seen in the Italian case, many of the women were involved in feminist and labor union activities *before* they engaged in clandestine political violence. In della Porta's research, she has examined the life histories of Italian militants (men and women) and utilized their published biographies to fuse the micro and macro levels of analysis together into a coherent story. As della Porta states, "People aren't born terrorists" nor are they psychopaths, so what happens along the way?

Della Porta (1992) argues that an individual's decision to join an underground organization often was influenced by strong affective ties. Militants recruit within dense networks of social relations where political ties are strengthened by kinship and friendship (p. 262). Della Porta found that out of 1, 214 people who decided to join an underground group, almost 75 per cent already had one friend participating (p. 273). Therefore, it is not surprising that many affective relationships (husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend, sister/brother, and friend dyads) are the best recruiting tools for clandestine political violence. Obviously, the need to be secretive and entrust others is key to successful planning and execution, and who better to trust than those closest to you? By viewing terrorist organizations as one group within a large social movement, we can understand how the relational position of individuals within these networks is a crucial component. Simply put, it does not make sense to try and recruit a complete stranger into a clandestine organization.

Women who participated in Italian leftist political violence in this time period did not share universal traits; however, they often had similar life experiences at critical points in their political development. "The life stories of the women all demonstrate similar experiences—the progression from general activity within the movement which includes some forms of violence such as throwing Molotovs during marches, thefts, destruction of offices of other organizations hostile to the movement, to increasing specialization of violence including beatings, armed robberies, kidnappings, and murder" (Passerini 1992, 188). Many of the women attended at least some university courses and had family histories where political activism and support for leftist ideas were either strong or certainly not discouraged. Through a project where professors at Turin University collected the oral histories of women incarcerated for their participation in political violence, we gain a real insight in the women's own words as to their motivations. The majority of women interviewed described a happy childhood with no great trauma. Moreover, these women certainly did not experience any type of severe economic deprivation, which is consistent with the other groups profiled in this chapter. However, as with any group of subjects, some had close familial relationships while others did not.

For example, Susanna Ronconi, who joined the Red Brigades in 1974 at the age of 23, has expressed in interviews, how difficult it was for her to make the decision to go underground because it meant severing all ties to her beloved mother (MacDonald 1991, 169). An activist since the age of 17, Ronconi had joined picket

lines at factories and went to demonstrations frequently. After being part of the Red Brigades, for a number of years, Ronconi co-founded and led Prima Linea (Front Line).[6] Over the course of four years, Prima Linea raided the Turin School of Industrial Management, took close to 200 students and lecturers hostage, and kneecapped ten of them. "It was supposed to be a warning to all trainee managers, the oppressors of the people of what they could expect, but it revolted the Italian public" (MacDonald 1991, 175). Ronconi was eventually arrested. Then, in a tale fitting of a Hollywood movie, her lover, Sergio, also a convicted terrorist, broke Susanna out of prison. After spending ten months as a fugitive, she was re-arrested at a bar in Milan in 1982. At the time of the arrest, Susanna was told of her mother's death from cancer. While in prison, Sergio and Susanna were married. Ronconi did take advantage of Italy's Disassociation Law and had her several concurrent life sentences reduced to 22 years. Her sentence could have been reduced further if she turned state's evidence and gave up her comrades in arms, but she refused to do so.

Many female Italian militants have expressed through interviews a family history of leftist politics. For example, one woman said, "my family has always been communists; there has always been this base, not only in my family but in the whole area. Some of my relatives had been partisans; this was the mold" (Passerini 1992, 182). Italian Leftist Barbara Graglia was aware that her father was an ex-partisan and member of the PCI. While she openly discussed the concept of armed struggle with her father, he worried about his daughter's involvement in demonstrations which could turn violent. Another leftist, Barbara Giulia, related how she became involved with the Red Brigades through others she knew, namely workers who lived within the large area of Autonomia (Autonomy).[7]

Women's participation in political violence of the left-wing variety was voluntary. Consistent with collection action theory, women and men often were recruited into underground organizations through pre-existing relational networks. While women in the Red Brigades and Prima Linea did engage in the planning and execution of political violence and terrorism, the question remains how women felt about the violence. Was it empowering, or did some women regret their actions? In her interviews with women incarcerated in the United States for participation in political violence and terrorism, Gilda Zwerman (1992) notes:

---

6 Front Line was an alternative to the Red Brigades. The dividing issue between the Red Brigades and many of the Italian radical leftist organizations was the 'issue of revolutionary elite versus revolutionary expression of the masses' (Meade 1990, 94). Front Line believed the Red Brigades had lost touch with the masses. This was in part true. Since the Red Brigades were living underground, they could no longer appear at the factories to make their case. However, there were some *brigatisti* within the factories. Front Line was not organized in rigid territorial columns like the Red Brigades. It did possess a national command but valued "its tentacles among the masses" (Meade 1990, 95).

7 Autonomism refers to a set of left-wing political and social movements which became influential in Italy, Germany, and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. Marxist, Anarchist, and Situationist political philosophies have been influences in this often disparate movement.

> Those women who actually took active or combatant roles express conflicts about violence similar to those who did not, suggesting that the choice to be a combatant is often the result of circumstantial, not motivational considerations. Some of these women recall feelings of dread each time an action was planned; they prayed for a cancellation; they looked for legitimate reasons to excuse themselves this one time; they promised themselves this would be their very last action. They became anxious and upset when violence against people as opposed to property was used (p. 152).

Margherita Cagol One woman who certainly engaged in violence was Margherita Cagol, co-founder of the Red Brigades, along with her husband Renato Curcio. Margherita, born in 1945, came from a stable, quite, conservative, and religious family. After her graduation from school, she attended Trent University where she majored in sociology and met Renato Curcio. Margherita was impressed by Renato's "intellectual rigor and righteous anger" (Meade 1990, 9). However, to believe that their relationship was one of male intellectual domination is incorrect. According to Margherita's sister, Milena Cagol,

> Renato was very important for Margherita. He was her only man. She loved him profoundly and he loved her with equal intensity. However, it is not possible to say that it was only Renato who changed Margherita, not even politically. When they met, neither of the two had a precise political orientation. They matured together. Many now say, she went along behind him, followed his ideas. It is not true. Margherita was an intelligent girl, perfectly aware of what she did. It was a choice (Meade 1990, 10).

Even after Renato and Margherita's political views became more radical, they couple continued to visit Margherita's family and kept in constant contact through letter writing to both families. They did not try to convince the family of the correctness of their political views, but rather simply enjoyed the time spent together. By the summer of 1969, the couple decided to move to Milan to continue their revolutionary agenda. After Margherita graduated, the two were married. As the Red Brigades established various 'columns' or operational cells in Italian cities in the early 1970s, the Italian state increased its efforts to locate hideouts and establish leads on the relationships within the group. In September 1974, Renato was arrested by the Italian police due to an informant Renato had trusted. Margherita sent a letter to her parents that same month vowing to continue the struggle even without her ideological soul mate. She wrote,

> Thanks to you, I grew up educated, intelligent, and above all, strong…What I am doing is just and sacrosanct. History will show that I am right, as it did with the Resistance in 1945. Dear Parents, you have worked a lifetime, you have known fascism and post-fascism… today in this phase of acute crisis, it is more than ever necessary to resist. My revolutionary choices, therefore, despite the arrest of Renato, remain unchanged. Love me the same, even if I know that for you it is difficult to understand me. Have faith in my capacities and in my extensive experience. I know how to get by in any situation and no prospect disturbs of frightens me (Meade 1990, 63).

As Renato sat in prison, his wife planned his escape. A telegram arrived for Renato in February 1975 with the message, "A package will come for you." Hours later, a

woman knocked on the door of the prison, asked to deliver a parcel to an inmate, and the guard opened the door. Margherita pulled out a machine-gun and shouted in the prison to hear the voice of Renato. He responded to her calls, and with quick efficiency the commando squad ushered Renato out of prison and to freedom in a bloodless escape. A few months later, the Red Brigades kidnapped a well-to-do manufacturer of wine and held him for ransom, a necessary action in the organization's view to finance their activities. As the authorities scoured the hills to find the safe house, they discovered a country house which had been purchased in Margherita's name two years earlier. The house was surrounded and the inhabitants were asked to come out. Hand grenades were thrown out of the house at the police, and Margherita and another *brigatisti* ran out of the house firing machine guns. Margherita was hit twice. One bullet caught her in the left shoulder and another passed through her neck (Meade 1990, 66). The revolutionary daughter and wife was dead. Renato issued a communiqué shortly after his wife's death. It read,

> Margherita Cagol, 'Mara', Communist leader and member of the Executive Committee of the Red Brigades, has fallen fighting. Her life and her death are an example that no fighter for liberty will ever be able to forget. Founder of our organization, Mara has made an inestimable contribution of intelligence, of self-denial and of humanity to the birth and growth of workers' autonomy and of the armed struggle for communism (Meade 1990, 67).

After his wife's death, Renato fell into a deep depression but remained committed to the Red Brigades' cause. In 1976 he was recaptured.

While 'Mara Cagol' provides an example of a woman who was prepared to kill others in the furtherance of her political motives, other left-wing groups in Italy proliferated in the 1970s. For example, Prima Linea, another militant left-wing organization, was responsible for the shooting of a female prison guard accused of mistreatment towards the women political prisoners. However, former Red Brigades member Barbara Graglia said in an interview, "I have no experience of violence against persons. I never took part in the shooting or killing of a human being" (Passerini 1992, 204). Another woman told Passerini, "I have never fired a shot… it would have been different if I had seriously hurt someone, and I now realize it would have all been a waste" (p. 203). A member of the Organized Communists for Proletarian Liberation (COLP), Silveria Russo said, "Our way of thinking was schizophrenic, split between the reason that produced the ideology and the feelings with which when the chosen victim was with his wife and child, we went home without striking and used to strike when he was alone in order not to terrify the family" (de Cataldo Neuburger and Valentini 1996, 129). Of course, the prospect of years in prison may be the main reason why these two women expressed more conflicted emotions than might have been the case in interviews at the time of their arrest.

In addressing gender relations within the Italian Left, in general, former female members of the Red Brigades report that gender equality was maintained in the organization. However, Ariana Faranda, a member of the Rome column that carried out the kidnapping and murder of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro, said that no woman ever sat on the Red Brigades' Executive Committee (Jamieson 2000, 56).

Faranda also commented that she believed that women in the group approached their participation in political violence and terrorism from a more emotional, maternal perspective whereas men were more rational. Women *felt* the injustice occurring in the world in a more visceral manner.

Response from the Italian Government

Given Italy's experience with fascism under Mussolini, many were surprised that the Italian state's reaction to the political violence of the 1970s was proportional. "The institutional responses were remarkably low-key and did very little to modify, even temporarily, Italy's wider political or legal processes. No new national rules were introduced to restrict freedoms of speech or opportunities for public protest" (Moss 1997, 113). Moreover, government and senior political officers were not inclined to use the word "terrorism" to describe clandestine political violence, but used the more generic term of subversion. Local magistrates and courts were given the ability to interpret the penal code; however, by 1978, teams of magistrates were set up in every city to deal with all episodes of political violence (Moss 1997, 116).

The kidnapping and assassination of former Prime Minister and Christian Democrat President Aldo Moro was the high-water point in the drama of left-wing Italian terrorism. Moro was kidnapped in March 1978 and held for almost two months before he was assassinated. The plot was hatched by *brigatisti* Mario Moretti. Women did participate in the plan as well. For example, Adriana Faranda purchased disguises for the kidnappers and Barbara Balzarani[8] was part of the commando squad. On his way to morning church services, Moro was taken from his car during a forced car accident orchestrated by Red Brigade members. His guards and driver were shot dead, and he was swiftly taken to a safe house. During this trying period, Moro wrote open letters to his family and the Italian government. Viewed by the Italian public as a man of distinction with a great sense of humility, the letters are heartbreaking to read. While captive, Moro was cared for by Prospero Gallinari and assisted by his girlfriend and eventual wife, Anna Laura Braghetti. Moreover, the Red Brigades kept up a steady stream of communiqués, justifying its actions and making its demands for the release of prisoners in exchange for Moro's life. Moro was tried by a 'revolutionary tribunal' comprised of *brigatisti* and of course found guilty of crimes against the Italian working class.

The Italian government refused to negotiate on behalf of Moro's life until the very end. Amnesty International and the Pope wrote a personal letter on behalf of his dear friend Moro. While speculation continued within the Italian press as to whether Moro's letters were written by him of free will or under the threat of physical harm, Moro's family became increasingly disgusted with the government's intransigence about making a deal to save Moro's life. Within the Red Brigades, only a small minority was not in favor of executing Moro (Meade 1990, 159). A final call was placed to Aldo's wife by Mario Moretti. And then on 9 May 1978, the news came that Aldo Moro was dead. The body, riddled with bullets, was stuffed into the trunk

8 In June 1985, Barbara Balzarani, one of the last links to the historic nucleus of the Red Brigades, was arrested in Rome after eight years underground (Meade 1990, 239).

of a car. He was shot eleven times because according to Barbara Balzarani, "when you shoot someone in the heart, he doesn't cease to live immediately" (Meade 1990, 169). Gallinari and his future wife, Anna Laura Braghetti, had stopped up the wounds with handkerchiefs to contain the bleeding. The duo drove the car to its appointed destination with the dead Moro in the trunk.

By the late 1970s, schisms were appearing in the Red Brigades. The Italian state was able to capitalize upon the inevitable factionalization within the leftist movement with the repentance legislation (Moss 1997, 107). Laws passed in 1980, 1982, and 1987 offered substantially reduced sentences in return for various degrees of collaboration with the authorities. For the full benefit of the repentance laws, a defector (*pentiti*) had to sign a statement confirming her complete repudiation of and disassociation from armed struggle. "The *dissociati* confessed their own crimes and explained the operations in which they had taken part, but they refused to identify anyone who had participated with them" (Meade 1990: 234). According to Moss, the earliest defectors, not surprisingly, were those who occupied marginal positions in the group. de Cataldo Neuburger and Valentini (1996) found there were fewer penitents among the women in the Red Brigades and various leftist underground organizations as compared to the men. Perhaps this fact gives credence or justification to the theory that women are more committed to the ideals and goals of a group that uses political violence because it is more of a hurdle for a woman to make this 'leap' into a man's world of violence due to gender socialization and societal norms. On the other hand, when asked to explain the similar tenacity of the women in the Red Army Faction, German psychologist Margarete Mitscherlich-Nielsen said,

> For some terrorist women it may have been a savagely enjoyed triumph to experience a reversal in the dominance relationship between men and women and to see men tremble from their acts of violence. Perhaps these terrorist women were showing their mothers that even they could have opposed the domination of the man/father/husband with the same vigor and that they were now sacrificing themselves for the oppressed of the whole world (de Cataldo Neuburger and Valentini 1996, 83).

In 1981, the 'great terrorism trials' commenced where 50 to 200 defendants were tried in a single case that "embraced a myriad of crimes committed over a period of years, a legal proceeding so complex as to last for many months" (Meade 1990, 211). Despite the relative success of the repentance legislation,[9] however, the second generation of the Red Brigades continued to conduct terrorist attacks in the 1980s. In 1984, the Red Brigades had split into two factions: the majority faction of the *Communist Combatant Party* (Red Brigades-PCC) and the minority of the *Union of Combatant Communists* (Red Brigades-UCC). As mentioned earlier, attacks against NATO officials, professors, and advisors to governmental officials continued throughout the 1990s, albeit at a much slower pace. And even in 2005, five members of the Red Brigades-PCC, including three women, were sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Marco Biagi, who was an Italian professor of labor law and industrial relations at the University of Modena. Dr. Biagi was assassinated

9 Not long after the enactment of the 1982 law, 130 *pentiti* were collaborating with Italian authorities (Meade 1990, 216).

outside his home in March 2002, due to his role as an economic/labor advisor to Silvio Berlusconi's government.

Weathermen/Weather Underground

The Weathermen was similar to the Red Brigades in its ideological orientation and inclusion of women in the group's leadership and rank and file. Like the Italian Red Brigades, the Weather Underground was part of a larger New Left social movement, which was opposed to imperialism, the Vietnam War, and increasingly disenchanted with the quality of democracy in the United States and abroad. From its inception as a radical faction of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Weathermen were infused by a sense of guilt and outrage against injustice. Most of the Weathermen were from upper middle class to wealthy families. Similar to the Italian Red Brigades, the adherents of Weathermen ideology certainly did not experience economic deprivation. Why then would a group of young people with all the privileges accorded to their socioeconomic and racial group take it upon themselves to carry out political violence? Although the Weather Underground certainly did not even come close to the level of terrorism as exemplified by the Italian Red Brigades and West German Red Army Faction, the origins of the Weathermen and substantial number of women involved in the organization warrants its inclusion in this chapter.

Macrolevel Factors

After World War II, the United States was undoubtedly the leading power in the world. The post-war economic boom, however, was certainly mitigated by significant Cold War events such as the Korean War, Cuban Missile Crisis, and rise of "isms" including pan-Arabism, pan-Africanism, and communism. The relative quiescence of the 1950s was overturned by the political upheaval of the 1960s with a vibrant civil rights and women's rights movement taking center stage. University-aged students became the catalysts for many New Left movements during this period. "They felt the United States had failed to live up to its democratic and egalitarian ideas. By the early 1960s, northern students, supporting civil rights, returned from trips to the South filled with a passion for organizing" (Varon 2004, 22). Moreover, as in Italy, America witnessed an explosion in university attendance as the baby boomer generation began to enroll. Entry into post-secondary institutions went up by 37 per cent and by the end of the 1960s, more than half of all 18-21 year olds were enrolled in universities (Gentry 2004, 280). Classes were enlarged to accommodate a growing number of students, which meant less direct interpersonal interaction between professors and students. The democratization of higher education for the masses had arrived.

The first generation of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) came to be known as the Old Guard. Mainly composed of students from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor campus, the tenets of the early SDS is best exemplified by the

1962 Port Huron statement, mainly authored by Tom Hayden. An excerpt from the Port Huron statement follows:

> We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, look uncomfortably to the world we inherit. When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world: the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people – these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency. As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

The Port Huron statement lists the agenda or action items of the New Left social movement which included: the end of racial discrimination, the acknowledgement and deconstruction of the military-industrial complex, and the promotion of the merits of full participatory democracy. While exuding righteous indignation, the Port Huron statement never called for armed struggle despite the great attention accorded in the text to revolutionary change throughout the globe. Moreover, the word 'women' only appears twice in the Port Huron statement. By 1964, women who were on the edge of the leadership circle, such as Casey Hayden, Tom's wife, were frustrated by the "sexist status quo and drafted a memo to the movement outlining their problems" (Gentry 2004, 282). In the early SDS, women were still found in support roles of note-taker, coffee maker, and cook; they were far from being leaders.

Above all else, however, the turbulent 1960s in America might be best understood through the lens of Vietnam. Previously a colony of France, Vietnam was viewed as the linchpin of the so-called domino theory. From the Kennedy administration through Nixon, the war in Southeast Asia dominated American foreign policy and increasingly became a rallying point for left-wing demonstrations and the justification for political violence, especially in the United States. SDS chapters dotted university campuses across the United States. Protests against the Central Intelligence Agency and Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) recruitment led to many tense and potentially violent clashes; however, the seminal year of 1968 served as a watershed for the New Left movement and preceded the radicalization of the SDS.

It is a wonder that the earth kept turning on its axis in 1968. The year began with the Tet offensive, a stunning military onslaught by the North Vietnamese, which some have viewed as a turning point of the war. In April 1968, civil rights activist Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. In May, ten million students and workers participated in demonstrations and strikes in Paris. Some likened this outbreak of contentious politics to the Paris Commune of

1870. The protests reached such a critical juncture that French President Charles de Gaulle created a military operations headquarters to deal with the unrest, dissolved the National Assembly, and called for new parliamentary elections. Inspired by the actions in Paris, massive student unrest and worker demonstrations in West Germany and Italy also occurred. In June 1968, Robert F. Kennedy, while vying for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, was cut down by an assassin's bullet in Los Angeles, California shortly after delivering a speech. Finally, the Democratic Convention held in Chicago, Illinois in the waning hot days of August 1968 was a defining moment for the New Left. The Democratic Party was badly fractured over the Vietnam War. With the death of Robert F. Kennedy, the party split into two camps—the staunchly, anti-war camp of Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-MN) and the 'stay the course' camp of Vice President Hubert Humphrey. Law and order Chicago Mayor Richard Daley pledged a zero tolerance policy against radicals who threatened to bring mayhem to the Windy City. The preparations for demonstrations in the surrounding parks at the convention site had been going on for months ahead of time. The scenes of policemen doing battle with protestors outside the convention site and the chaos within the venue were broadcast to millions of Americans and across the globe. The indictment of the "Chicago 8", those individuals charged with crossing state lines to incite riots, quickly became a public spectacle.[10] Finally, after the defeat of Humphrey in the November 1968 elections, open conflict within the SDS came to a breaking point.

The structural changes of the 1960s were indeed extensive. A constellation of events domestically and internationally coalesced to bring about a radicalization of the New Left movement in the United States. Historians traditionally do not like to contemplate counterfactuals. But what if 1968 had been a more mundane year? Perhaps, then, the factionalization within the SDS may never have occurred. On the other hand, it may have been inevitable. As was the case with the Red Brigades, we will see that all those individuals who became active in the Weathermen were politically active in the New Left throughout the 1960s. However, relatively peaceful contentious politics was the antecedent to political violence for only a few dozen men and women. Of course, the question is why did only a few who lived through the same turbulent year of 1968 become proponents of armed struggle and what was the ideological glue that held the Weathermen/ Weather Underground together?

---

10 On March 20, 1969, a Chicago grand jury indicted eight police officers and eight civilians in connection with the disorders during the Democratic convention. The eight civilians, dubbed the "Chicago 8," were the first persons to be charged under provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights act, which made it a federal crime to cross state lines to incite a riot. David Dellinger was chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden were members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin were leaders of the Youth International Party (YIPPIES). Lee Weiner was a research assistant at Northwestern University. John Froines was a professor at the University at the University of Oregon. Bobby Seale was a founder of the Black Panthers.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

In the spring and summer of 1969, eleven members affiliated with the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) drafted a 15,000 word statement entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to know which way the wind blows"; the title was a lyric from a Bob Dylan song (Varon 2004, 49). The RYM faction within the SDS was opposed to the Progressive Labor (PL) faction, which it viewed as too cautious and preoccupied with endless ideological discussions. The RYM believed that the period of debate was over, and action (praxis) needed to be integrated with the theory of the New Left movement. Thus, the factionalization within SDS was approaching a critical juncture when the June 1969 SDS convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois.

At the convention, tensions ran high between the two main factions. Eventually, the RYM faction, led by Bernardine Dohrn and other future Weathermen, walked out of the conference and took approximately 1,000 of the 3,000 attendees with them. The Progressive Labor faction was expelled from the SDS. After the 1969 SDS Convention, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, now calling itself the Weathermen, took over the leadership of the SDS. The Weathermen now controlled the national SDS office in Chicago and the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes*. However, after the Weather Underground took over the SDS, membership dropped from 100,000 to 300 (Gentry 2004, 285). The Weathermen or second generation SDS were born a few years later than those who had formed the "Old Guard" of the SDS. Although born of the same baby boom generation, the leaders of the Weathermen's formative years were the 1960s, not the 1950s. Weathermen Cathy Wilkerson stated, "Our revolutionary consciousness was the result of growing up in the age of the atom bomb, of growing up in the 1960s. We are who we are because Malcolm X and H. Rap Brown were around teaching" (Braungart and Braungart 1992, 63).

The Weathermen, unlike the SDS, embraced an explicitly socio-revolutionary agenda. In order to overthrow the capitalist system and military-industrial complex, which they viewed as responsible for the death of thousands of Vietnamese every day, "They concluded that the impulse to revolution in the United States could not possibly come from the adult working class. It would come from three main sources: liberation movements in the Third world; the struggle of American blacks; and the activism of the white working class youth supporting the first two" (Varon 2004, 51). First, the overwhelmingly white and affluent young adults of the Weather Underground (WU) explicitly called for armed struggle against the imperialist United States government and looked to revolutionary leaders such as Che Guevara for inspiration. "Weatherman's sense of unity with other guerrillas was based on the reasoning that because blacks and Vietnamese had little choice but to fight, white radicals should actively choose violence to destroy the system responsible for their oppression" (Varon 2004, 92). Subsequently, the WU met with revolutionaries from other countries and attended conferences with other radical leftist groups in Europe. Second, the white Weather Underground tried mostly in vain to make connections with the Black Panthers and the working class. They viewed American blacks as the vanguard of the revolution; however, groups such as the Black Panthers openly criticized the WU and distanced their organization from the WU leadership. The WU resented their own white privileged skin; the leadership would constantly remind

the rank and file that black Americans faced extreme forms of police brutality on a daily basis, whereas the periodic confrontations WU members had with the 'pigs' (law enforcement officials) was minor in comparison to the suffering of their black brothers and sisters. Third, the Weathermen believed that their allies in 'bringing the war home' and fomenting a revolution in the United States were not the privileged students attending universities, but rather the working-class youth whose 'revolutionary consciousness' could be sparked into action with the right catalyst. "The Weathermen held a romanticized view of the working class believing that their beleaguered social position and presumed familiarity with violence gave them an instinctive rebelliousness and disposition to revolution" (Varon 2004, 78). But this was not the case.

To increase their group solidarity and organizing abilities, the Weathermen created small, semi-autonomous cells guided by a somewhat centralized leadership. Thus, collectives sprung up in several cities including New York, Seattle, and Chicago. Life inside the collectives has been characterized by Varon as 'democratic centralism.' Members of the Weathermen have written in their autobiographies about the intensive 'weather fries' or criticism/self-criticism sessions, which were intended to ensure members were remaining true to the ideals of the organization and not becoming too bourgeois. With copious amounts of drugs and the 'smash monogamy'[11] campaign, the Weather Underground could have been mistaken for a hedonistic playground had it not continued to plan and organize acts of political violence. Targets of the Weathermen's political violence included military installations and corporations.

In July 1969, Jane Alpert and her boyfriend Sam Melville orchestrated the bombing of the Marine Midland bank. Unfortunately, the night watchman on duty ignored the phone call warning of the impending bombing and as a result nearly twenty individuals, mostly female secretaries on the night shift, suffered minor injuries. "The devastated Melville pledged to make sure people would not be endangered in the future" (Varon 2004, 120). In September 1969, Alpert planted a bomb on the floor of the New York's Federal building, which housed offices of the U.S. military. As the year wound down, however, the group was gearing up for a show of force galvanized by the beginning of the Chicago 8 Conspiracy trial and the murder of Illinois Black Panther Party Chairman Fred Hampton and fellow Black Panther, Mark Clark, while the two slept in their beds.

The leadership planned for the "Days of Rage" to take place in October 1969 in order to protest the Chicago 7[12] trial. Semi-autonomous collectives throughout

---

11 Monogamous relationships were viewed as a bourgeois social institution; therefore, they were not supposed to exist within the collectives. Moreover, by encouraging open sexual relationships within the collective (including homosexuality), the members of the collective would be accountable to the entire group, not just one individual. Often, the criticism sessions within the collectives would explicitly attack couples who were in monogamous relationships. In some instances, the couples either would have sexual relations with others in the collective to prove they were a true revolutionary or couples who wished to remain together would leave the collective.

12 It became the Chicago Seven trial because Black Panther co-founder Bobby Seale was eventually tried separately due to his outbursts at the trial. At one point, he was bound and gagged.

the country recruited, distributed thousands of pamphlets, and held 'actions' to prepare for the Days of Rage. The Weathermen leadership originally promised that tens of thousands of young Americans would converge upon Chicago to burn the city down and 'bring the war home'; however, it quickly became apparent once the young revolutionaries assembled that the number of participants was minimal. Nonetheless, those who did attend were committed to unleash chaos in the city. The riot began following a three-hour rally in Chicago's Lincoln Park. Around 600 people participated in the four day "Days of Rage" action, and almost 300 were arrested. Property damage was extensive with cars set on fire and windows smashed. Confrontations with the police were numerous, and the women even held separate 'actions', which entailed the use of physical violence too. In fact, approximately one-third of those arrested were female. Despite the righteous anger of the radical left assembled in Chicago, it was absolutely clear that the Weathermen's attempt to incite the white working class to participate in the riot was a complete failure.

The last two months of 1969 were important for the ideology of the group. The collectives continued to plan acts of political violence to foment what they viewed as the inevitable revolution and downfall of the U.S. government. In November 1969, the New York Collective bombed the offices of the Chase Manhattan Bank, Standard Oil, and General Motors with no loss of life. Then in December 1969, the Weathermen held a strategic planning, albeit bizarre, meeting in Flint, Michigan. The participants at the "War Council" meeting reviewed the failure of the "Days of Rage" in Chicago and decided that violence was the only way to make others understand the gravity of the world as they saw it. The meeting was attended by approximately four hundred hard-core members. Fueled by drugs and a lack of sleep, "They talked about killing white babies so that no more oppressors could be brought into the world. They praised abolitionist John Brown and seemed strangely taken with Charles Manson. By the end of the Weathermen's consolidation, the group had 150 members, fewer than half as many as during the Days of Rage" (Varon 2004, 10). At the conclusion of the meeting, those most committed to seeing the revolution through decided the only way to do this was by going 'underground.' Plus, most of the members already faced numerous criminal charges, and many were facing jail time and substantial fines from previous demonstrations.

As della Porta notes, when groups go underground they often become more paranoid. They cut off all connections with the outside world and become totally dependent upon one another for emotional and financial support. "Social movements communicate externally while small clandestine groups focus internally" (della Porta cited in Gentry 2004, 284). As in all underground organizations, the majority of the members are young. Primarily, they do not have other responsibilities or obligations such as careers and children; moreover, political violence experts contend that underground organizations are important for the identity formation of those adherents to the organization's ideology. Because the individual's identity is so tightly interwoven with the group, the individual ceases to exist apart from the group. Deep affective ties also keep most individuals from leaving once the group becomes clandestine, and in the case of the Weathermen, the issue of prosecution by the government due to outstanding indictments also kept many underground during the early to mid-1970s.

As the organization went deeper underground, planning for acts of political violence continued unabated; however, an event in March 1970 had profound implications for the Weathermen. In March 1970, a massive explosion leveled the townhouse of Weatherwoman, Cathy Wilkerson. The townhouse, located in a wealthy section of New York City, was the home of Wilkerson's father who was away on vacation. Three were killed in the explosion, Diana Oughton, Ted Gold, and Terry Robbins, while two others in the townhouse at the time, Kathy Boudin and Cathy Wilkerson, escaped. The objective had been to bomb a dance at the Army base in Fort Dix, New Jersey, but the amateur bombmaker Terry Robbins mistakenly crossed live wires while preparing the bombs in the basement.

Two months later, the Weathermen issued a communiqué written by one of the group's most important leaders, Bernardine Dohrn, calling for attacks against "Amerikan injustice." The bombing of the National Guard headquarters following the shootings on May 4, 1970 at Kent State made it seem as though the townhouse explosion had not had too much of an effect on the Weathermen's tactics or ideology. However, in December 1970 a communiqué was issued entitled "New Morning, Changing Weather" (Varon 2004, 182). In the communiqué, the Weathermen admitted to "confusing martyrdom with commitment" and encouraged the Movement to engage in above ground activities such as demonstrations. The group decided to refrain from action aimed at killing people, but continued to launch attacks on property. Most notably, the communiqué protested the sexism of the name 'Weathermen' and renamed itself the Weather Underground.

The feminist movement in the 1960s undoubtedly had an impact on the ideology of the Weather Underground. However, the SDS as stated earlier was undoubtedly male dominated. Even before the Weathermen had overtaken the leadership of the SDS, however, some women had left the group to form women's only groups such as Bread and Roses, Redstockings,[13] and Women's International Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH), while others remained and tried to reorient the organization's thinking from the inside (Gentry 2004, 284). The explicit radical feminist position of the Redstockings is evident in the excerpt from the organization's 1970 manifesto:

> We identify the agents of our oppression as men. Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, and imperialism) are extensions of male supremacy; men dominate women, a few men dominate the rest. All power structures throughout history have been male-dominated and male-oriented. Men have controlled all political, economic, and cultural institutions and backed up this control with physical force. They have used their power to keep women in an inferior position. All men receive economic, sexual, and psychological benefits from male supremacy. All men have oppressed women.

13 "The Redstockings collective celebrated its formation by disrupting a New York State legislative committee hearing on abortion reform. Redstockings then organized a follow-up abortion speak-out, held in the basement of a New York City church, at which women publicly described their often harrowing experiences with illegal abortions. One of those listening, a woman who was reminded of her own secret abortion, was a reporter from New York magazine named Gloria Steinem. She later referred to this meeting as a key experience in her evolution as a feminist" (http://www.kbs.mahost.org/gp/dotfredstockings.html).

The Weather Underground certainly had a significant number of women in the leadership of the organization. We can learn a great deal from the monographs, biographies, and autobiographies written by members of the organization. As stated in the beginning of the book, the personal motivations of each individual who engages in political violence is surely unique to a certain extent. What brings together a group of disparate individuals to go underground and commit acts of violence and terrorism to achieve political objectives, which may seem far-fetched, utopian, or repulsive to the majority of individuals? In the case of the women involved in the Weather Underground, they definitely did share similar socioeconomic and racial backgrounds. The next section profiles a few of these women to gain a better insight into their lives.

Microlevel Factors

We can learn a great deal about individual female radicals since a few of them wrote autobiographies. The majority of the following information is taken from Jane Alpert's *Growing Up Underground* (1981) and Susan Stern's *With the Weathermen: The Personal Journal of a Revolutionary Woman* (1973).

Jane Alpert Jane Alpert, born in 1947, grew up in a middle-class family with two parents and a brother with special needs. As a child she moved around a great deal and had difficulty making friends at new schools. She was not particularly close to her mother and was raised in her early years by an African-American woman. Jane's father suffered from a nervous breakdown, forcing her mother to become the primary breadwinner for the family. As she entered her adolescent years, she read a great deal and wrote that Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead* (1943) made a great impression upon her. In particular she identified with the non-conformist heroine, Dominique Francon, who assists the book's protagonist Howard Roark in setting fire to a building Roark feels is of inferior architectural design. Alpert identified with the Freedom Riders in the early 1960s and admired Martin Luther King's vision. An honors student in high school, she was attracted to those who held strong convictions and like most teenagers, increasingly viewed her parents as out-of-touch with the social changes occurring in the country.

In 1963 Alpert attended Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania on a scholarship. She began attending demonstrations against deplorable school conditions in nearby Chester, Pennsylvania, which was predominantly poor and African-American in racial composition. These demonstrations were moving experiences for Alpert as she realized that white students from Swarthmore could march in solidarity with the black population in Chester. After her first arrest, her parents retrieved her from jail and told her to give up her activism and concentrate on her studies. As she continued to break the rules of the college, she was asked to leave the college for a one year absence. Her parents promptly sent her to a psychiatrist, although she did not attend the sessions for very long. Her late teenage years were a maelstrom of events—she became engaged, had an illegal abortion, and went to Greece for the summer to become an archaeologist. She graduated from Swarthmore and then took a job in New York City at Cambridge University Press. At this point in her life,

Jane was politicized, but not overtly so. She was outraged at Martin Luther King's assassination, but continued to move up the career scale at her job while taking graduate courses at Columbia University in the Classics.

Everything changed for Jane when she met Sam Melville. Jane had not had a serious relationship since her broken engagement. While attending demonstrations on a sporadic basis, she encountered Sam Melville. A decade older than the 21-year old Jane, Sam caught her attention immediately. He worked for a leftist newspaper, and he came to visit Jane at her apartment. Immediately, the two began an intense sexual relationship, and Sam moved in with Jane. Sam's unconventional childhood was a direct contrast to Jane's conventional, bourgeois upbringing. As the weeks wore on, drugs infused their relationship even though Jane continued her daily work at the publishing office. Sam told Jane upon their first lengthy conversation, "This country's about to go through a revolution. I expect it to happen before the decade is over. And I intend to be part of it…The truth is that none of us can help being part of it" (Alpert, 112). Melville's radical politics certainly appealed to her; however, Jane's attraction to leftist politics was certainly piqued before she encountered Sam.

Sam and Jane's relationship was anything but conventional. He repeatedly had sexual relations with other women, which was consistent with the 'smash monogamy' campaign of the Weathermen. Jane too also had sexual encounters with other men and one woman, Pat Swinton, who became part of the bombing collective. Jane dropped out of graduate school, but continued to lead a 'conventional' life during the day while working for the publishing company where her editorial skills were praised and rewarded. Still yearning for the approval of her 'bourgeois' parents, Jane even introduced Sam to them. Of course, the meeting did not go well. Occasionally, Jane would meet her parents for dinner as her politics became more radical; however, she did not share her political viewpoints with her parents.

Jane's first experience with terrorism was through Sam's effort to help two FLQ (Front de Liberation de Quebec)[14] members. The two FLQ fugitives encamped in Sam and Jane's apartment while Jane was on business with her publishing company. Upon her return to the United States, Sam told Jane of their revolutionary brothers' plight. She agreed to help the two FLQ members in gaining false identification papers. Eventually, however, a plan was concocted where the two FLQ members would hijack a plane and divert it to Cuba where they would then seek asylum in Fidel Castro's 'paradise.' Jane agreed to help with the plan and even diligently researched the spate of hijackings to give them information as to how to carry out a successful one. Sam secured guns for the two FLQ members, and they even 'practiced' the hijacking in the apartment. On the day of the hijacking, Sam and Jane took separate cabs to the airport to watch the two French-Canadians enter the airport terminal from a safe distance. The hijacking was successful; the two reached Cuba without any loss of life. Sam and Jane were delighted. In 1969, Jane decided to devote herself completely to radical politics and quit her publishing position.

Alpert writes in her autobiography that she should have recognized the signs of Melville's mental illness. He was prone to extreme mood swings and violence;

14 The FLQ was comprised of French Canadians who wanted Quebec to become a separate entity from the rest of English-speaking Canada.

however, she loved him and the movement so much that she cast these concerns aside. Sam decided it was time to take action, and set up a plan with two other men to rob a dynamite warehouse in New York City. The robbery was successful whereupon four boxes of dynamite were stashed in their apartment for a week until a safe-house apartment was rented under a false identity. In a surreal world, Jane would walk their two dogs in the morning, work at a radical left newspaper during the day called *Rat*, and then plan bombing targets with Sam and other trusted members of their collective at night. In 1969, they carried out successful bombings in New York City in multiple locations including: The United Fruit Company warehouse, Marine Midland Bank, a federal building, the Whitehead Induction Center, and the offices of Chase Manhattan, Standard Oil, and General Motors. Melville was the main bomb maker, while Jane would sometimes carry the bombs in her purse to the target destination. In late 1969, however, four members of the collective, including Sam and Jane, were arrested by the FBI. An undercover agent who had been part of the 'movement' for over three years and who had become a trusted confidante of Sam's, provided all the evidence necessary for their arrests. Jane's father appeared at her bail hearing and even hired an attorney. The initial bail was set at $500,000 but eventually was dropped to $20,000. She was an instant celebrity in the New Left movement. Alpert writes, "The telephone rang for me twenty times a day—reporters, old friends, movement stars from other cities hoping to meet me—and the *Rat* staff dutifully took all the messages and never once complained" (p. 236).

After her release on bail, Alpert met with Mark Rudd, the main organizer of Columbia University's SDS chapter and an instrumental member of the Weathermen. He encouraged Jane to go underground. Before she left, however, Jane pleaded guilty to the charges leveled against her and her co-conspirators in order to get Sam a reduced sentence of 18 years. Then, she took off. Her description of aliases, safe houses, and hitchhiking across the country are entertaining; however, there is relatively little reflection on her political motives or ideology. She meets up with others living an underground existence, picks up a burned-out, drug addicted Vietnam Vet as her lover for some of her escapades, and even is able to manage clandestine dinners with her parents on a few occasions. As the months wore on, her underground comrades became increasingly paranoid that they were going to be arrested.

During an underground meeting where more possible bombing targets were discussed, including a nuclear power plant, Alpert appeared to justify those who argue women engage in terrorism mainly for the love and approval of a man. She asks rhetorically, "I wondered if what was true for Pat (her fugitive friend and sometimes lover) and me was true of women in the Black Panther Party and the Weather Underground. Did all of us feel interested in bombing buildings only when the men we slept with were urging us on?" Was it love for Sam that allowed me to lose my head a year ago?" (p. 275). While living in San Diego under another alias, she began reading more feminist writings and became particularly intrigued by a book called *Dialectic of Sex* (1970) by Shulamith Firestone. Alpert quotes from Firestone's book,

> Politico women are unable to evolve an authentic politics because they have never truly confronted their oppression as women in a gut way…their inability to put their own

> needs first, their need for male approval, in this case anti-establishment male approval to legitimate them politically, renders them incapable of breaking from other movements when necessary and thus consigns them to mere left-reformism, lack of originality, and ultimately, political sterility (p. 298).

Alpert reflected upon her motives within the bombing collective and then went to her first meeting at a women's center. We can see from this selection of the passage that Alpert found appeal in the radical feminists' idea that all women live in oppression regardless of their socioeconomic status or race. As mentioned in the introduction, some radical feminists advocate complete separation from men and their organizations/political advocacy. It appeared that Alpert was beginning to embrace this agenda as she continued her life as a fugitive. However, the jarring news of Melville's death at the Attica prison riots in New York in 1971 drew Jane back to the East coast. Despite the risk she knew she was undertaking, Alpert made her way back from San Diego to New York to see her former lover's body for herself, which was lying in a church for three days before cremation. In her conversations with the radical American feminist, Robin Morgan,[15] Alpert began to see that Sam was never truly a leftist, but as Morgan said, "a fascist who wanted complete control over Jane" (p. 309). After this epiphany of sorts, Alpert immersed herself in feminism and then contacted Weather Underground leader Bernardine Dohrn, who was still living in California. Alpert wanted to meet with the Weatherwomen to convince them they were doing the bidding of the male activist leaders, despite the fact that Dohrn was the leader of the Weather Underground by 1972. After a meeting with Dorhn and Cathy Wilkerson (a survivor of the 1970 townhouse explosion), Alpert headed back to the East coast. Although Alpert was never truly part of the Weather Underground as an organization per se, she maintained close ties with many of its key members. Unable to convince the Weatherwomen of the correctness in radical feminism's critiques of the male-dominated New Left, she found solace in her mentor and confidante, Robin Morgan. Once again, Alpert headed out west and settled in Denver, Colorado. She even worked as a secretary for an orthodox Jewish school. Then, she penned an open letter/manifesto called "Mother Right" denouncing the misogyny of Sam Melville and many of the Weathermen and made her case for a feminist revolution with the ultimate goal being "the establishment of a matriarchy" (p. 346). The "Mother Right" article was published in numerous feminist publications in 1973 to much acclaim in feminist circles.

Alpert continued her underground life but with President Nixon's resignation in August 1974, she considered turning herself in to the authorities. After almost five

---

15 In the late 1960s, Morgan became increasingly disenchanted with the patriarchal male left so she helped organize the New York Radical Women and inaugurated the first protest of the Miss American pageant in 1969. She also helped create W.I.T.C.H., a radical feminist group that used public street theater to put 'hexes' on their targets of opprobrium. Since the 1970s, Morgan has continued in her writing, editing, publishing, and feminist organizing. In addition to her poetry and frequent articles on feminist topics, she has edited two anthologies following up on *Sisterhood is Powerful*: *Sisterhood is Global* (1984) and *Sisterhood is Forever* (2003). She has served as a contributing editor to *Ms.* Magazine for many years, and served as editor-in-chief from 1989-1993.

years of jumping bail, Alpert turned herself in, accompanied by her parents. Under interrogation, she spoke only of those individuals who had no direct involvement in terrorism or the Weather Underground. In January 1975, Alpert received 27 months in prison—18 months for the bombing conspiracy and nine months for jumping bail. While in prison, she was viewed as a 'stool pigeon' for voluntarily turning herself in. Once her friend Pat Swinton was arrested in Vermont but released on bail, Ms. Swinton went on a speaking tour blasting Alpert for becoming a traitor to the movement. In the end, Alpert served a slightly reduced sentence for good behavior, and in her autobiography closes with the following rumination, "Certainly personal rage and pain, more than politics had led me to break violently with my parents and adolescence, to bomb buildings, and later to reject the left with all the hostility I could muster" (p. 372).

Bernardine Dohrn The face of the Weather Underground was undoubtedly Bernardine Dohrn. Dohrn grew up in a Republican family in Wisconsin and attended law school at the University of Chicago. With a passion for social justice, Dohrn assisted tenants' associations as they battled against Chicago's slum lords. By 1968, she was active in the SDS and quickly became a leader within the organization. By all accounts, Dohrn was a crucial linchpin of the Weather Underground's existence and ideology. Dohrn even called for the walk-out of the Revolutionary Youth Movement at the critical SDS meeting in June 1969. Moreover, she was often the author of the Weather Underground's communiqués. Weatherwoman Susan Stern, in her autobiography, speaks of being in jail with Dohrn but being too intimidated to approach her. Stern says of Dohrn, "But she was still the high priestess. Whatever quality she possessed, I wanted it. I wanted to be cherished and respected as Bernardine was. More than that, I wanted to know Bernardine. I wanted to be an aristocrat too" (Stern cited in Braungart and Braungart 1992, 59).

As the bombings of the 1970s slowed down, Dohrn remained on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list. Dohrn and fellow Weather Underground member Bill Ayers married and had two children together, whom they raised underground before turning themselves in to the authorities in 1981. While some charges relating to their activities with the Weathermen were dropped due to "extreme governmental misconduct" while searching for them, Dohrn did plead guilty to charges of aggravated battery and bail jumping, receiving probation. She later served less than a year of jail time, after refusing to testify against ex-Weatherman Susan Stern in an armed robbery case. Shortly after turning themselves in, Dohrn and Ayers adopted Chesa Boudin, when his biological parents and former members of the Weather Underground, Kathy Boudin and David Gilbert, were arrested in connection with the Black Liberation Army. Dohrn now teaches comparative law at Northwestern University in Chicago and remains active on behalf of social justice issues.

Diana Oughton While Jane Alpert and Bernardine Dohrn continue to speak about their experiences in the underground, Diana Oughton is not able to do so because she was killed in the 1970 townhouse explosion discussed earlier. Similar to the socioeconomic backgrounds of Alpert and Dohrn, Oughton was the daughter of a wealthy Illinois businessman. Oughton's father was a banker in a small Illinois town

and a Republican state legislator from 1964-1966 (Braungart and Braungart 1992, 60). She grew up in a life of privilege, attended the best schools, and had a deep love for her family. "But her family's multi-million dollar fortune made Diana feel a bit different from her schoolmates. They used to call her Miss Moneybags" (Franks and Powers 1970). Attending Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, Diana supported her Republican family's political values by opposing Social Security, federal banking regulations, and anything else associated with big government. She even supported Richard Nixon over John F. Kennedy in the 1960 presidential race. She spent her junior year abroad in Germany and became immersed in the German culture. Once outside of the United States, she began to develop a new perspective on her country. By the time she returned to finish her senior year in college, Bryn Mawr, like so many other colleges and universities, was imbued with social justice and racial prejudice concerns. After reading John Howard Griffin's book *Black Like Me*, an account of the trip the author made through the deep South disguised as a black man, Diana began tutoring black children in Philadelphia.

Committed to her tutoring and increasingly disillusioned with the severe inequality she now witnessed first hand, she graduated from Bryn Mawr in the early 1960s. With no immediate interest in marriage after college, Diane traveled to impoverished Guatemala to work with the indigenous Indians. She immersed herself in the lives of the poor, eating the same foods, wearing patched clothing, and living in a house with a dirt floor. "When Diana arrived in Guatemala she had been a liberal, believing the only way to make a better world was to identify the problems, and devise their solutions, one by one. Guatemala made her into a radical; she began to feel that things had to be changed all at one, or not at all" (Powers 1971, 44). When her well-to-do parents came to visit Diana in Guatemala, her father argued the merits of capitalism versus socialism with her. On the other hand, Diana's mother hoped this was "just a phase" her tempestuous daughter would eventually tire of and then proceed like her peers to get married and have children. However, this would certainly not be the case for this young 'revolutionary.'

After remaining for two years in Guatemala, Diana returned to the United States. Although deeply influenced by her experiences in Guatemala and convinced that U.S. imperialism was the source of Guatemala's systemic poverty, she enrolled in a Master's Degree program in Education at the University of Michigan in January 1966. The move to Michigan was an important turning point in her life. She began working at an experimental school with Bill Ayers, her eventual lover and fellow Weather Underground comrade. The experimental school had no structured 'bourgeois' curriculum; students from low socio-economic backgrounds, including a large number of African-American children, were supposed to engage in self-managed learning, which would theoretically encourage more than rote learning. The lack of structure, however, meant that very few of the children were learning to read. Therefore, parents began removing their children from the school, and eventually it closed due to a lack of funding support.

Diana was devastated once the school closed, but she soon channeled her energies to working for the SDS full-time. Bill and Diana moved into a commune together, and their lives became consumed by meetings, organizing, and planning 'actions.' She traveled to Cuba in the summer of 1969 to meet with a North Vietnamese delegation,

and she was impressed by the progress in literacy and healthcare she saw in Cuba. She participated in the Days of Rage in October 1969, got arrested like many of her comrades, and had her father post bail. Despite her increasing radicalization, however, Diane maintained contact with her family in Illinois. In fact, she even traveled home to celebrate Christmas with her family in December 1969. Just a few days later at the 1969 "War Council" meeting in Flint, Michigan Diana made the decision to go underground. And then, just three months later in March 1970, Diana along with Terry Robbins and Ted Gold were killed in the townhouse explosion in New York City. Diana's body had to be identified through fingerprints because it was so disfigured. Hundreds attended funeral services for this young woman of privilege, dead before the age of 30.

Susan Stern Susan Stern's autobiography *With the Weathermen* (1974) does not have the same emotional distance as Jane Alpert's. Nonetheless, it provided a candid examination of how a wealthy child of divorced parents became a member of the Weather Underground. Susan Stern, born in 1943, seemed to be on the path to a 'normal' existence. She got married in 1965 and moved with her husband to Washington state where they were both pursuing graduate education. However, she started working at the SDS office in Seattle and became more engaged with the movement. With an unstable marriage and trial separation, Stern became more radicalized and set out on her own to find her own identity. She dropped out of graduate school, attended the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, and headed back to the east coast. In New York City, she began working extensively with the SDS leadership, namely Mark Rudd. She spoke openly, however, about her intimidation by Rudd and Bernardine Dohrn. Throughout her autobiography, she makes numerous references to her inability to feel at ease with herself and her concern that she could not match the intellectualism of the SDS leadership. With a healthy dose of drugs and an inferiority complex fueling her radicalization, Stern traveled back to the west coast and settled again in Seattle, Washington.

After the split within the SDS in June 1969, Stern cast her lot with the Weathermen. Even though she admits she did not read the entire Weatherman manifesto, Stern believed that revolutionary action was the only way forward. Despite her deep desire to join a new collective in Seattle, she was initially rebuffed because she was viewed by the others as a 'loose cannon.' Eventually, the collective relented and Stern was introduced to the twenty hour "Weather fries"—the criticism/self-criticism sessions intended to break one's individuality in place of the collective. Even though she did not use the word 'cult', it certainly seems applicable given the description of life inside the collective she provides. Contact with outsiders was minimized, and the Weathermen expressed as much contempt for the old SDS crowd as they did for the 'pigs' and other enemies of the revolution. Planning for the October 1969 Days of Rage action in Chicago became the sole focus of the collective in the summer of 1969. The collective distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets imploring students to come and join the action in Chicago. In the meantime, Stern sometimes supplemented her income by dancing in topless bars. Obviously, this appeared to create quite an interesting paradox. Although she identified with the women's liberation movement and looked forward to inflicting bodily harm on 'pigs' with her

iron pipe and boots, she helped support the activities of the collective through the misogynistic endeavor of topless dancing.

As stated earlier, the Chicago Days of Rage did not amount to the gathering of 25,000 radicals the Weathermen leadership had promised. Nevertheless, Stern took part in physical violence by smashing windows and bashing a policeman 'pig' in the back of the neck with an iron bar as he was kicking another woman down on the ground. Stern's first arrest placed her in the same jail as Dohrn. Stern, mesmerized by Dohrn, wrote:

> Although she (Dohrn) didn't move and didn't talk, she hardly seemed aware of the other women in the room, but everyone else was quite aware of her. I just plainly stared at her, unable to fathom the sources of her charisma. She possessed a splendor of her own. Like a queen, her nobility set her apart from the other women. Fascinated, I watched the secondary leadership sit themselves around her, while the third-ranking leadership talked together in another group, looking covertly at Bernardine and her intimates. There was clearly a defined pecking order in which people like me didn't even get crumbs (p. 143).

Stern was present at all the major turning points in the Weathermen's history including the Days of Rage in Chicago in 1969 and the War Council meeting in Flint, Michigan in December 1969. One of Stern's major problems, however, is that she was consistently expelled from various collectives for not being sufficiently "revolutionary." Despite the sleepless drug-infused hours she spent making pamphlets, soliciting new recruits for the revolution, and attending strategizing meetings, Stern was often the focus of intense "criticism/self-criticism" sessions. In particular, Stern despised Weather Underground leader and Columbia University organizer, Mark Rudd, who came to Seattle to 'smash' monogamous relationships within the collectives and drum Stern out of the leadership cadre in Seattle. After being expelled from the Seattle collective, Stern then bounced back and forth to various houses and was finally arrested for "crossing state lines to incite a riot" with six male co-defendants in April 1970. They had organized "The Day After" riots to protest the Chicago 8 Conspiracy Trial. Stern and her male co-defendants became known as the "Seattle 7." Her ruminations on her experience as the sole female defendant are among the most revealing in her autobiography. She writes,

> I had no one. No other woman to go through the experience with me. No one to whom I could turn and be afraid with, no one with whom I could discuss strategy from a female point of view. And finally, no one but me to undertake the tremendous responsibility of being the female voice which would be carried to other women across the country. All the other Weatherwomen were underground since the townhouse explosion; it was my voice which would be heard at rallies, mine in classrooms, mine in newspaper interviews, radio talk shows, and over the news. I had to know something, since I had been singled out by the government; other women wanted to know what I knew (p. 258).

It is interesting to note that even though Stern had been expelled from the collective because she was 'insufficiently revolutionary' as well as too drug-dependent, she felt the weight of trying to make the world understand the ideology which motivated the Weather Underground's actions during the court proceedings. While awaiting trial, Stern and her new best friend, Anne Anderson, did purchase a hundred pound

bag of fertilizer and learned from a chemist how to make home-made bombs with diesel fuel. They practiced in the mountains detonating their deadly concoctions, envisioning blowing up the corporate offices of IBM and Boeing. Unlike Jane Alpert, Stern never delivered a bomb to a designated target; however, she wrote, "Let the pigs think we did nothing but party and take dope; our hearts were in the hills with our bombs; our hearts were underground, with the Weathermen" (p. 264).

By the early 1970s, Stern was in her late twenties, a few years older than most of those in the collectives. As the "Movement" lost steam, newer recruits were sometimes drop-outs from high-school who possessed little political acumen and desired to party and 'freak out' as much as possible. Once the trial of the "Seattle 7" began, Stern and her co-defendants utilized their opportunity to speak to make political statements. However, Stern felt that she was treated in a demeaning manner in comparison to her six male co-defendants. The Judge would often refer to Stern as "gal or young lady" while addressing the male co-defendants by Mister and their last name. Despite the testimony of an FBI informant at the Seattle 7 trial, the Judge declared a mistrial. Eventually, Susan served one month in jail for her role in 'inciting a riot' and then faced a plea bargain in Chicago for her participation in the October 1969 "Days of Rage." During her month in jail for that particular offense, Stern wrote letters to her former housemates and her mother. The letters vacillated between two extremes—first, the necessity of keeping the revolution going and second, her deep despair and depression, including suicidal thoughts.

In the end, Stern in her autobiography does not come across as much of a credible ideologue. Instead, she appeared to be extremely insecure and in search of acceptance by any individual or group that would serve as a surrogate family. Her individual identity became meshed with the collective's identity, although she does state repeatedly that working for the revolution does not mean the cessation of all fun, including partying and enjoying life. Despite the lack of political justification for her actions and belief throughout the autobiography, Stern did make a closing statement at her trial even though the Judge did not want to allow her to speak to the jury and the observers. Stern, trying to summarize the ideology of the Weather Underground stated,

> It's not possible to include the other people that I would include in this Courtroom, all the Vietnamese people that are dead, napalmed by the system you purport to keep in order, napalmed by a system that we purport to destroy, napalmed by the system which you uphold… Give me back the American troops that were killed there, helplessly and hopelessly duped—forced, some of them by poverty, to enlist, because they couldn't get jobs in this country; forced to invade another country and be killed by people who repeatedly said they didn't want to kill American troops, but were forced to defend themselves. That is revolutionary violence, a term we are beginning to introduce to the jury, and you made sure they didn't hear any more about it, because revolutionary violence is different from the kind of violence that you perpetuate on this society, sir (p. 321).

Stern died of a drug overdose in 1976.

Political Reaction from the U.S. Government

The U.S. government definitely viewed the Weathermen/Weather Underground as a serious threat. As of October 1971, eight of the 14 people on the FBI's most

wanted list were New Left or revolutionary types, including Bernardine Dohrn. However, the political violence certainly never threatened the very existence of the American state. Despite the riots, demonstrations, and political assassinations of the 1960s, the U.S. government was never remotely threatened by a revolution. As in Italy, the federal government did not abridge freedom of expression, speech, and assembly. Nothing akin to the Alien and Sedition acts were resurrected; however, the CIA's COINTELPRO[16] program certainly did target many Leftist activists and others. Violence continued throughout the 1970s with small-scale bombings placed in the Capitol, the Pentagon, and Attica prison. By the mid-1970s, the group was almost disbanded although some members, namely Kathy Boudin, continued armed action such as the 1981 robbery of a Brinks armored truck in conjunction with the Black Liberation Army (Varon 2004, 193). By October 1975, government attorneys requested that the federal indictments against the Weathermen be lifted due to illegal methods of surveillance by the CIA and National Security Agency (Varon 2004, 297). In 1976, the group voluntarily disbanded. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, a great majority of the Weathermen turned themselves in, and on his last day in office President Clinton used his pardon power to free two former Weatherwomen, Susan Rosenberg and Linda Evans (Varon 2004, 300). In the end, the actions and ideology of the Weathermen never resonated with the majority of the American public. And unlike most of the other case studies in this book, the actions of the group never resulted in the death of a single person.

Red Army Faction

The Red Army Faction (*Rote Armee Fraktion*) was created in 1970 in West Germany. Like the other two groups profiled in this chapter, the adherents to this group were committed to an overthrow of the 'fascist' West German state and the creation of a more democratic and egalitarian one in its place. Responsible for extensive political violence and terrorism, the RAF engaged in armed robberies, kidnapping, bombings, and murder.[17] Moreover, the RAF developed extensive ties with Palestinian guerrillas and even sent some of its members to training camps in the Middle East. Of particular interest for our study, however, is the significant number of women involved in the movement, including the two most influential, Gudrun Ensslin and Ulrike Meinhof, who both died as a result of suicide while in prison awaiting trial. Moreover, over thirty per cent of left-wing terrorists were female in West Germany during the 1970s (Neidhardt 1992, 216). Eileen MacDonald suggests that women

16 COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) was a program of the U.S. FBI aimed at disrupting dissident political organizations within the United States. Formal COINTELPRO operations from 1956-1971 were broadly targeted against organizations that were (at the time) considered to have politically radical elements, ranging from those whose stated goal was the violent overthrow of the U.S. government such as the Weathermen to non-violent civil rights groups such as Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the American Indian Movement, to violent racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. The COINTELPRO activities came under public scrutiny during the Church committee hearings.

17 See Alexander and Pluchinsky (1992) for a complete listing.

formed about 50 per cent of the RAF membership and around eighty per cent of the group's supporters (MacDonald 1991, 200). The group officially disbanded in 1998; therefore, it is one of the longest existing left-wing terrorist organizations in spite of its many generational changes.

Macrolevel Factors

After World War II, Germany became the site of the bipolar confrontation between the United States and Soviet Union. Even before the war was over in the Pacific theatre, it was increasingly clear that Soviet leader "Uncle Joe" Stalin was not going to make life easy for the United States in its attempt to construct a new post-war order based upon the United Nations and the Bretton Woods financial institutions. Germany's complete defeat in the war was a testament to the tenacity of the Allied powers and the moral bankruptcy of the Third Reich; however, the temporary division of the country into four sectors (British, French, and the United States) in the western half and (Soviet) in the eastern half became permanent for five decades. The Berlin Airlift of 1948-49 was a portent of increased hostilities with the permanent scar, the Berlin Wall, constructed in 1961. The Soviet sphere of influence was extensive and formidable as evidenced by the lack of U.S. intervention in Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968. Despite these setbacks, West Germany, with its vibrant democracy and booming capitalist economy, was all the U.S. could have hoped for in a country which had been at the heart of two world wars.

In the midst of the West German miracle, however, arose the New Left student movement of the 1960s. This generation was too young to actually have any recollection of World War II; however, they knew that many in their parents' generation had been open or tacit supporters of the Nazi regime and its heinous crimes. For young West Germans, "the Nazi past was not only a source of confusion and anger but an impetus to activism. Determined not to repeat their elders' failings, they reacted strongly to contemporary forms of injustice" (Varon 2004, 32). Despite the de-Nazification program carried out by the Allied powers, as of 1965 fully 60 per cent of West German military officers had fought for the Nazis and two-thirds of the judges had served the Third Reich (Varon 2004, 33). The youth generation was aware that many in positions of authority had a direct link with the country's past. While many in the New Left student movement were content to attend demonstrations and write for underground newspapers, a handful embarked upon 'armed struggle' against the state.

Like the Italian and American case studies, West Germany also saw a surge in university attendance during the 1960s. "After the war, the universities had been purged of professors tainted with a Nazi past, but many had to be reinstated because of a dearth of teachers and administrators which resulted with increasing enrollment" (Becker 1977, 22). Buildings and facilities were inadequate, courses were out-dated, and the academic administration was viewed as completely out of touch with the young generation. Students were not permitted to have representation on councils which affected their careers at universities. Like the Students for a Democratic Society in the United States, the New Left in West Germany also yearned for more participatory democracy. The one exception to the rule of barring meaningful student

participation was the Free University of Berlin, which was built after the war. It is no surprise, therefore, that the Free University of Berlin become the site of the German student movement. Spirited meetings with the administration led to relatively few changes in the academic offerings of professors, but post-World War II West Germany was awash with free speech and freedom of assembly, rights guaranteed under the Basic Law.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The ideological underpinnings of the Red Army Faction were explicitly Marxist in orientation. The Vietnam War, in particular, was a catalyst of the movement. "The Vietnam War was subject to double-coding that defined young Germans' perceptions. The violence in Vietnam was repellant to them both in its own right and insofar as it recalled Nazi violence. The apparent indifference of Germans to the suffering in Vietnam was infuriating in its own right as it recalled the public's tacit support for the Nazis' terrors" (Varon 2004, 34). Hence, many of the demonstrations of the New Left focused on the Vietnam War; American soldiers stationed in West Germany were ridiculed by the New Left movement, and the America House in West Berlin was often the focal point of rallies. As with any social movement, there are seminal tipping points which serve as markers delineating a "before and after" mind-set. The same was true in West Germany.

The first event was the arrival of the Shah of Iran and his wife for a state visit to West Germany in June 1967. The Shah, who was viewed by many of the New Left students in West Germany and abroad as a dictatorial leader, was a staunch ally of the United States. Having been re-installed to the "peacock throne' in a 1953 coup engineered by the U.S. CIA and the British MI6, the Shah was relying upon his secret police force, the SAVAK, to repress all dissent in the country. The New Left in West Germany was gearing up for major demonstrations against the Shah's visit. The West German government did not want to be embarrassed and tried to keep the anti-Shah students away from the Opera House where the Shah and his wife would be taking in some entertainment. A few thousand loyal Iranians were asked to be allowed to greet their leader at the airport. Later on the night of 2 June 1967, tense police officers, anti-Shah demonstrators, and pro-Shah Iranians were embarked in a stand-off. "Whether in some section of the crowd, stones, eggs and tomatoes were in fact hurled before the police charged, or whether the police charged first, nobody could ever be sure, but the police did charge, stones and other things were hurled, staves were wielded, and arrests were made" (Becker 1977, 39). Water cannons were turned against the students, and in the end they police got the upper hand on the students by cordoning them into a space where there was no escape. A policeman, Karl-Heinz Kurras, fired a shot at one of the demonstrators and the New Left had its first martyr. The young man killed was Benno Ohnesorg, who was shot in the back of the head. He was a 26 year old student and father-to-be from Hanover. He was not an active member of the New Left; in fact this was his first big demonstration (Varon 2004, 39). At an emotional meeting on the night of 2 June 1967, future RAF founder Gudrun Ensslin exclaimed, "This fascist state means to kill us all… violence is the only way to answer violence. This is the Auschwitz generation, and there's no

arguing with them" (Varon 2004, 39). Eight thousand students followed the coffin of Ohnesorg six days later on June 8 from the Free University to other venues along the mourning route until his final resting place.

The second crystallizing event for the New Left in West Germany was the near fatal wounding of New Left leader, Rudi Dutschke, on 11 April 1968. Born in East Germany, Dutschke refused to serve in the army of the German Democratic Republic and therefore was not permitted to attend university there. Only one day before the Berlin Wall was erected, he fled to West Berlin where he studied sociology at the Free University. Dutschke joined the German SDS (Socialist German Students Union) in 1965.

Dutschke was openly critical of the West German government and characterized it as "tending towards fascism." Meanwhile the conservative tabloids, largely owned by Axel Springer, condemned the New Left as doing the bidding of East Germany. One of these tabloids, *Bild*, ran a picture of Dutschke captioned: "SDS—Dutschke: Our Vietnam is here in Europe" (Becker 1977, 48). Dutschke worked with a couple of friends on the SDS publication, *Konkret*, a monthly published since the 1950s. For whatever reason, a deranged right-wing fanatic named Josef Bachmann went on a search for Dutschke and then opened fire on him when he returned to the SDS offices. Dutschke was shot three times in the head, throat, and chest.[18] Bachmann was arrested and tried; he committed suicide in 1970. For the New Left, this was more vindication that the West German state was dedicated to eradicating any kind of political dissent. Subsequently, the offices of the Springer publications were attacked and two individuals died during the turmoil of the Easter demonstrations in 1968. Moreover, West German embassies around the world were beset by demonstrators for days following Dutschke's close call.

The turbulent year of 1968 pressed on. In October 1968, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Horst Sohnlein, and Thorward Proll were convicted of the Frankfurt arsons of department stores which occurred in April 1968, and sentenced to three years in prison. Their inspiration had been an arson set in a Brussels department store, months earlier, which resulted in three hundred deaths. The Kommune I, a group of avant-garde students with varying degrees of political acumen and commitment to the 'cause', released a pamphlet entitled "When Will the Berlin Stores Burn?", which argued that the citizens of Brussels, living in their commercial bubbles, did not know what it was like in Hanoi. For the students, their intellectual lodestar was Herbert Marcuse. "Marcuse was a German Jew, a critic of Nazism, and after the war a critic of both Western capitalism and Soviet communism" (Varon 2004, 43). While giving celebrated lectures in Frankfurt and throughout Germany, Marcuse held, "the provision in surfeit for material and immaterial needs make for a new opium of the people" (Becker 1977, 57). In other words, even the proletariat in the developed countries was now so caught up in mass consumerism, that they ceased to question,

18 Dutschke did survive his injuries and then fled to England under political asylum but was eventually turned out by the Edward Heath government. He then went to Denmark with his wife and three children and from there helped to create the Green Party movement, particularly focused upon the anti-nuclear movement. He died in 1979 from a massive brain hemorrhage, due to complications from the 1968 shooting.

much less revolt, over the oppression of others around the world. While Marcuse did not support the violence of the New Left, many appropriated his theoretical considerations for their own agenda.

Once the four were released on bail, Andreas Baader and Thorward Proll began working with troubled teens in two youth centers in Frankfurt (Varon 2004, 62), and Ensslin worked with young women in Frankfurt halfway houses. In November 1969, their appeal was rejected. They were ordered to return to prison. With the help of Proll's sister, Astrid, and a group of sympathizers, Baader, Ensslin, and Proll, made their way to Paris where they stayed at the apartment of Regis Debray, a millionaire who was serving time in Bolivia for helping Che Guevara. By early 1970, Baader and Ensslin, who had been romantically involved since 1967, were back in West Germany and stayed with Ulrike Meinhof. There, Baader and Ensslin met up with others to forge a new underground group; however, on the way to retrieve a buried stash of guns, Astrid Proll and Andreas Baader were stopped by police. Possessing fake identification, Baader was arrested and held in jail. Ensslin enlisted the help of Meinhof to get Baader released from jail. In a ruse, Meinhof told the prison guards that she and Baader had been contracted to write a book together and that she needed to meet with him in a library outside of the prison. While under armed guard, Baader was to be released through use of deadly force, if necessary, from a commando unit.

On May 14, 1970 the plan was enacted. In the firefight that ensued, Baader and Meinhof jumped from a second story building and fled. One guard was killed and the accomplices, including Ensslin, escaped. On June 2, 1970, the Red Army Faction released its first communiqué in the Berlin anarchist weekly *833* entitled "Build up the Red Army" under the group's name. An excerpt from the communiqué follows:

> Without building up the Red Army, the pigs can continue, they can go on locking up, dismissing, stealing children, intimidating, shooting, and ruling. To bring the conflict to a fever pitch means that they no longer can do what they want, rather they must do what we want. You have to make it clear to them, to those who gain nothing from the exploitation of the Third World, from Persian oil, Bolivia's bananas, South Africa's gold, who have no ground to identify themselves with the exploiters. They can understand that what is now being launched here has already been launched in Vietnam, Palestine, Guatemala, in Oakland and Watts, in Cuba and China, in Angola and New York. They'll get that, if you explain to them that the Baader-Release Action is no isolated action, never was, but only the first of this type in the Federal Republic of Germany. Damn it!

Within weeks of its formation, the RAF members traveled to Jordan to train in PLO camps, established safe houses throughout Germany, robbed banks, and built up a stock pile of arms, despite the arrest of several dozen members. The RAF sought to blend theory with praxis. This is best exemplified by an excerpt from the RAF's first ideological communiqué, "The Concept of the Urban Guerrilla" (1971), which is widely viewed as authored by Ulrike Meinhof. Meinhof wrote, "What is important is that one should have had some political experience in legality before deciding to take up armed struggle. Those who have joined the revolutionary left just to be trendy had better be careful not to involve themselves in something from which there

is no going back." For Meinhof and the others, there was indeed no going back after the 1970 prison escape for Baader.

The RAF, like the Red Brigades and Weather Underground, grew out of the larger student movement in West Germany. Consistent with the collective action theory of political violence discussed in Chapter 1, the majority of New Left adherents engaged in contentious politics but initially eschewed political violence and terrorism. However, scores of men and women embraced the underground organizations of the radical left in West Germany. The reasons why certain individuals chose this path are difficult to ascertain. Neidhart (1992) argues,

> As revealed by the material on the origin of individual terrorist groups, some of the factors determining the people who made the switch evidently had little to do with the political objectives of terrorism. Whereas many persons refrained when approached or deserted when things became really serious, others took part out of personal loyalty and sometimes because of intimate ties. Aside from all other circumstances, friendships, love affairs, and kinship were probably the aspect that was able to tip the scales from ambivalence to participation (p. 221).

As mentioned in the other two case studies, relational networks are an important source of recruitment for underground organizations of any ideological stripe. Two examples are illustrative. First, the romantic relationship of Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin has already been referenced and will be discussed in greater detail in the following section. Second, Astrid Proll helped her brother, Thorward, as well as Baader and Ensslin escape to France after their appeal was overturned. What is important to note is that affective ties created in terrorist groups are crucial for the longevity of the group and its ability to survive underground. For example, Neidhart (1992) argues that one of the main reasons why left-wing terrorist groups had more staying power than right-wing terrorist groups in West Germany during the 1970s was because leftist groups included women in the decision-making process. The inclusion of women "provided for the satisfaction of emotional and sexual needs within the group, allowing it a degree of autonomy that in many ways enhanced the capacity to lead a subversive existence" (Neidhart 1992, 219). Other reasons for the ability of the left-wing to become more institutionalized than the right-wing included: (1) the left had a more developed ideology; (2) the left was largely compromised of younger individuals who did not have the career and family obligations unlike proponents of right-wing violence; and (3) the left-wing was concentrated around university campuses whereas the right-wing was more geographically dispersed, thus making it harder to organize (pp. 224-225).

Microlevel Factors

While the RAF and other left-wing groups attracted a great number of women to the 'cause', two women dominated the headlines about the Red Army Faction; they were Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin. Ulrike Meinhof was viewed as the 'brains' or ideologue of the organization whereas Ensslin was viewed more as the passionate, and sometimes hysterical one. Both committed suicide in prison while awaiting trial in the mid-1970s.

Ulrike Meinhof Ulrike Meinhof was born in 1934. Her father died when she was five years old. After his death, Ulrike's mother, Ingeborg, was propelled by circumstances into becoming the sole provider for her two daughters. Ingeborg attended university and earned a doctorate in 1943. While in university, Ingeborg met another woman, Renate Riemeck. The two become close friends and Renate lived in the house as a boarder for awhile so Ingeborg could bring in a little extra income. Most importantly Renate, 14 years senior to Ulrike, became close to both of the Ingeborg's daughters. Tragedy, however, struck the Meinhof family again when Ingeborg died of cancer when Ulrike was 13. Ulrike and her sister were then cared for by Renate Riemeck. The three moved throughout Germany as Renate took positions lecturing at various universities. Ulrike, while understandably saddened by her mother's death, continued to do well in her studies and enjoyed spending time in intellectual conversations with her foster mother, Renate.

Ulrike attended various universities and then landed at the University of Munster in 1957 on a scholarship for orphans (Becker 1977, 131). While attending university, she became very active in the anti-nuclear bomb movement and immersed herself into organizing demonstrations with a passion. In the late 1950s she met her future husband, Klaus Rainer Röhl, who was the editor of the German magazine, *Konkret*. Ulrike took over as the editor of the magazine and "within two months made herself noticed by the German government, or at least by one member of it, when she published her leading article, 'Hitler in You.' It was a tirade against the Minister of Defense Franz Josef Strauss, who supported German rearmament" (Becker 1977, 139). Meinhof's article about Strauss ended, "As we ask our parents about Hitler, someday our children will ask us about Herr Strauss."

Despite Ulrike's childhood of loss, she fell in love with Röhl; they married in 1961 and had twin girls. After the delivery and subsequent brain surgery to treat an enlarged blood vessel, Ulrike threw herself back into her work. She and Klaus became part of the fashionable society, while writing articles about the appeal of socialism. Ulrike even attended her high school reunions, kept up with the latest fashion trends, and lived in many ways a very bourgeois existence. Her fame began to grow. Due to her high visibility at the magazine, Meinhof became a sought after commentator regarding the state of German and world affairs. She was asked to appear on political television shows, even though she was often the token woman. Despite her professional success, however, all was not well in her personal life. Klaus was an unfaithful husband and after seven years of marriage, they divorced. Ulrike was awarded full custody of the girls, and she continued to write for the *Konkret*, her husband's publication. The working relationship between the two quickly became strained. Ulrike's radicalization in her political views was becoming more pronounced by the late 1960s; she viewed Klaus as a sell-out and a dandy. She wanted Klaus to publish an article she had written for the magazine blasting him as a class traitor and a capitalist who paid his workers at the magazine poor wages. He relented and published Ulrike's scathing article, but then a few months later, Ulrike and a band of radicals ransacked Klaus's house.

Ulrike had met with Ensslin and Baader after their arrest from the April 1968 department store arsons. She wrote an article for the *Konkret* praising their act of lawbreaking, even though she expressed to others that she was not very sure of their

political motives. The three individuals' paths would cross again in less than two years. Meanwhile, Ulrike moved to Berlin in 1969 and purchased a large apartment in a trendy part of the city. An interesting paradox began to emerge. While her apartment became the home for an eclectic, bohemian cast of individuals, she sent her two young girls to private school and utilized hired help to keep them in line. The free-thinking and aversion to authority she praised in her articles were certainly not reflected in her parenting style.

After Baader and Ensslin's arrest in April 1968 for the Frankfurt department store arsons, the pair along with two others were kept in prison until November 1969; they were released while awaiting appeal and began working in halfway homes for Frankfurt's troubled youth. Meinhof came to know Baader and Ensslin through their 'social work'; Meinhof began producing a made for television movie about the youths' struggle for integration into German society (Varon 2004, 63). After Baader and Ensslin made their escape into France with the Proll siblings in early 1970s, they eventually worked their way through Italy and then arrived back in Germany. Meinhof was contacted to take Baader and Ensslin into her home and she agreed. Once Baader was re-arrested, Ensslin enlisted Meinhof's to help free Baader from jail. There was not an overt political motive for freeing Baader from prison; Ensslin simply wanted her true love re-united with her. Hence, the declaration of the Red Army Faction was an afterthought in a certain manner (Becker 1977, 175). However, "For Ulrike Meinhof, her leap with Baader out of the window of the library was an act as irreversible as suicide" (Becker 1977, 176). Metaphorically, she was leaving an unsatisfactory life and leaping into a new life of excitement and urgent purpose. Ulrike Meinhof, the editor of *Konkret* and mother of two, was now a wanted fugitive and living life underground.

After freeing Baader, Meinhof, Ensslin, and others went to Jordan for training with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.[19] There Meinhof and Ensslin learned how to fire guns and drive get-away cars. By the summer of 1970, however, their Arab hosts asked the Germans to leave. Upon their return to Germany, the RAF undertook a series of bank robberies to finance their political violence—all with the final goal of eradicating the 'fascist' German state. Despite her clandestine life, Ulrike still maintained a reliable network of friends, including some sympathetic clergy, who provided safe houses for her and her comrades. Traveling with stolen cars and under false identities, Ulrike moved around West Germany with relative ease. As for her daughters, Ulrike had decided before her freeing of Baader to send them out of the country. She did not want her ex-husband to raise the girls and did not want to send them to her foster mother's house either since she knew the girls' father would come to look for them there. Ulrike's plan was to send them eventually to Jordan to be trained at a Palestinian liberation camp. Fortunately, the girls were

19 The PFLP is a Marxist-Leninist, nationalist Palestinian political and military organization, founded in 1967, by Dr. George Habash, a Palestinian Christian. It is representative of one of the many break-away factions within the larger Palestinian Liberation Organization. The PFLP gained notoriety in the 1960s and 1970s with a series of airplane hijackings.

tracked down in Italy and reunited with their frantic father before they arrived at the Jordanian training camp.

Until the arrest of Meinhof, Baader and Ensslin in 1972, the RAF, and other left-wing groups in West Germany carried out bank robberies and bombings. By the early 1970s, another group called the Socialist Patients Collective (SPK),[20] which was loosely affiliated with the Red Army Faction but not part of its organizational or command structure, carried out robberies as well. Other female members of the Red Army Faction did not surrender quietly to the police. For example, Petra Schlem, a 21 year old hairdresser, was killed in a shoot out with police when she and Werner Hoppe were stopped at a police roadblock. Margrit Schiller was arrested in October 1971, but not before opening fire and mortally wounding a police officer. Women did not just drive get-away cars from bank robberies or keep house for the men in the RAF. They actively participated in political violence and often pulled the trigger and planted the bombs. Hence, the reason why Herr Lochte, a specialist in the German police in combating terrorism, told journalist Eileen MacDonald in the early 1990s to "shoot the women first" since they were just as willing if not more so to use deadly force against police officers. Also, women were reportedly not opposed to using violence against other women within the organization. For example, Becker (1977) argues that Meinhof ordered the execution of Ingeborg Barz. Barz had joined the "Black Help" organization with her boyfriend but allegedly wanted to leave the organization after a bank robbery. Barz was summoned by telephone to a meeting with Meinhof and driven to a remote forest. As the story goes, Barz was met by Andreas Baader and shot dead.

1972 was a busy year for the RAF and the assorted left-wing terrorist groups. Bombings at the I.G. Farben Building, the police headquarters in Augsburg, the Springer building (publisher of the conservative press in Germany), and the U.S Army headquarters in Heidelberg took the lives of a few individuals and wounded more. The RAF tried to assassinate Federal Judge Wolfgang Buddenberg, who had signed most of the arrest warrants of RAF members and search warrants for their hideouts. In May 1972 they tried to kill him by blowing up his car, but instead severely crippled his wife. Varon (2004) argues the May 1972 actions indicate that the RAF's violence was not entirely without scruple or rationale. "It had chosen its targets with precision and defended the bombings in strongly political terms. American military bases in West Germany were important staging points for the shipment of troops and material to Vietnam and provided technical support for operations there. To attack them was to attack the American war machine" (Varon 2004, 211). On the other hand, the May 1972 attacks prompted a massive manhunt for the RAF fugitives. By mid-1972, the West German government had captured many members of the RAF, including Baader, Ensslin, and Meinhof, albeit under different circumstances.

20 The Socialist Patients' Collective (SPK) was lead by Dr. Wolfgang Huber at Heidelberg University. Dr. Huber convinced the individuals under his care that they were mentally impaired because of Germany's capitalist system. Therefore, the way to cure themselves was to eradicate capitalism. Dr. Huber organized the patients into cells to educate them on how to make bombs and other items needed to carry out terrorist attacks.

Meinhof was arrested in what she thought was a safe house of a teacher near Hanover. When the teacher found out who his guests were, he telephoned the police. RAF member Gerhard Müller was arrested when using a public telephone a few feet from the apartment, and Meinhof was arrested without incident. She answered the door unarmed but struggled hysterically with the police as they removed her. "In her luggage the police found pistols, a submachine gun, two hand grenades, and a ten-pound bomb" (Becker 1977, 252).

Meinhof spent the next four years in a specially constructed prison awaiting her trial, writing, reading, and still justifying armed struggle. She was sentenced in November 1974 for her part in freeing Baader to eight years. Arrested members of the RAF went on hunger strikes[21] to protest their 'inhumane treatment'; they were kept in isolation at times, but then the authorities relented and even let Ensslin and Meinhof meet occasionally. Meinhof initially met with her daughters, but then did not want to see them any longer. In the meantime, another leftist group, the June 2nd Movement[22] carried out terrorist attacks to secure the release of the RAF members. In February 1975 Peter Lorenz, chairman of the West Berlin Christian Democrat Union was kidnapped and demands were made. The German government relented and released some of those who had been arrested while protesting the death of the RAF member Holger Meins to South Yemen. As a result of the German government's actions, Lorenz was released unharmed. In April 1975, the Socialist Patients Collective (SPK), calling itself Commando Holger Meins, stormed the German embassy in Stockholm, Sweden and demanded the release of twenty-six prisoners including Baader, Ensslin, and Meinhof. However, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme rejected the terrorists' demands and two embassy attaches were killed by the terrorists. Among the commando members was at least one woman, Hanna-Elise Krabbe. In the end, the Swedish Prime Minister decided to attack with gas but an explosion occurred, blowing off the roof. Some of the terrorists died from the blast while others went to prison. The rest of the hostages survived.

Despite other groups' attempts to secure the RAF leaders release through terrorist attacks, they remained in prison. Becker (1977) argues that discord reigned among Ensslin and Meinhof. Meinhof, from her cell, issued a stream of political tracts which got as far as Ensslin who then covered them with notes of objection and corrections, and then passed them on to Baader (p. 280). The one-time editor of *Konkret* and 'toast of the town', was now reduced to having her manifestos proofread by the intellectually inferior Ensslin. Then on May 8, 1976, Meinhof hung herself from her bedsheets. The guards found her the next morning. Ensslin was informed of Meinhof's suicide when she asked to see her. Ulrike Meinhof was buried a week later. Thousands turned out for her burial, some of them wearing masks to conceal their identity. However, neither her twin daughters nor foster mother attended.

---

21 One of the founding members of the RAF, Holger Meins, had been arrested with Andreas Baader in 1972 and died in a hunger strike on 9 November 1974.

22 The group was named after the date on which Benno Ohnseborg was killed in 1967 during the demonstration against the Shah of Iran's visit.

Gudrun Ensslin Gudrun Ensslin was born in 1940 in a tiny town north of Stuttgart. She was the fourth of seven children. Her father was Helmut Ensslin, a pastor of the Evangelical Church in Germany, which prided itself on the examination of conscience and its non-support of Hitler (Becker 1977, 66). Gudrun was fairly studious and liked singing religious hymns with her family. She spent a year as an exchange student in Pennsylvania in 1958; there she saw faults in America such as socioeconomic inequality and unjust treatment toward blacks. Upon her return to Germany, she attended the University of Tubingen to study philosophy. There, she met her eventual husband, Bernward Vesper. In the summer of 1965 the engaged couple went to Berlin. Vesper started work as editor of the *Voltaire Pamphlets*, which published poetry. Gudrun enrolled in the Free University where she studied German and English. Gudrun's ambitions had become literary. She and Vesper submitted poems to *Konkret*, but in an interesting twist of fate, the editors Klaus Röhl and Ulrike Meinhof, returned them dismissing them as hysterical (Becker 1977, 71). Up until this point, Gudrun's life was relatively normal.

The German general election of 1966, however, was a turning point for Ensslin. In the election, the center-left Social Democratic Party (SPD) formed a Grand Coalition with the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Ensslin, a staunch SPD supporter, could not forgive her political party for its treachery and then began supporting extra-parliamentary leftist groups. In the autumn of 1966, the couple received a contract to write a book for a publisher. In May 1967, Gudrun gave birth to her first child, Felix Robert. Gudrun and Bernward took their baby to anti-Vietnam and anti-nuclear bomb demonstrations, but the marriage was doomed.

Soon after Felix was born, Benno Ohnesorg was shot on June 2, 1967 at the anti-Shah demonstration. The birth of her child may well have affected Gudrun's tearful reaction that night as the leftist groups gathered to decide how they would respond to Ohnesorg's unprovoked death. She was too hysterical, one of the SDS leaders recalled, to help us in an analysis of the event for a pamphlet we were going to put out about it (Becker 1977, 72). Gudrun accused her friends of inaction; they did nothing of any substance except talk and write about theory. She yearned for revolutionary action. The only way to resist violence was with violence. She did not want to hear about waiting, planning, discussing, or moderating their views and demands. Gunter Grass, who knew Ensslin in Berlin, said, "She was idealistic, with an inborn loathing of any compromise. She had a yearning for the absolute, the perfect solution" (p. 73). In the meantime, Ensslin wanted out of her marriage and viewed motherhood as a trap. She got her wish because in 1967 she met Andreas Baader.

Baader was born in Munich in 1943. His father was a historian employed as an archivist by the state of Bavaria, but he was killed during World War II on the Russian front. Andreas's mother, Anneliese, doted on Andreas and never remarried. Andreas displayed no great aptitude for anything. He was not an industrious student. As he drifted into young adulthood, Becker (1977) argues Andreas Baader was quite free of moral conflict, immune to all kinds of scruple (p. 73). He had not read Marx, Marcuse, or Mao. In fact, he had not read anything at all. He was not involved in politics. He detested the rat race of the capitalist consumption obsessed society of West Germany, but at the same time enjoyed living the good life and driving the fast cars of girlfriends, while thumbing his nose at it all.

In 1967 Andreas met with the white-faced, intense, shrill-voiced Gudrun Ensslin. She fell in love with him immediately. In early 1968 they moved in together. Like Gudrun, Andreas had a child from a previous relationship, but the duo left their children behind and moved to Frankfurt. Within a few months, they committed the arsons in the Frankfurt department stores and were arrested two days later. Their persons, the car, and the apartment were searched. In one of Gudrun's pockets a screw was found identical to others found at the site of the arson, and also a paper which had the ingredients for the bombs (Becker 1977, 83). For the first time in his life, Baader began to read while he was in prison. Impressive support for doing what he denied having done, namely the politically motivated arson, was discovered in the works of American Black leaders and Herbert Marcuse.

During the court proceedings, Ensslin did make a kind of confession. She said, "In agreement with Baader I declare; he and I did it in the Schneider (the name of the department store). None of the others were in it, neither there nor in the Kaufhof" (the other department store's name). With some hesitation she explained, "We did it out of protest against the indifference toward the war in Vietnam" (Becker 1977, 86). Even Ensslin's ex-husband came to the court to testify as a character witness on behalf of Gudrun.

Baader and Ensslin's romance continued until their deaths in 1977. According to MacDonald (1992), Baader was a male chauvinist, who screamed and swore at Meinhof all the time. Baader, it appears, certainly did not hold feminist views, nor do any of the communiqués reviewed, address feminist concerns explicitly. Yet, the number of women involved in the RAF before and even after the deaths of Meinhof, Baader, and Ensslin is significant. Two strong-willed women had quite an impact on this organization. However, a significant and deliberate snub occurred when the French philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre, came to visit Baader in prison in 1974 after the hunger strike induced death of fellow RAF member, Holger Meins. Baader too was on a hunger strike. The great Sartre, the lodestar of the French intellectual scene and defender of the student and worker May 1968 riots and demonstrations in Paris, was asked why he did not also want to visit with Ulrike Meinhof. His reply to a German journalist was because the group was called "Baader-Meinhof, not Meinhof-Baader" (Becker 1977, 273). Alas, the woman still could not get top billing.

Ensslin was arrested one week after her lover and comrade-in-arms, Andreas. While shopping in a boutique in Hamburg, a saleswoman picked up Ensslin's jacket and noted its heavy weight. Like a good revolutionary, Ensslin of course was traveling with a gun. The manager of the store called the police, and the store workers were instructed to stall the woman. After a few tense moments, Gudrun was arrested with a slight struggle and then flown to detention. After Meinhof's death by suicide, the RAF killed a federal prosecutor Siegfried Buback and Jurgen Ponto, chairman of the board of the Dresdner bank (Varon 2004, 197). In April 1977, the two-year long trial of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe ended with the defendants being found guilty of four murders, 27 attempted murders, and of forming a criminal association. They were all given life sentences.

With Meinhof dead, the RAF continued terrorist attacks to secure the release of others in prison. During the "German Autumn of 1977" two significant terrorist events were perpetrated by the RAF. On September 5, 1977, an RAF "commando

unit" attacked the chauffeured car carrying Hans-Martin Schleyer, then president of the German employers' association, in Cologne. His driver and three police bodyguards were killed in the attack. Schleyer was abducted and held prisoner in a rented apartment in a residential neighborhood near Cologne. He was forced to appeal to the center-left German government under Chancellor Schmidt for the "first generation" of RAF members (then imprisoned) to be exchanged for him. Police investigations to locate Schleyer proved unsuccessful. When it became clear that the government was unwilling to entertain a further prisoner exchange, the RAF tried to exert additional pressure by hijacking a Lufthansa airplane *Landshut* on October 13, 1977 with the help of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. After a long odyssey through the Arabian Peninsula and the murder of Captain Jürgen Schumann, the terrorists and their hostages landed in Mogadishu, Somalia. After political negotiations with the Somali leader Siad Barre, the German government was granted permission to assault the plane. All hostages were freed without injuries, and only one terrorist aboard survived. In response, Hans-Martin Schleyer was shot and killed by his kidnappers. At the same time, founding RAF members Andreas Baader (self-inflicted gunshot wound), Gudrun Ensslin (hanging), and Jan-Carl Raspe (gunshot wound, died at the hospital) were found dead in their cells. The official investigation concluded that they all committed suicide, although it failed to establish how the handguns that were used entered the maximum security prison of Stammheim. RAF member Irmgard Möller, who was imprisoned with them, survived with four knife wounds to her chest. She later claimed that the suicides were actually extrajudicial killings.

Silke Maier-Witt Although the RAF's founding members were now dead or incarcerated by late 1977, the RAF did not disband. In fact, a second generation of activists emerged. As with the first generation, many of the second-generation included women. For example, Silke Maier-Witt became interested in the movement due to her support for the RAF prisoners. Her childhood was normal except for one important event. "When she was a young girl, she and her sister crept into the attic of their family's house in Hamburg and came across a box. It had been stashed away by her father. There she found evidence of her father's involvement in Hitler's Germany" (Boston and Thurow 2001). He had been a member of the SS,—the Schutzstaffel, Hitler's elite bodyguard unit headed by Heinrich Himmler. As a teenager, she traveled from West Germany to Michigan as an exchange student, an experience that left her disturbed and disappointed. "The middle-class, midwestern values that she encountered seemed narrow to her. Worse still, her classmates felt sorry for her. Sorry that she was German, sorry that she had grown up in the shadow of Hitler's war and the crimes of the Nazis" (Rubin 2001).

She entered the University of Hamburg in 1969, and majored in psychology. But her real interest was in social inequality. She tried to organize anti-authoritarian kindergartens and, as a member of the Committee Against Torture, campaigned against the prison conditions endured by members of the RAF. Maier-Witt was then living in a collective that drew heavily on recruits for the RAF. Becoming a member, she says, was more a result of drift than of choice. "Choosing to be part of the RAF was not so much a decision," she says. "I was already working for the Committee

Against Torture. The committee members told me that one of these days, I might face the problem of getting arrested. That was when I decided that I'd put my fortunes with the group" (Rubin 2001).

Silke was not part of the commando forces; she did not rob banks and plant bombs. Rather, she was a member of the support group. She would rent cars and use them to transport weapons across borders; she would check out locations from which the RAF could conduct business. She learned to draw counterfeit stamps for passports and became a messenger, disappearing into dangerous places, gathering information, and delivering it. The job of being a revolutionary, she says, wasn't exciting. For the most part, it was confusing. "The passion was less in the work," she says, "than in the general emotions of life" (Rubin 2001).

Although a participant of the 1977 German Autumn, including the kidnapping of Hans-Martin Schleyer, by 1979 Maier-Witt's resolve was cracking. She went to Yemen to train with the Palestinians, and there she finally saw how blind she had been. "All the females of the group fell in love with young Palestinians," she says. "So did I. I discovered that their engagement for Palestine was far more sincere than ours was for Germany. They were willing to fight for their people. For us, it was more like an intellectual effort. It was sheer group dynamic that kept us going. We were like robots" (Rubin 2001).

In 1980 the RAF, concerned by Maier-Witt's wavering convictions, slipped her into East Germany under the protective eye of the Stasi, the secret police. She hid there, under the assumed name of Angelika Gerlach and worked as a nurse. "Someone I knew tried to flee from East Germany, but he was caught and was taken to jail," Maier-Witt says (Rubin 2001). "When he was questioned by the West Germans, they showed him the 'Wanted' poster, and he identified me." She underwent minor plastic surgery and was refashioned into Sylvia Beyer. "I chose the name myself," she says. "Sylvia sounded similar to Silke, and Beyer sounded like Maier. That way, when someone used it, I would have the instantaneous response of anyone who hears their own name called. That was one of the worst experiences of my life, when I had to change my identity again, had to give up everything I had tried to build up as Angelika. That's when I really suffered. If I died, I felt, nobody would care" (Rubin 2001).

For ten years, Silke lived under assumed identities. When the police came to arrest Maier-Witt, she was almost relieved. All of the others had already been arrested. In 1990 she went before the highest court in Germany, where five judges sentenced her to ten years in prison on charges of murder, attempted murder, armed robbery, and kidnapping. She served five years before being released for good behavior. In jail, she used her time to study herself. "If you refuse to have a good look at who you are, you'll always repeat your actions, over and over; you'll find yourself in the same position over and over," she says. "To come to terms with my past, I've asked myself why I neglected my own moral standards even as I was envisioning social change. I learned how easy it is to listen to some ideology and to have an idea that gives you an excuse for anything. In trying not to be like my father, I ended up being even more like him. Terrorism is close to Nazism. I used ideology to legitimize myself, the same as he did. Creating change requires courage, which I didn't have. That's why I ended up in the RAF" (Rubin 2001). Silke Maier-Witt, after her release from

prison, went to work as a trauma psychologist in war-torn Kosovo and expresses great remorse for her role in the RAF.

RAF terrorism was certainly not as repugnant as the Nazi's aggression; however, their selection of targets was nonetheless disturbing. Other acts committed by the RAF included: a fire bombing of a Jewish synagogue on the anniversary of Kristallnacht in protest of Israeli policies; Ulrike Meinhof's verbal approval of the 1972 Israeli athletes massacre in Munich; and the separation of Jews from non-Jewish hostages for the purposes of execution by Palestinian and German Red Cell hijackers of a French airliner in 1976 (Varon 2004, 251).

The RAF continued its terrorist attacks throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. In late July 1977, Jurgen Ponto, head of the Dresdner Bank was murdered at his house. RAF member, Susanne Albrecht, a family friend of the Ponto's, and two male companions came to the door bearing flowers. Since Jurgen knew Susanne, he invited the three of them inside. Then, she and her companions pulled out guns in an effort to take him hostage. When he resisted, Albrecht and her accomplices shot him five times while Jurgen's wife watched him die.

The RAF's animosity toward the U.S. military presence in Germany and West Germany's inclusion in NATO also continued. A bomb narrowly missed NATO Commander Alexander Haig in Brussels, Belgium in June 1979. In 1981, the RAF bombed the headquarters of the U.S. Air Force in Ramstein, Germany injuring two dozen people. The RAF built an alliance with another left-wing terrorist group, Action Directe in France. The two like-minded groups conspired in bombing a NATO school in 1984 and assassinated a French general the following year (Varon 2004, 302). In August 1985, in a forest near Wiesbaden, the group killed a twenty year old American soldier for his identification card in order to attack a U.S. air base in Frankfurt, Germany.

Political Reaction from the German Government

As was the case with the Weather Underground and the Italian Red Brigades, the Red Army Faction never posed a systemic threat to the very existence of the West German government. "The actual threat the RAF posed was less important than the view of it as an existential threat to the Federal Republic's identity" (Varon 2004, 285). During the height of the RAF's terrorist attacks, the constitutional democracy enshrined in the Basic Law continued to function. Even though the RAF characterized the government as fascist murderers, the government continued to hold regular elections and a free press flourished. In February 1972 Chancellor Willy Brandt addressed the nation on television about the violence. Brandt said, "The free democracy which we have built from the ruins of dictatorship and war cannot be understood as a weak state" (Becker 1977, 239). He warned individuals and groups bent on using violence that "we are obliged and determined to stop their activities by legal means" (p. 239). Keeping true to his word, human rights groups were permitted to visit the prisons where RAF members were being detained. The German government's relative transparency in dealing with the RAF meant that the conspiracy theories of extra-judicial killings against Ensslin, Meinhof, and Baader were not given much credibility.

In the late 1980s, the government did begin releasing key prisoners before they had completed their sentences (Varon 2004, 304). With the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of Germany in 1990, the RAF quickly lost steam. Now the government could pursue leftists in the former East Germany and was able to arrest Susanne Albrecht, Jurgen Ponto's main killer. In 1992, the government announced the Kinkel Initiative which allowed for the release of imprisoned terrorists if they had severe health problems or had served two-thirds of their terms or at least fifteen years of life sentences (Varon 2004, 305). Finally in 1998, a communiqué entitled "The Urban Guerilla is History" was released by the RAF. The communiqué outlined the history of the RAF, continued to justify the kidnapping of Schleyer in 1977 because he was a member of the SS during the Nazi regime, as well as the attacks against the NATO installations. No remorse was expressed for the deaths of the RAF's victims. The communiqué stated it was a mistake not to build up a political-social organization alongside the illegal, armed organization and attacked the neoliberal economic model which became dominant globally in the 1990s due the collapse of the socialist/communist model. "Our violence upset some people in an irrational way. The real terror is the normality of the economic system," according to the 1998 statement. At the end of the communiqué, the remaining members expressed concern and solidarity for RAF members still imprisoned and then listed the names of all the RAF members who died during the 'armed struggle.'

Chapter Summary

The three case studies of the Italian Red Brigades, Weather Underground, and Red Army Faction support the insights of the collective action model of political violence. In all three cases, those who committed acts of political violence and terrorism became involved in the broader New Left movement through participation in demonstrations and by authoring political tracts justifying a change in regime. Similar concerns about the Vietnam War, the inequalities exacerbated and perpetuated by capitalism, and the corrupt nature of the government were motivating factors for all three organizations. The fascist history of Italy and Germany provided an easy rallying cry for the Red Brigades and Red Army Faction. Racial inequality within the United States provided a similar motivation for the Weather Underground.

Susana Ronconi, Jane Alpert, and Ulrike Meinhof were all influential figures in their respective organizations. Women did not play only support roles. These women were ideologues, justifying their armed struggle through speeches, communiqués, and 'foot soldiers' who 'made real' their ideology through praxis or action. Women bombed, assassinated, and kidnapped the group's perceived 'enemies.' Relational networks were important for recruitment in all three groups. Of course, romantic dyads were commonplace; however, that in no way indicates that women's involvement or participation was qualitatively less significant than men's. Both men and women expressed concern about violence in some actions, namely the potential to kill innocent bystanders, and both men and women sometimes expressed remorse for their actions years later.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 3

Dupes of Men or Willing Participants? Right-Wing Women and Political Violence

Women affiliated with right-wing political violence are few and far between; however, this chapter will discuss some of the most visible cases. With the exception of women like Kathy Ainsworth who was a sweet Mississippi school teacher by day and one of the KKK's best bomb operatives at night during the 1960s or Rachel Pendergraft, the National Membership Coordinator and Spokeswoman for the Knights' Party (the KKK's political party), names of individual right-wing women are hard to come by. According to the theories of feminism I discussed in Chapter 1, it makes sense that most women would choose not to affiliate themselves with right-wing political violence; however, in some of the case studies, as we will see, some women who claim that a woman's role remains properly entrenched within the private sphere of home and family, are extremely vocal in the public sphere as advocates on behalf of their organizations' goals. Fewer women actually participate in right-wing political violence; however, some women have been at the forefront of these organizations throughout the twentieth century.

Moreover, most scholarship on women's involvement in right-wing extremist groups and political violence suggests three possible explanations for why women are involved: (1) they are victims of brainwashing, often by boyfriends, husbands, or male acquaintances; (2) they are crazy or ill-adjusted; and (3) they could be rational, if deplorable, political actors trying to gain advantages or stave off perceived threats to their social, political, and economic status (Blee 2002b, 31).

While *right-wing* is a broad concept, extreme right parties and movements have been traditionally associated with the following characteristics: (1) a strong preference for authoritarian leadership; (2) a deep hostility towards the political ideas of liberalism, socialism, and communism; and (3) a belief that they are guardians of national identity, racial purity, and destiny (Wilkinson 1995, 82). Moreover, "Right-wing ideologies, whether forged by male or female ideologues, are always gendered and elicit gendered responses; gender is central to what makes them tick. For example, men and women might be drawn to the right because it produces and affirms masculinities and femininities with which they identify. Different types of male right-wing appeals that exclude, exalt, or denigrate women affect in gendered ways recruitment, participation, and the right's reproduction of itself and its ultimate goals" (Bacchetta and Power 2002, 3).

Right-wing women are often presented as the dupes of the male ideologues; somehow they have been castigated or repressed psychologically and/or physically

into joining these organizations. Rarely have feminist scholars considered the option that some women find right-wing ideologies and political violence as confirming their place in modernizing societies. Moreover, right-wing women also aid in the recruitment to these organizations as well as transmitting their values to the next generation. Unlike some of the cases we examined in Chapter 2, many of the women in right-wing organizations are brought in through male family members. Moreover, right-wing women's political activities, as is the case with left-wing activities, cover the political spectrum and encompass both legal and illegal dimensions. "Some of their illegal activities are violent or violence-related such as when they constitute women's militias or use explosives and arms. Others involve civil disobedience or hiding right-wing males wanted by the state. They organize boycotts, do paramilitary training, incite male counterparts to violence against "others", or replace male counterparts in leadership roles when the men are in hiding or in prison. Right-wing women can be vicious perpetrators of terrorism against Others, where the others are immigrants, homosexuals, African-Americans, Jews, or other despised groups.

Interestingly, right-wing women are in a way similar to the foundations of difference feminism, however, with much different conclusions. Right-wing women posit that men and women are essentially, naturally biologically different from each other, and these essential differences should be the basis for gender roles that are viewed as complementary. Unlike liberal feminism, right-wing women do not aspire to be like men or even, for the most part, to have equal opportunities as men in the public sphere. Right-wing women believe that a harmonious society and household must be centered upon traditional roles for both man and woman. The woman is more biologically predisposed to taking care of the children and maintaining the household, while the man works to economically sustain the household. However, it is important to note that not all right-wing women have children and many must work outside the home in order to provide much-needed economic resources. Where right-wing women and difference feminism part ways radically is in the belief in the use of violence to achieve political goals. Difference feminists believe that because women are biologically endowed as the life givers and primary care givers in most societies, they are therefore more inclined to peace and non-violence because they are better positioned to understand and respect the sanctity of life. Moreover, difference feminists do not support the notion that women should remain in the private sphere, but should instead become more involved in the public sphere, as governmental leaders, civic activists, and peacemakers, because they will bring a different perspective to a male-centric world. Right-wing women, however, for the most part eschew women's equal involvement in the public sphere and believe one of the downfalls of Western society has been in particular the women's movement. Thus, the overwhelming majority of right-wing women consider themselves anti-feminist. Yet, paradoxically, some anti-feminist rightist women spend a great deal of energy and time working for some form of women's empowerment and inclusion within the right-wing movement.

Women in Fascist Movements

Fascism is always characterized as a right-wing ideology regardless of the country one is studying. The rise of fascist movements in the 1920s and 1930s was widespread in what are today three institutionalized liberal democracies—Spain, Great Britain, and Germany. Fascism ran much deeper of course in the cases of Spain and Germany; however, a strident fascist movement also found sustenance in the United States and Great Britain. This section will examine the role of women in the fascist movements in Spain and Great Britain.

Spain: Macrolevel Factors

In July 1936, a group of Spanish generals led by Francisco Franco staged an uprising against the government of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), thus triggering a three year bloody civil war which killed over 500,000 Spaniards and left a major rift in Spain for decades. The Second Republic was marred by high unemployment, spurred by the worldwide economic depression, widespread general strikes, and a polarized political spectrum, and widespread civil unrest. The Spanish Civil War was in many ways the prelude to World War II and pitted the Nationalists (Franco and his supporters) against the Republicans. Germany and Italy supported Franco by sending experienced pilots, technicians, medical personnel, and soldiers to fight alongside Franco's army. However, on the Republican side, volunteers from various countries came to fight on behalf of the International Brigade.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

Nationalist Spanish ideology was a combination of traditional Catholic values grafted onto fascist corporatism which eschewed liberalism's emphasis on individual rights (Keene 2002, 184). In particular, the Spanish Nationalists were particularly incensed about the 1931 constitution of the Second Republic which made Spanish women full citizens, including the right to suffrage. Furthermore, a divorce law was passed in 1932. Nationalist women would be the saviors of a degenerative state in direct contradiction to the Republican *milicianas*, or women who in the early months of the Civil War took up arms and went to fight alongside Republican men at the front.[1] "In Nationalist propaganda, these women were castigated as epitomizing the corruption of Spanish womanhood in the Republican zone" (Keene 2002, 185). Nationalist women accepted the traditional Catholic view of women as possessed of a separate nature, which predisposed women to the glory of fulfilling her biologically and religiously prescribed roles as wife and mother.

At the beginning, the Falange was a very small rightist party in the early turbulent years of the Second Republic. The Spanish Falange was formed in the 1930s on the model of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's fascism (Enders 2002, 85). Disturbed by

1 See Gina Hermann's "Voices of the Vanquished: Leftist Women and the Spanish Civil War" (2003) in *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 4, 1: pp. 11-29 for an overview of these women's roles in the Civil War as collected through oral histories.

the increasing appeal of Marxism, especially among the working class in Spain, the Falangist Revolution would unite all classes in a reenergized Spain, thus recapturing the splendor and power of Spain at the height of its imperialism. The Falangists believed that divisions inherent in parliamentary government and liberalism must be overcome and that Spain must be united under Christian doctrine as a unified body, hence the similarities to corporatism with its emphasis on an organic, hierarchical, but harmonious society.

Microlevel Factors

The Women's Section of the Falange, or *Seccion Femenina* (SF), claimed loyalty to the revolutionary doctrine of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange, and to the eternal essence of Spain. For these women, Isabel I was the heroine to emulate. The Seccion Femenina was created in 1934 to give aid to Falangist prisoners and economic assistance to fallen members of the burgeoning Nationalist movement.

Before the Civil War, the post of national leader and SF was to assist male Falangists in their campaigning. Their primary role was fund-raising, but they also visited Falangist prisoners in jail and supported their families. They quickly became accomplices spreading propaganda, sewing Falangist flags, and armbands and hiding weapons in their own homes (Richmond 2003, 6). In February 1936, the Falange was declared illegal by the new government, and Jose Antonio arrested and imprisoned. In his views on women, Jose Antonio concurred with what was to be the official Francoist line. Proclaiming their essential and unchangeable differences from men, he deplored the so-called negative effects of Republican legislation on family life. By asserting the primacy of the family and restoring women to their traditional place in the home, the Falange would redress the perceived damage caused by the 1932 divorce law. Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera was killed while in jail in November 1936 and it fell to his sister, Pilar Primo de Rivera, to maintain the political momentum of the Falange and Seccion Femenina. Faced with her brother's death, Pilar was faced with a paradoxical situation many right-wing women face when the founding male ideologue is killed or incarcerated—how to develop the separate role for women envisioned in Jose's Falangism without challenging the central tenet of male authority he espoused?

Pilar became officially the link between her dead brother and the future of Falangism. She even referred to her brother in the present tense in speeches for two years after his death, perhaps a sufficient elapse of time to ensure her prominence within the movement. Pilar set about to make domestic work in particular a science to be exalted, with special schools and outposts teaching women how to sew, do laundry, cook, raise children, and of course be loyal citizens of the state.

Membership numbers of the Seccion Femenina increased dramatically as the Spanish Civil War continued. By 1937, 200,000 women were members of the Seccion Femenina (Enders 2002, 87). Another 300,000 belonged to the Auxilio Social; these were non-political volunteers who provided food, clothing, and shelter to widows, war orphans, and the destitute while imbuing them with a love of God and the Falange. Furthermore, the Seccion Femenina set up sewing centers to provide

uniforms for the Nationalists and some worked as nurses at the front to care for wounded soldiers. Unlike their Republican counterparts, right-wing Spanish women did not actively fight in the Spanish Civil war.

Spanish Governmental Response

Once Franco's Nationalist forces were victorious in 1939, he established a dictatorship which lasted until his death in 1975. The early post-war period and 1940s were characterized by extreme poverty and political repression. Mass executions of the enemies of the regime followed the end of the Civil War, the suicide rate rose, and as many as 200,000 are estimated to have died of hunger as a result of the government's policies (Richmond 2003, 66). Daily survival was the priority of most people, made harder by the autarkic policies of the regime, which drove down wages, created massive shortages and paved the way for a widespread and a long-lasting black market in essential food supplies.

The Seccion Femenina became the sole state organization with authority over women during the dictatorship. Pilar remained its head and was a member of the Council of State. Women who desired employment with the state, such as to become a teacher, or even to obtain a driver's license had to serve six months with the Seccion Femenina—three months in instruction and three months in 'voluntary service' (Enders 2002, 87). The women of SF were to be frontline workers in the cleansing of the New Spain; their brooms and disinfectant the external embodiment of a moral and spiritual campaign. Falangist nurses would be immunizing the spirit of Spaniards from unhealthy doctrines, such as left over Marxism (Richmond 2003, 15). Political prisoners, namely Republicans who did not flee the country in exile, could redeem themselves through hard labor. Seccion Femenina, under Pilar's leadership, did its part by starting a domestic school in a women's prison in Madrid.

Until the 1960s, only women who were members of the Seccion Femenina were able to transgress from the private sphere into the public sphere, for example, by being elected as family representatives to the largely rubber-stamp Spanish parliament (Cortes). With the death of Franco in 1975, the transition to Spanish democracy began in earnest. While the role of the Catholic Church is still prominent, women in Spain today are fully involved in the public sphere of life. The historical legacy of Seccion Feminina is dying out with the women, who in the 1930s and beyond, gave of themselves for the cause of extreme right-wing Spanish nationalism.

Britain: Macrolevel Factors

The impact of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia amidst the horror of World War I had a significant impact on the British left and the rise of the Labour party (Durham 1998, 27). These developments disturbed the most conservative sections of the British Tories; hence, British Fascists called for a complete break from the Conservative Party, which was viewed as part of the old guard. Hence, in 1923, the British Fascisti (BF) was established by the virulently anti-communist woman Rotha Linton-Orman, who had served in the Women's Reserve Ambulance during World War I. Orman died in 1935 due to problems with drugs and alcohol; however, the

run of the BF was certainly an important part of interwar history in Great Britain. Another group which enjoyed a longer life was the British Union of Fascists (BUF), with another strong woman at the helm in Diana Mosley, wife of BUF founder Sir Oswald Mosley, a one-time Fabian Socialist and former Labour minister. Diana Mosley, who died in 2003, was a socialite from an aristocratic background. Married to her second husband Oswald in Berlin, Germany in 1936, she personally met Hitler and made frequent trips to Germany.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The BUF was formed in 1932 and was from its beginning committed to ending party politics in Great Britain and the creation of a corporatist state. In the BUF's assessment, "Merry Old England" suffered under the burden of massive unemployment, the exploitative practices of [largely Jewish-controlled] international finance, cultural decadence, and neglect of the countryside (Gottlieb 2002, 30). After a great deal of political instability in Great Britain in the late 1920s, which was exacerbated by the worsening worldwide economic depression, Mosley tried unsuccessfully to run as a candidate in The New Party (he created) and then took a tour of other fascist governments, namely Mussolini's Italy. Inspired by what he saw abroad, Mosley was convinced the "old guard' of politicians had failed the country and that deepening economic problems called for a new policy. Although support for the BUF waned as the monstrosity of Hitler's Nazi Party came to fruition, the BUF still maintained support in the tens of thousands and even engaged in paramilitary training with the infamous "blackshirt" corps.

The size of the BUF was between 40,000-50,000 members at its pinnacle (Gottlieb 2004, 108). The BUF, like all fascist movements, excelled in demonology, or the creation of an "Other" to be repulsed and even eradicated through violence. The BUF was united against Reds (communists), anti-fascist war-mongers (the BUF wished to keep England out of another World War); and of course Jews who they viewed as sabotaging British imperial interests and exerting a chokehold on Britain's finances and banking industry. BUF men and women alike engaged in Jew-baiting activities and recited their racist slogan at rallies, "The Yids, the Yids, we've got to get rid of the Yids" and agreed with their white male protectors that Jews exploited [Christian] workers in horrible sweatshops, perpetrated sexual crimes against Christian women, and were responsible for disseminating pornographic materials which contributed to the debasement of British society (Gottlieb 2002, 30).

Microlevel Factors

"The leading roles played by British women in the genesis of the British far right in the interwar period immediately indicates that subjectively at least, these women perceived little tension between feminine political action and fascism, and that they could conceive of the roles [in the movement] as more than auxiliary drudges" (Gottlieb 2004, 109). According to Gottlieb (2002), most of the historiography after World War II viewed women in fascist movements and parties as lacking any type of agency; in other words, they too were victims of fascism. However, new research

facilitated by the opening of archives and the willingness of some of these elderly women to grant oral interviews, has led to a reassessment of whether it is more historically accurate to view these women in the Spanish, Italian, German, British, and American contexts as active perpetrators and supporters of fascist regimes.

The exact number of women involved in the BUF is difficult to determine, but membership was somewhere between a quarter and a third (Durham 1998, 49). According to Gottlieb (2002), the BUF appealed to a wide range of politicized women in England, even some women who had a feminist background and were ardent suffragettes. According to Gottlieb's research, women who joined the BUF largely did so due to their own political convictions and rarely followed fathers, sons, or husbands into the ranks of the BUF. The BUF drew largely from middle and working class women; however, some members were also definitely from the upper crest in British society. Why did women join the BUF?

The BUF expressly addressed women's concerns. In many ways the BUF's political program on women's issue was quite progressive in terms of liberal feminism. While Oswald Mosley had stated in his 1932 fascist manifesto "The Greater Britain" that the BUF 'wanted men who were men and women who are women, the BUF also called for equal pay for equal work, the abolition of the marriage bar (where women had to relinquish their job upon marriage), improved provisions by the government for maternal care and childcare, and greater representation of women in formal governing (Gottlieb 2002, 33).

Women in the BUF were segregated into their own public spaces, including a separate Women's Section, Propaganda Patrol, Defense Force, and Drum Corps. Women in the BUF took classes in first aid, engaged in physical training, including fencing, canvassed neighborhoods with BUF literature, and answered questions about the movement. There was even a Blackshirt annual camp for the women who engaged in some physical training, but they mostly used the time for socializing. The BUF also sponsored cultural activities such as producing plays for children, which would instill monarchist and anti-communist values in children. Blackshirt women were encouraged to write letters to newspapers protesting the flow of Jewish refugee children into Europe as World War II approached (Durham 1998, 58).

Female members of the BUF were also fielded by the party as candidates in local elections. In the 1935 general election, ten per cent of the BUF's prospective candidates were women (Gottlieb 2002, 34), which was a considerably higher percentage than the Conservative, Labour, or Liberal parties. Women's participation within the BUF increased even more from 1938-1940 when the party became more of an anti-war movement. Again, in a strange nod to difference feminism, women in the BUF advocated for peace as their sons, husbands, and brothers were drafted for the war. BUF women took to the streets in an attempt to incite their fellow Britons to resist the draft and use violent tactics, if necessary, to bring down the government. The BUF increasingly referred to World War II as the "Jews' War". Mosley stood for a negotiated peace with Germany and argued "German ambitions for *lebensraum* did not threaten the British Empire" (Gottlieb 2004, 113). However, the 1940 national elections never took place due to the war, so we will never know how the BUF candidates might have fared.

Diana Mosley The woman who most personified the face of the British fascists was Diana Mosley (née Diana Mitford). Born into a life of privilege and married at age 18 into an even wealthier family, she was one of the most coveted socialites on the dinner and dance scene. While her husband, Bryan Guinness, was absolutely enraptured with the radiant Diana, she grew bored of their life together and divorced him, much to her family's protests, in her early twenties. As a newly divorced mother of two young boys from her first marriage, Diana met Sir Oswald Mosley in February 1932 at a dinner party. Mosley was married with children of his own; however, the two carried on their affair. Mosley was a notorious womanizer who carried on multiple affairs simultaneously. Diana, whose family was from German ancestry and had a great admiration for all things German, became intrigued with the plight of the working class poor in England. However, rather than support communism as one of her sisters did, Diana became an ardent fascist and was convinced that Mosley was the only person who could save England from another disastrous war.

Mosley's wife died, which seemed to clear the way for Diana. However, rather than marry immediately, Mosley continued his affairs, including with his deceased wife's sister. Sometimes Oswald and Diana did not see one another for weeks, especially when they were on holiday with their children. Nonetheless, Diana was committed to the BUF. She attended communist rallies in Hyde Park on her own where she heckled the communists and when the crowd started signing "God Save the King", she help up her arm in a fascist salute (de Courcy 2003, 116). She, like all fascists, was convinced that Jewish financiers benefitted from the growing gulf between the rich and the poor and reaped the benefits of war. Diana and her sister Unity made multiple trips to Germany from 1933-1939 and became favored guests of Hitler. Unity, in particular, was absolutely enamored with Hitler and waited for hours in one of Hitler's favorite restaurants just to see him pass by. Diana and Unity were even granted private audiences with Hitler. Both sisters learned to speak fluent German.

Mosley warned Diana about becoming actively involved in politics. He was sure that his now deceased first wife's commitment to campaigning (she ran for a seat in parliament) had contributed to a miscarriage and eventually to her untimely death. As Unity and Diana became more committed to fascism, the Mitford family was pulled apart by political differences. Diana's father was staunchly anti-fascist as was one of her sisters. Diana's mother, Sydney, was at first appalled by Hitler but slowly became a convert as Diana took her mother to Germany, and they both became enraptured by the Nazi rallies and Germany's phoenix-like rise from the destruction of World War I.

Upon one of their trips to Germany, Diana and Mosley were secretly married in October 1936 in Joseph Goebbels' house. Hitler and Eva Braun attended the ceremony, while Goebbels, from his diary entries, became increasingly perturbed by Diana's incessant requests for funding from the Nazi Party to help keep the BUF in England afloat and finance their print publications. Diana and Unity's close friendship with Hitler did not escape the British press and of course became one of the main reasons she was detained by the British government in June 1940. Her time in Holloway prison as an "18B" detainee was by far the darkest period in her life. Separated from her four boys as well as her husband, who was detained in another

prison under the 18B regulation, she was housed in the "F" wing which held 90 other female BUF members.

Life in prison for the political detainees was definitely easier in small ways than regular criminals. They could wear their own clothes and were allowed cosmetics, reading materials, and cooking implements. Diana was warmly welcomed by the other women as the most well-known woman in the British fascist movement. While she put on a brave face to her fellow female fascist detainees, she wept in the confines of her cell. She was permitted only one half-hour family visit every two weeks and longed to be reunited with her children. The letters from the nanny regarding her youngest sons' development helped to buoy her spirits while her ex-husband reported on their older two sons' progress in school.

Diana hired a Solicitor to inquire into the nature of her detention under the orders of the Home Secretary. In the Home Secretary's response to Diana's Solicitor's inquiry, it stated, "You (meaning Diana) have acted as a channel between Oswald Ernald Mosley, leaders of the BUF, and leaders of the German government; after the detention of Mosley you have instructions for the carrying out of the BUF; you have supported Mosley in his position as leader of the BUF both publicly and privately; and you have publicly and privately given expression to pro-fascist and pro-German sentiments" (de Courcy 2003, 239).

During the London Blitz of October 1940, the German bombs came dangerously close to Holloway prison on many occasions. Hitler had predicted in his many conversations with Diana and her sister that war with England was inevitable. Diana was even privy to Hitler's invasion plans of France. Diana's mother, Sydney, continued to visit Diana in prison and even her estranged anti-fascist sister, Nancy, wrote Diana a few letters. Unity, her staunchly pro-fascist sister, was in no condition to visit Diana as she had tried to end her life with a self-inflicted gunshot to the head which left her greatly incapacitated. By May 1941, Diana feared she might never be released. All the 18B women with small children had been released except for Diana. Others were sent to the Isle of Man, where they could enjoy more freedom while still being technically detained (de Courcy 2003, 253). In the latter part of 1941, Prime Minister Churchill agreed that the remaining 18B couples should at least be transferred to married accommodations. After a few fleeting visits over the entire year they had both been detained in separate facilities, Diana and Oswald were reunited in a house, which was certainly less grandiose than they were accustomed to.

Overjoyed to be reunited, Diana attempted to make their interment as pleasant as possible. Mosley tended to the small garden plot while Diana attempted to cook meals for the two of them. Both suffered from ill health, but Diana especially was becoming emaciated and sickly after two and a half years of detention. Diana's children were permitted to visit for a few days at a time, which again elevated her spirits momentarily. Mosley petitioned on Diana's behalf that she be moved to a convalescent home.

The Mosleys were released from detention in November 1943; they had been held for over three years. Diana's sister, Pam, welcomed them to her home upon their release in order to give them time to get their affairs in order. The Mosleys were not to travel more than seven miles from where they were living, and they had to

report every month to the nearest police station. They were not to associate directly or indirectly with anyone who had been a member of the British Fascist party; nor could they give speeches, publish pamphlets, or give interviews (de Courcy 2003, 276). Protestors at Trafalgar Square in London demanded the Mosleys' reinternment, but Prime Minister Churchill did not accede to these demands. The socialite couple was now shunned by most of their closest friends; however, most members of Diana family graciously accepted them back into their lives. Diana kept herself busy by tending to Oswald's every whim and edited his autobiography.[2] Her older two sons were doing well in school and courting prospective wives while her younger sons with Oswald were overjoyed to be living again with their parents.

From 1951 onward, the Mosleys lived abroad for the rest of their lives but made frequent return visits to London. They split their time between Ireland and France. "Mosley was a welcome figure [in Ireland] thanks to his denunciations of the Black and Tans thirty years earlier, while Diana's friendship with Hitler was viewed more tolerantly in a country which had been neutral during the war" (de Courcy 2003, 299). One of Diana's sisters lived in France. Summers were spent in various locales, visiting friends and family.

Oswald Mosley embarked upon a new political cause in the mid-1950s, namely keeping Great Britain "white." Both he and Diana were alarmed by the large number of immigrants from the West Indies being encouraged to immigrate to England for jobs and housing. In 1958, he relaunched his Union Movement. "It was really the BU [British Fascists] under another name: it consisted largely of former members, who rallied to him with the same aggressive fervor as before. There was the same demagoguery, the same salute, the same phalanx of tough young men surrounding the leader and the same racialist bias, albeit this time a different target, "coloured immigrants" (de Courcy 2003, 311). Diana supported Oswald's newest foray into right-wing politics and continued to lecture family and friends on the evils of the 'international Jewry', the main enemy of her beloved England. Mosley reentered politics by running for the British parliament in 1959 and 1966, but he was soundly defeated both times. In the meantime, Diana suspected her husband was having affairs with other women. It seems even their time during interment and ostracism by many did not prevent the philanderer from continuing his sexual conquests.

Diana's later years were spent caring for her dying sister, Nancy, tending to her children, and of course tending to Oswald. Sir Oswald enjoyed somewhat of a rebirth in his native England and was even asked to appear in a few television interviews in the 1970s. Diana's first book was an autobiography entitled *A Life of Contrasts*, which was published in 1977. She offered no regrets for her support of Hitler. In 1980, Oswald died and left his papers to his son, Nicholas, the offspring of his first marriage.[3] Shortly after, Diana's health deteriorated as well. A long sufferer of severe migraine headaches, she had a brain tumor removed in 1981.

---

2 His autobiography, *My Life*, was published in 1968.

3 The two-volume biography about Mosley, *Rules of the Game and Beyond the Pale*, was published in the early 1980s. Diana did not receive either volume well and accused Nicholas of treachery towards the memory of his deceased father. Diana, who had encouraged her

While Diana's life may seem to confirm the idea that right-wing women are dupes of their husbands, lovers, and boyfriends who do not really come to hold these rightist ideologies on their own, Diana's political beliefs were unchanged until her death. Diana never even condemned Hitler's Final Solution and for a long time was a Holocaust denier. When faced with the seemingly incontrovertible evidence of the concentration camps, she would respond that Stalin was responsible for far more deaths than Hitler. For Diana, six million dead Jews were absolutely inconceivable. When asked in an interview in 1989 whether she regretted her friendship with Hitler she replied:

> I can't regret it. It was so interesting and fascinating. Of all the well known and famous people I have known in my life, I couldn't regret having known him because it gives one something by which to measure the nonsense that gets written. I admired him very much. He had extremely mesmeric blue eyes and also he had much to say. He was so interesting and fascinating, and perfectly willing to talk. You don't get to where he was by being what people think he was (de Courcy 2003, 347).

As Diana's health deteriorated in the late 1990s, she moved to a small apartment in France to be near one of her sons. In a twist of irony, she was cared for tenderly by a Filipino maid. She continued to give interviews to inquiring biographers who were intrigued by this woman who knew both Churchill and Hitler. In August 2003, she suffered a stroke and died at her Paris apartment.

British Governmental Response

The British government took the threat posed by the BUF seriously. The British Government's intelligence agency (MI5) began monitoring the activities of the BUF in 1934 (Gottlieb 2002, 35). In reaction to an incident in 1936 where the BUF Blackshirts tried to organize a march through a Jewish area, which then turned violent between the local residents and the Blackshirts, the government passed the Public Order Act of 1936, thus banning political uniforms and quasi-military style organizations.

With the passage of a Defense Regulation bill in May 1940, BUF women were given more responsibility within the organization as the men were detained. Close to 800 BUF members were detained in all. The Home Secretary of the British government could detain any members of an organization which he believed to be subject to foreign influence or control or of which the leaders have or have had associations with persons concerned in the government of, or sympathetic with the system of government of, any power with which His Majesty is at war (de Courcy 2003, 214). In the morning of May 23, 1940 the BUF offices were raided and several of its officers arrested. Mosley was arrested first, and a few weeks later at their country estate Diana was arrested as well. She was still nursing their second child when she was detained in June 1940.

---

stepson to write the biography in the first place, called both her stepson and the biography vile and repugnant (de Courcy 2003, 342).

Moreover, approximately 70 to 100 women were detained between May and October 1940; some of them were viewed as threats to national security although it is not clear how many of these women were actually BUF members (Durham 1998, 70; Gottlieb 2002: 38). Viewed as a potential fifth column, BUF members were interned. In the British House of Commons, the ethics of detention without trial were questioned and the country's newspapers weighed in on the matter. Many argued that Mosley and his fellow fascists should be tried or set free. It was suggested to the Home Office that Mosley and the BUF members should be confined overseas in perhaps Jamaica or St. Helena. Moreover, concerns were raised about whether the detainment violated the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 (de Courcy 2003, 235). However, as the danger of a German invasion receded, the internees were released although the BUF itself remained an illegal organization. Both Oswald and Diana Mosley were interned, Diana shortly after giving birth to her second child from her union with Mosley. The couple was released in 1943. Two other women were sentenced to five years' imprisonment for distributing material publicizing German radio broadcasts and for trying to persuade British soldiers that Hitler was a better ruler than Winston Churchill.

The Extreme Right in the United States: The KKK, the Mothers' Movement, and Modern White Supremacy

All three of these movements, especially the KKK and modern white supremacist groups such as the World Church of the Creator, can certainly be labeled extreme right groups. Although there are various nuances amongst their ideologies and less open support for violence amongst some of these organizations, extreme right groups all support a notion of Aryan racial superiority, patriarchy as the normal ordering of society, and rationalize their views via conspiracy theories regarding how the supposed "Other" is trying to 'mongrelize' the white race. Racism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism have been hallmarks of all three of these movements. The KKK still exists today, although it certainly does not have the same membership numbers as it did in the 1920s. The Mother's Movement was particularly strong in the United States during the interwar period (between World War I, and World War II) and was certainly less overtly racist than the KKK. But, it can definitely be classified as a powerful right-wing movement. Finally, modern white supremacy groups both in the United States and especially in Europe are more likely to see women as equals to a degree, and some women in these groups are avid supporters and practitioners of political violence.

"Racist movements have been particularly interested in recruiting mothers because of their concern with racial identity, racial reproduction, racial purity, and socialization into a racial identity—issues in which mothers have historically been central" (Blee 1997, 249). As one 1920s KKK field agent remarked, "when the wife joins and the children participate, you know that family is going to stay with the Klan" (Blee 1997, 251). In an analysis of white supremacist propaganda, scholar Jessie Daniels found five dominant portrayals of white women: (1) women as glorious mothers and naturally maternal; (2) women as objects of sexual desire

(the good whore); (3) women in need of protection from African-American rapists, Jewish feminists, and homosexuals; (4) women as race traitors (the bad whore who is guilty of miscegenation); and (5) women as racial warriors who support their men (cited in Blazak 2004, 165). As Aryan women become pregnant and nurse babies, they help fulfill their racial destiny, which is one of the main reasons why women involved in these movements are only opposed to abortion for white women, not minority women. A woman like Vicki Weaver, a Christian Identity supporter, who was killed with her infant in her arms at the stand off at Ruby Ridge, Idaho in 1992 is a martyr figure for the extreme right movement in the United States, particularly the militia movement. Moreover, for practical reasons, women are important recruits. They are less likely to commit non-racist crimes or to have past criminal records, thus unnecessarily drawing attention to the group and local and federal law enforcement.

The Ku Klux Klan

While the KKK might be viewed today as a relic from the past in U.S. history, new manifestations of the KKK still remain in modern white supremacy groups. "Today's racist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic Klan is greatly reduced in size, and numbers no more than 20,000, but probably one quarter of these members are women" (Blee 2002a, 101). While images of cross burnings are thankfully less frequent today as compared to a few decades ago, organizations such as The Southern Poverty Law Center continue to provide researchers and the general public valuable information, including an interactive map of hate groups throughout the United States, including the KKK. The KKK has experienced different waves of recruitment, high membership, and declining membership. While the initial Klan arose in the mid-1860s at the end of the Civil War in protest of the constitutional changes enacted at the conclusion of the war and to protest, often violently, the Reconstruction policies imposed upon the defeated Confederacy, today's KKK has become much more adept at using the Internet, white power rock music and concerts, and other recruiting venues to groom a new generation of white supremacists.

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in the Klan

Women did not participate as members of the initial Klan in the 1860s; however, white Southern women were frequently evoked as symbols of the tradition of racial and sexual supremacy (Blee 2002a, 104). In particular, a sexualized image of African-American males was rampant in the post-Civil War South. Since African-American men were now free from slavery, this development purportedly posed an inordinate threat to white men's sexual dominance and white women's sexual purity. "Alleged black rapists were as often castrated as lynched which suggests an attempt to emasculate the savage by symbolically erasing his identity, much as one would control a wild dog" (Perry 2004, 90).

A second wave of Klan activity emerged in the mid-1910s due in part to structural migration changes affecting the composition of the American people. High immigration from southern and eastern Europe as well as significant African-

American migration from the south to the north of the United States exacerbated feelings that white Protestants were 'under siege' and that Catholic Europeans and African-Americans posed a threat to the economic security of white Protestant men. Women's involvement in the Klan increased dramatically with the second wave of KKK activity in the 1920s. Blee estimates that 500,000 women were involved in Klan chapters throughout the United States in this time period. In the 1920s, a number of prominent women members of the KKK demanded gender equity within the larger Klan movement despite protests from the male Klan leaders that women were more suited biologically and emotionally to raising children and taking care of spousal needs than becoming involved in the public sphere. Women, in particular, were in charge of enlisting their children in Ku Klux Kiddies and the Junior Ku Klux Klans (Blee 1997, 248). Moreover, with women earning the right to vote in 1920, the male leaders of the Klan realized that women's suffrage had now given them more leverage over how to influence these newly enfranchised women's voting power, especially in local elections. White native-born Protestant women were thus viewed as an opportunistic bonus for increasing Klan membership and its influence in the electoral process. The Women's Klan also used underhanded, racist tactics to swell the ranks of its membership by spreading vicious rumors that "African-American men were kidnapping young girls for white slavery dens and that Catholic priests were routinely molesting Protestant girls" (Blee 1997, 251). Finally, Klan mothers were central in organizing Klan ceremonies marking rites of passage such as births, marriages, and deaths. "Klan weddings bound couples together in love and Klan duty. Babies were christened at Klan rituals, and Klan members served as pallbearers at the funerals of departed Klan members" (Blee 1997, 254).

The third wave of the KKK appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s largely as a reaction to the Civil Rights Movement which began in the 1950s and the bruising battles over school desegregation. The Klan at this time was once again more dominant in the South of the United States and involved relatively few women in this recruitment phase. The current Klan is a reaction to the economic changes seen in the 1980s with an increase in globalization. Many white blue-collar workers feel threatened by the downsizing of the 1980s and the offshoring and outsourcing of the 1990s and the current decade.

Today's Klan certainly remains true to its anti-Semitic and anti-minority roots, but it has also widened its circle of hatred to include homosexuals, Muslims, and other 'degenerative' groups. Moreover, the current Klan in the United States has been influenced by the Christian Identity movement, which originally developed in England and was then imported into the United States. This 'theory' preaches that Jews and African-Americans are the off-spring of Satan, and white Protestants are the true lost tribe of Israel (Blee 2002a, 105). Current Klanswomen come from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds and occupations. Married and unmarried women, highly educated, and women with and without children and employment outside of the home have joined the Klan in recent years. The Klanswomen of the 1920s toiled away in single sex groups while today's Klanswomen are fully part of mixed-sex Klan chapters. Blee has found interestingly in her interviews with current Klanswomen, however, that while they feel a duty to propagate the white race, due to increasing minorities in the United States, most of these women do not want their

daughters to become members of the Klan (Blee 2002a, 108). While they take their daughters to social events of the Klan and exchange recipes at picnics and barbeques with other white supremacist mothers, they recognize the continued patriarchy of the Klan and believe that this type of organization will not serve their daughters' best interests.

The Mothers' Movement

The movement originated in California after the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 which started World War II. Eventually it spawned fifty to one hundred chapters throughout the United States and boasted a membership of between five to six million members (Jeansonne 1996, 1). The women testified before the U.S. Congress, collected petitions, and participated in political campaigns. Their main political objective was keeping the United States out of World War II; however, there was a great deal of anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and racism which buttressed the movement. While organizations such as the America First Committee, a strong pro-isolationist organization formed in 1940, disbanded after the Pearl Harbor attack in December 1941, the Mothers' Movement remained active throughout the war.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

There was discontent amongst right-wing women before the advent of World War II. As was the case with the Falangist movement in Spain, right-wing women in the United States were distressed by the pace and directionality of changes in the 1920s, which they viewed as a decade of cultural decadence with more sexual permissiveness and the decline of nuclear families (Jeansonne 1996, 8). With the Great Depression and Roosevelt's New Deal politics, conservative women in the United States viewed the increased role for the federal government as an unwelcome influence in their domestic sphere. Anti-Semitism was a staple of the Mothers' Movement. According to their pamphlets and the diatribes of Elizabeth Dilling, the founder of the movement, the Jews had "planned the U.S. Civil War, assassinated Lincoln, caused the Great Depression through their control of the banking institutions and Wall Street, were responsible for Communism worldwide and cultural depravity in the United States, and were conspiring to draw the U.S. into another fruitless war so good Christian boys and men would be killed, and ultimately Roosevelt would emerge victorious as a dictator" (Jeansonne 1996, 9).

Elizabeth Dilling was born in Chicago in 1894 to a well-to-do family. Her father died when she was only six weeks old and then she attended all girls Catholic schools. Early in her adolescence she thought she would become an evangelist, but eventually she met and married Albert Wallwick Dilling, a philanderer with similar political views and a well-to-do job as an attorney. They had two children and finally divorced in 1943. Dilling traveled extensively and was particularly impressed by the efficiency of Germany in the early 1930s and attended Nazi party meetings while there. She also visited the Soviet Union where she was appalled by the squalor and economic deprivation and concluded that Christianity, as a fighting faith, was the only antidote to Communism. Upon her return to the United States, she engrossed herself

with learning all she could about Communism and spoke relentlessly to whatever group would have her regarding the evils of it. She then began summarizing her lectures into a series of articles which were published and eventually bought by organizations such as the Daughters of the Revolution. Dilling began cataloguing on index cards all communist organizations within the United States, a feat Senator Joe McCarthy would have admired. She led a campaign to oust Communist professors from the University of Chicago to no avail and even published in 1934 a handbook called "The Red Network: A Who's Who and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots" (Jeansonne 1996, 20). While African-Americans were not singled out for her vitriolic attacks as much as Jews, blacks were characterized by Dilling as dupes of the Jews who would be used to carry out the world-wide Communist takeover.

While fascism certainly never gained the foothold in America as it did in Spain, Germany, and Italy, Hitler certainly did try to utilize the German-American Bund to integrate Americanism with Nazism (Jeansonne 1996, 30). Women were integral to the work of the Bund by organizing into cells and infiltrating school and social groups where they would circulate anti-Semitism rumors and conspiracy theories. The Bund organized boycotts of Jewish merchants in cities such as New York, organized rallies in support of Germany, and favored Elizabeth Dilling as one of their favorite speakers.

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in the Mothers' Movement

Women constituted the rank and file as well as the leadership of this movement. The use of political violence was not openly espoused by the leadership; however, there were indications that the overthrow of the U.S. government might be necessary to retain America's isolationist stance. With Hitler's invasion of Poland, many of the mothers began to form local associations opposing the war. Interestingly, although these women were conservatives, their rationale for their actions such as showing up at the Army offices to register in place of their sons, was based upon some feminist assumptions. For example one mother of the California National Legion of Mothers of America told a newspaper, "I have a 21 year old son and I'm going to fight for him. It was too much trouble to bring him into the world and bring him up all these years to have him fight the battles of foreign nations" (Jeansonne 1996, 45). Although these women were not pacifists in the traditional sense, they certainly capitalized upon their biological privilege as mothers to lecture largely male elected leaders that sacrificing their sons for Europe's war was not rational. When the U.S. Senate debated conscription in 1940, the mothers gathered outside the chamber, wearing black dresses and veils and keeping a death vigil—an act of political theater that demonstrators against the Vietnam War would emulate a few decades later, albeit with less modest clothing (Jeansonne 1996, 49).

Another woman who led another organization which comprised the larger social movement was Catherine Curtis, founder of the Women's National Committee to Keep the U.S. Out of the War. Curtis found a kindred spirit in the celebrated female aviator Laura Ingalls, who was a Renaissance woman with a fondness for German efficiency, Hitler's ideology, and Aryan supremacy (Jeansonne 1996, 61). In September 1939, a few weeks after Germany's invasion of Poland, Ingalls made a

two-hour flight over Washington, D.C., violating the air space to drop peace pamphlets addressed to Congress. In a post September 11th world, her plane would have been shot down but she succeeded in completing her propaganda mission. In 1941, Ingalls was charged with being an unregistered agent of the German government and was sentenced to jail time, where she served 20 months.

Infuriated by Roosevelt's Lend-Lease program to aid American allies with loans and war material, Curtis turned her attention to the Congress. In April 1941, she circulated a "Mother's Day Petition" claiming that 'men had no right to destroy life without the consent of women, and the war resulted from the failure to include mothers in the peace process' (Jeansonne 1996, 66). The petition continued, "We are confident that the presence of mothers at the conference table will soothe temperaments, heal wounds, prevent destruction of life, and bring a lasting peace to the entire world." Again, we can see right-wing women making arguments consistent with difference feminism, namely that women as life givers and primary care givers, have a natural inclination to peace and cooperation.

The New York chapter of the National Legion of Mothers for America even created a women's rifle corps to shoot invading paratroopers (Jeansonne 1996, 51). They called themselves the Molly Pitcher Rifle Legion, named after the woman who supposedly armed herself during the American Revolution. They collected rifles and ammunition and found men to train them in the use of weapons. The Molly Pitchers claimed that had housewives in France been armed, it would not have fallen to the Germans. The Molly Pitchers also claimed they had evidence that the New York draft board was selling deferments to Jews only to evade military service.

Other organizations comprised the Mothers' Movement. One organization was We The Mothers Mobilize for America. It was led by Lyrl Clark Van Hyning, who was raised on a farm in Ohio. Van Hyning was an officer in the Daughters of the American Revolution, a former member of the German-American Bund and America First Committee, and frequently compared herself to Jesus Christ as a martyr-like figure. We The Mothers Mobilize for America became an educational, tax-exempt organization but came under FBI scrutiny which began investigating far-right groups for sedition (Jeansonne 1996, 92). In 1945 the organization petitioned against the founding of the United Nations, which it viewed as a creation of Jews, Masons, and Communists.

A second organization was Mothers of Pennsylvania, lead by Bessie Burchett (Jeansonne 1996, 123). Burchett was a gray-haired, elderly woman who carried guns and vowed that communists would not take her alive. Today, she could certainly have been prosecuted for hate speech when she said, "Hitler should target New York Jews by dropping a bomb in the right place and implied there were seven million lampposts in the country, enough hanging posts for every Jew." Burchett was eventually dismissed from her position at a Philadelphia high school due to her insistence on addressing Nazi rallies and spreading her political views to her captive schoolchildren.

Government Response to the Mothers' Movement

Even before World War II began, President Roosevelt had mobilized the FBI to investigate pro-Nazi organization in the United States. In 1941, Attorney General Francis Biddle selected special assistant, William Power Maloney, to investigate fascist propaganda (Jeansonne 1996, 152). Maloney, after conducting investigations for three months, then decided to convene a grand jury and kept the panel in session into 1942. Elizabeth Dilling, Catherine Curtis, and Lyrl Clark Van Hyning were among the women called to testify before the grand jury.

Maloney planned to prosecute under the Sedition Act of 1917, which outlawed attempts to undermine the morale of the armed services in wartime and under the Smith Act of 1940, which prohibited activities to undermine the morale of fighting men in peacetime. Elizabeth Dilling was indicted by the grand jury, and subsequently her ex-husband came to defend her, and mothers' groups around the country held fundraising events for her legal defense. Despite the time invested into the grand jury and indictment process, the trial never occurred and once the Truman administration came into office, it decided not to pursue the cases (Jeansonne 1996, 163).

Most of the women who joined the Mothers' Movement dropped out by the late 1940s; however, women such as Elizabeth Dilling continued to rail against other causes such as NATO, the income tax, school desegregation, and increasing federal power. Jeansonne's valuable study, like the work of Kathlee Blee and others, again calls into question a lot of assumptions about women involved in extreme right movements. "To believe that rightist women lack free will is to imply that women cannot have priorities that differ from those of liberalism, cannot think for themselves, and cannot harbor prejudices or a desire for power as can men is a notion that demeans all women" (Jeansonne 1996, 184).

Modern White Supremacy

From the decline of the women's KKK of the 1920s, until the 1980s, organized racism and white supremacy movements were in large part led by and populated by men; however, today's white supremacy movement spans the globe, and the use of the Internet has certainly facilitated networking abilities as well as the recruitment of women. Kathleen Blee's in depth interviews with over thirty women from a variety of racist and anti-Semitic groups was published in the book *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (2002b). Blee found, "most of the women were educated, most were not poor nor did most grow up poor, most were not raised in abusive families, and not all women were blindly following a man into organized racism" (pp. 9-10). Moreover, even after discussing the family backgrounds of many of these women, Blee cautions there is no single causal explanation to help us understand or rationalize these women's racist activism. Some women are drawn into the social movement of organized racism through a male social connection, whereas other women come to the movement on their own. However, Blee did find that some women are in positions and places in society which make them more likely to meet those from racist groups. Just as women involved in left-wing terrorist organizations often met their future Weather Underground or Red Brigades members

at universities or rallies, these women often did enter into right-wing movements through a personal contact (Blee 2002b, 52). In other words, these women were not actively recruited. Approximately one-third of the women interviewed by Blee reported they had been arrested for violent acts in connection with racist activism and more than three-quarters claimed that had been in a physical fight with members of a minority group (Blee 2002b, 136).

Germany's history with extreme right political violence is obviously well-documented. With the horror of the Holocaust now sixty years in the past, many Germans were repulsed by the revival of neo-Nazism in the 1980s. Women's role in German fascism has been a topic of scholarly interest for decades now. Again, the early historiography on women in Nazi Germany viewed them mostly as victims of the time. However, recent scholarship by Claudia Koonz (1997), Vandana Joshi (2003), and Elizabeth Harvey (2004) has reexamined these initial assumptions through the use of painstaking archival research. While women's overall participation in extreme right movements is still low, these leaders have either created women's sections or women have taken it upon themselves to create their own organizations. For example, in Germany in the early 1980s, the Action Front of National Socialists created a Girls' League which relaunched as the German Women's Front (Durham 1998, 87). In 1992, neo-Nazi and skinhead gangs carried out over 2000 attacks against foreigners, including arson attacks and brutal assaults, causing 17 deaths and leaving 2000 injured. Arson attacks occurred in particular against housing projects where Turkish immigrants lived.

Skingirl organizations[4] have also been popular in both Europe and the United States with brutal hazing practices which mostly include beating to a pulp the girl to be initiated and/or performing some type of violent action. Men make up about 60-70 per cent of racist skinheads, but women comprise 30-40 per cent of the movement. Women skinheads often call themselves skinbyrds, skingirls, chelseas, or sometimes featherwoods.[5]

In an article about an all-female extreme right wing group in Norway during the mid-to-late 1990s, Katrine Fagen (1997) examines the genesis of the organization called *Valkyria*. Approximately ten women, disgusted with their subordinate roles in the male skin organizations, decided to form their own movement. There were no brutal initiation rituals one had to pass to enter the organization. Standards included: not drinking too much, not being promiscuous, no Nazi salutes, and practicing kick boxing and shooting. These women were against increasing immigration into Norway, especially Muslims, and were committed feminists in that they were opposed to prostitution and pornography. Interestingly, many of the women interviewed worked as day care providers and wanted to remain home with future children.

The Women for Aryan Unity (WAU) website is especially interesting, considering it even has the symbols for finding cures to breast cancer and autism on the main page. Its mission statement calls for unity within the Aryan 'sisterhood', which is an interesting use of the term often affiliated with feminism itself. According to

4 It is important to note that there are a significant number of anti-racist skinheads, often called "sharps" who sometimes get into violent confrontations with the racist skinheads.

5 Anti-Defamation League website. Accessed on 24 May 2007 at www.adl.org.

the website mission statement (accessed on 24 May 2007), "Women for Aryan Unity cannot be a Mass-Organization, and thus it does not accept disciples, as do conventional movement groups. At this time in the Movement's history, when the great task of redefining a Woman's role in the cause is posed; of reinventing the concept of 'feminism' within the parameters of Race and Revolution, WAU can only be a group of equals, a staff of educators and disseminators, not hangers on, joiners, or pseudo – soldiers." Also accessible from the website are a cookbook, some white supremacist literature, facts about the 'white genocide' taking place due to the number of abortions white women in the United States undergo every year largely performed by 'Jewish doctors', and a 'Heroes and Heroines' link with biographies about Eva Braun and Anne Morrow Lindbergh.

Even though few women have been accused, must less convicted of right-wing political violence, Christine Greenwood, was arrested with two male accomplices in November 2002 in California for a variety charges relating to current and past violent criminal activity, including possessing bomb-making materials. Christine Greenwood was the organizer of the Aryan Baby Drive, a food and clothing drive to distribute these items to poor Aryan families, and one of the leading members of the Women for Aryan Unity. Also in 2002, two members of a neo-Nazi terror cell, Leo Felton and Erica Chase, were convicted in Boston, Massachusetts in a conspiracy to bomb Jewish and African-American landmarks and leaders. Felton, a White Order of Thule member who planned the cell with members of the Aryan Brotherhood prison gang, was sentenced to more than 20 years on multiple federal counts. Chase, who had ties to the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator and the Outlaw Hammerskins gang, received a lesser sentence.[6]

Chapter Summary

Women in right-wing movements are perhaps less likely to engage in political violence and terrorism than the women discussed in other chapters throughout this book. However, the collective action model discussed in Chapter 1 remains relevant to understanding how women become involved in right-wing causes and sometimes even violence. Relational networks are often key for the recruitment of these women, and women who are involved in the organizations recruit other women through these same networks. The extreme right-wing movements discussed in this chapter are again a small subset of larger conservative movements in the respective countries. A combination of macrolevel forces and ideological resonance may attract these women to these organizations' political objectives, including the use of violence to actualize these objectives.

It is important to note, however, that we cannot stereotype right-wing women as coming from a particular socioeconomic class or assume that their views are due to a lack of education. Obviously, educated and aristocratic women such as Diana Mosley became enamored with fascism and felt that Hitler's vision of the world was

6 Southern Poverty Law Center website. Accessed at http://www.splcenter.org on 24 May 2007.

absolutely progressive. Women in skinhead groups or even Women for Aryan Unity are not illiterate individuals incapable of constructing their own political beliefs. Nor should we assume that these women have suffered from traumatic childhoods or are suffering from psychological disorders. In fact very average women may find right-wing organizations compatible with their political views.

Finally, the most interesting paradox to note about women involved in right-wing organizations and violence is the relationship to feminism. While some right-wing women argue that feminism is part of an international Jewish conspiracy to destroy the white Aryan nuclear family, these same women bemoan the lack of female leadership in their organizations and subsequently sometimes publish their own newsletters and manage websites. Even though many of these women feel strongly that a woman's biological destiny is to be a mother and caregiver, they are simultaneously demanding more equality within these same organizations based upon patriarchal foundations.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 4

The "Wretched of the Earth" Rebel: Women and Wars of National Liberation

Despite calls for national self-determination in the Treaty of Versailles at the conclusion of World War I, much of the world still remained colonized during the interwar period. With the collapse of the Ottoman and Austrian-Hungarian empires, the international system was irrevocably altered. The United States retreated into relative isolationism during the interwar period, while the colonial powers of Great Britain and France continued to exert their influence throughout the globe, most notably in the mandate system created in the Middle East. With fierce resistance against British mandate rule in Palestine and Iraq, the colonization in much of Asia and Africa continued largely unchallenged. World War II, however, was a major turning point for nascent national liberation movements in the colonized world. The Atlantic Charter, negotiated in 1941 before the U.S. even entered World War II, revisited many of President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points. Amongst the eight principles were: territorial adjustments must be in accord with wishes of the peoples concerned and all peoples had a right to self-determination. In February 1942, the British Empire suffered the worst defeat in its history when Singapore fell to the invading Japanese forces (Hoffman 2006, 43). Japan's victories continued with the conquering of the Dutch East Indies, Burma, and the Philippines.

> Native peoples who had previously believed in the invincibility of their European colonial overlords hereafter saw their former masters in a starkly different light. Not only had the vast British Empire been dealt a crushing blow, but American pledges of peace and security to its Pacific possessions had been similarly shattered. France's complete impotence in the face of Japanese bullying over Indochina had greatly undermined its imperial stature among the Vietnamese, and in Indonesia, Japanese promises of independence effectively negated any lingering feelings of loyalty to the Dutch (Hoffman 2006, 44).

The Battles of Midway, Guadalcanal, and Leyte Gulf were the focal points for the war in the Pacific, while major land battles also took place in North Africa. Thousands of colonized subjects fought on behalf on their colonial overseers. Even before the San Francisco conference began to establish the United Nations, differences arose over many issues. One of the biggest points of contention concerned the status over non-self governing territories. Great Britain's Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin wanted a more limited definition of trusteeships to include: existing mandates from the old League of Nations, territories seized from the Axis powers, and territory placed voluntarily under United Nations' sponsorship. Moreover, the United States wanted to occupy all of the former Japanese held islands in the Pacific for obvious security reasons. Eventually, a Trusteeship Council

became one of the six main organs of the nascent United Nations. Ultimately, eleven territories were placed under trusteeship, seven in Africa and four in Oceania. Ten of the trust territories had previously been League of Nations mandates; the eleventh was Italian Somaliland. Most critically, the Trusteeship Council was not assigned responsibility for colonial territories outside the trusteeship system; however, the Charter did establish the principle that member states were to administer such territories in conformity with the best interests of their inhabitants. It was only a matter of time before colonized peoples all over the globe starting taking up arms to demand their right to self-determination. It should be noted that the 'right' to resort to violence to displace an occupying or colonial force is one of the main reasons why there has never been a United Nations comprehensive agreement on the definition of terrorism. For example, U.N. General Assembly Resolution 2649 passed in 1970 affirmed "the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination as being entitled to the right of self-determination to restore to them that right by any means at their disposal."

The issue, however, of whether women would be part of the struggle for self-determination was not broached often within the United Nations. However, it is apparent from the case studies in this chapter on the Mau Mau in Kenya, the National Liberation Front in Algeria, and the Vietnamese in both the First and Second Indochina wars, that women did take active part in engaging in political violence against colonial authorities as well as against those within their countries who were collaborators with the colonial power. In all the cases examined, women were perpetrators of political violence as bombers, messengers, and guerrilla fighters. Although national liberation was eventually achieved after a great deal of bloodshed, in all three cases, especially in Algeria, women were largely expected to retreat back to the private sphere of life even though they were strategically utilized during the wars of national liberation and yearned for the same independence as the men in their nations.

The Mau Mau in Kenya

With the independence of India from the British Empire in 1947, many other British colonies felt that their freedom was just a matter of time. Britain, like many European countries, however, tried desperately to hold on to many of its colonies despite the rhetoric of self-determination. One of the colonies which became especially problematic for the British was the colony of Kenya, located in eastern Africa. Even though Kenya achieved formal independence in 1963, the period of the 1950s was exceedingly brutal and bloody. The Mau Mau Rebellion is of interest for our purposes because women played an important role in political violence directed against the British colonial occupying force.

Macrolevel Factors

With much of the world colonized by the late 19th century, the continent of Africa, especially the interior areas, was relatively safe from European colonization. All this

would change, however, with the "Scramble for Africa" which took place during the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885. The British presence in Kenya came first in the form of the Imperial British East African Company in 1885. In 1895, the East African Protectorate was established, and the British government formally assumed responsibilities for the company (Presley 1992, 3). The British Crown took over jurisdiction of governance, the legal system, taxation, choice of work, and location of work.

All indigenous groups were affected by British colonial rule in Kenya, but none experienced such as intense transformation as the Kikuyu (Elkins 2005, 12). The Kikuyu were the most affected by the colonial government's policies of land alienation or expropriation, and European settlement. The Kikuyu, who were agriculturalists, lost over 60,000 acres to the settlers mostly in southern Kiambu, a fertile region just outside of Nairobi. This had a great impact on the social relations of the Kikuyu because to be accepted as a man or woman in Kikuyu society and to move from childhood to adulthood, a Kikuyu had to have access to land (Elkins 2005, 14). The colonial government established African reserves which were like the homelands in South Africa or the Native American reserves in the United States where each African ethnic group was expected to live separately. Also, the British levied hut and poll taxes, which were the equivalent of almost two months wages. Therefore, many men had to migrate to urban areas, namely Nairobi, in search of work to pay the taxes which further disrupted the social structure of the various ethnic groups. Much like South Africa's pass laws, all African men who left their reserves in Kenya had to carry a *kipande*, a metal box around their necks, which recorded their name, fingerprints, ethnic group affiliation, past employment history, and current employee's signature (Elkins 2005, 16). The British further destabilized Kikuyu society through their establishment of European farms, known as the White Highlands, in the most fertile areas of Kenya. Many Kikuyu became squatters in the White Highlands when they were forced off of their own lands. As squatters, they labored for the European owner for about a third of the year and in return were permitted to cultivate a plot of land, graze their cattle and goats, and raise their children there (Elkins 2005, 17).

Britain was famous for its indirect rule over colonies; however, the Kikuyu presented a problem. Prior to colonization, the Kikuyu did not have chiefs; they were a stateless society. Instead, councils of elders and lineage heads governed the affairs of the Kikuyu. The British appointed new chiefs, however, who were viewed as illegitimate in the eyes of many Kikuyu and would remain staunch loyalists during the 1950s Mau Mau Rebellion.

Despite the view that the Africans were inherently inferior and in need of a civilizing presence, Kenyans were good enough to serve under the British Empire in both world wars. In fact, over 160,000 Kenyans served as porters who carried machine guns, ammunition, and supplies to the front lines during World War I (Presley 1992, 109). In the interwar period, the Kikuyu began to organize in earnest. One of the early nationalists was Harry Thanku who galvanized many Kikuyu, but he was arrested in 1922 for condemning the pass laws and hut taxes. Organizations such as the East African Association and the Kikuyu Central Association organized as a nationalist movement with the major issue revolving around access to land. Although women

were not often afforded leadership positions within these organizations since the pre-colonial, non-egalitarian Kikuyu proscribed a female public political role (Presley 1992, 31), both women and men did become organized over another seemingly non-political issue in the 1920s in addition to land.

The controversy over female circumcision became a divisive issue within the Kikuyu. The Anglican missionaries wanted the practice eliminated and asked parents who sent their young female children to the missionary schools to sign pledges that their children would not be circumcised. Of course, female circumcision was an important part of Kikuyu culture. Young girls prepared for the event and were given special presents and attention leading up to the ceremony. Their circumcision officially made them adult women in Kikuyu culture and publicly declared them as ready for marriage. Both women and men became involved in the controversy. Women actually performed the procedure, and Kikuyu men viewed the missionaries' desire to see the practice ended as another area where Kikuyu culture was being denigrated. Women's organizations talked a great deal about the issue. Women and men were split into two factions—those who supported the missionary position and those who wanted to continue the custom in some form (Presley 1992, 94). Some respondents interviewed by Cora Ann Presley said that the two factions over female circumcision persisted into the 1950s Mau Mau Rebellion with the Loyalists being those who supported the end of female circumcision and siding with the missionaries in the 1920s and 1930s, and the Mau Mau rebels being the children of those who wanted female circumcision to continue.

After World War II, the inequities of British colonial rule were fully exposed. With the independence of India in 1947, Kenya became the Crown Jewel of the British Empire. Approximately, 50-60,000 white British settlers now lived in Kenya on the most arable land and enjoyed often ostentatious displays of wealth. After the Allied victory in World War II, Kenyans who fought under the British Empire returned home with a new global awareness. Moreover, the Kenyan African Union (KAU) emerged in 1944 and three years later, Johnstone (Jomo) Kenyatta returned to Kenya after a 16 year stay in Britain where he had studied at the London School of Economics (Elkins 2005, 24). The KAU was formed in Central Province, an area where Kikuyu were populous, and included many of the members of the banned Kenya Central Association. Kenyatta co-sponsored a Pan-African Congress with future Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, and wrote his "controversial book, *Facing Mount Kenya*, which was a highly polemical defense of the cultural practices of the Kikuyu and of their ability to speak for themselves" (Elkins 2005, 25).

With all of these attendant changes and controversies over land access, female circumcision, labor laws, and Kenyans' participation in both world wars, it is not surprising that Kenya would mount its own rebellion against British rule. In Indonesia, Indochina, Algeria, and elsewhere national liberation movements were gaining steam. Kenya was no exception.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

Who were the Mau Mau, and did they have an ideology? First, there is no consensus on the etymology of the term Mau Mau (Elkins 2005, 22). Most Kikuyu said it was

a name without a meaning; some believe it was a distortion by the Europeans of the word *muma*, the Kikuyu word for oath while others believed it was a Kiswahili play on words. According to Elkins, the term "Mau Mau" first appeared in a British colonial source in 1948. By the early 1950s, Mau Mau would strike fear into the hearts of whites in Kenya.

The most important claim of the Mau Mau was over land issues. They wanted the Europeans to leave Kenya and reclaim their land which had been forcibly seized from them. Mau Mau also wanted the right to self-governance. Many Mau Mau were highly educated and had studied abroad; however, others were illiterate. The movement that became popularized as Mau Mau was viewed by British colonial officials as a unified force, even though there were divisions. Many of the Mau Mau leaders were ex-soldiers who split from the moderate political elite of the Kenyan African Union, including Jomo Kenyatta (Elkins 2005, 25).

One of the most important parts of Mau Mau was the oaths Mau Mau adherents took. Typically, Kikuyu men had taken an oath to forge solidarity during times of war or internal crises. The oath would morally bind men together in the face of great challenges. But in an area where Kikuyu were resettled after being forced to leave the White Highlands, the traditional oathing ceremony was transformed to forge solidarity against British colonialism. The oath united the Kikuyu in a collective effort to fight against British rule. The ceremony surrounding the oathing ceremony involved the slaughtering of a goat and the ingestation of the goat's blood. This aspect of the ceremony would become a propaganda tool for the British as they associated Mau Mau with witchcraft, evil, sorcery, and in general darkness. Men, women, and children took oaths. Moreover, there were different levels of oaths; each represented a deeper pledge of loyalty to the movement and a deeper commitment to violent action. Women, in particular, played an integral role in oathing ceremonies and often administered the oaths, especially once the Emergency Regulations were put in place in 1952. Finally, Kikuyu believed that if an oath taker violated his/her pledge, then loyalty to Mau Mau would be broken. If someone confessed to having taken the oath, that person would suffer the wrath of the Kikuyu creator god, Ngai (Elkins 2005, 27). Those who refused to take oaths were viewed as British loyalists, and would sometimes be killed by Mau Mau.

As with all the case studies examined in this book, there always seems to be a crucial event or tipping point which accelerates the political violence. In Kenya, it came in October 1952 with the assassination of British loyalist, Senior Chief Waruhiu (Elkins 2005, 31). The Senior Chief was shot in his car by Mau Mau who resented the wealth he accrued because he was loyal to the colonial powers. Often, the British usurped land from the Mau Mau and redistributed it to Kenyan loyalists. Once the news of the Senior Chief's death reverberated throughout the colony, the Colonial Office asked permission to declare a State of Emergency in the colony.

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in the Mau Mau

Land alienation and expropriation affected women extensively, making it more difficult for women to cultivate dwindling plots of land in conjunction with the focus on cash crops such as coffee and tea. As a result, thousands of women migrated to

the urban areas of Kenya to work as servants, trader, and prostitutes (Presley 1992, 40). Moreover, in 1934 women were directly taxed for the first time under the Hut and poll Tax Ordinance; old women and widows with little means to support their families could petition to obtain an exemption from direct taxation (Presley 1992, 47). Once compulsory labor was introduced by Governor Sir Henry Conway in 1917, the lives of the Kikuyu became more controlled by the colonial government. Both men and women now had to labor on public works projects such as building roads and terraces with absolutely no compensation. The Kikuyu had to work unpaid for 90 days a year. Failure to participate in the compulsory labor resulted in beatings and fines. Women did try to protest by arranging work stoppages, and Mau Mau women sometimes used threats and intimidation to involve other women in these examples of collective action (Presley 1992, 69).

While women's participation in public sphere politics was alien to Kikuyu custom and gender roles, colonialism changed women's political roles and brought women from the private sphere into the public sphere (Presley 1988, 506). The colonial government viewed women's organized labor strikes as being planned by male leaders; however, women were increasingly part of the nationalist struggle against colonialism. Moreover, women's anger over the attempt to eradicate female circumcision also galvanized women's participation in organizations.

Within the first year of Mau Mau, the British realized that women were actively involved in the rebellion. The British quickly realized the women were just as steadfastly Mau Mau as the men. As one colonial official said, "Hope for a peaceful future hinges on the reconstruction of African motherhood in the British image. It will be necessary to cleanse the women in the same way as the men before they are permitted to rejoin them, as there is evidence that wives have in many cases persuaded their husbands to take the oath and are very militant" (Elkins 2005, 109). Women, however, unlike most of the Mau Mau men could be 'reoriented' into the correct way of thinking. With this belief, the British targeted their campaign against Mau Mau "terrorism" via women in three main areas: imprisonment, detention in the Pipeline, and the villagization program.

As already discussed, Kikuyu women fulfilled an instrumental role in the oathing ceremonies. They took oaths and administered them. Thus, the British believed that women's instrumental role in oathing had to be addressed. Women also provided food, medical supplies, guns and ammunition, and information to the forest fighters. The British viewed these women as the 'passive wing' of Mau Mau; however, as with any guerrilla war, the fighters needed the active support of the 'civilian' population to maintain a fighting capability. Women such as Rebecca Njeri Kairi, Mary Wanjiko, Priscilla Wambaki, and Wagara Wainana were singled out by the government as subversive influences. A total of 34,000 women were sentenced to prison for violation of the Emergency Regulations between 1952 and 1958 (Presley 1992, 158). Thousands of these women were repeated violators of regulations against taking and administering oaths and aiding the forest fighters. Kikuyu women, however, were not only part of the 'passive wing' of Mau Mau. In fact, some women joined the forest forces and served as combat troops. Presley (1992) argues that the number of women is impossible to estimate from available data, but it was more than a random one or two female Kikuyu soldiers. In oral interviews conducted by

Cora Ann Presley and Caroline Elkins, they talked to Mau Mau women who fought, maintained supply lines, and were incarcerated in the Pipeline. Decades later, women spoke of how difficult life was in the forest camps. Often they performed traditional women's work, such as cooking meals, tending to combat injuries, and cleaning clothes.

Initially, the colonial government did not even have a woman's prison available once the Mau Mau began. The earliest female detainees were sent to co-ed detention camps and were submitted to the same screening tactics as the male Mau Mau. Eventually, a female prison camp was constructed called Kiamti, where nearly 8,000 women were detained during the "Emergency Period." Kikuyu loyalists sometimes reported Mau Mau women to the colonial authorities. Women detainees were strip-searched, scrubbed down, fingerprinted, and photographed. From there, Mau Mau women were screened by the female guard, Katherine Warren-Gash, who was known for her ruthlessness. Women's lives at Kiamti were no better than the men's at the various other camps in the Pipeline. They were beaten, raped, and forced to do grueling work which often resulted in their deaths.

Sisters such as Helen Macharia and Shifra Wametumi were arrested by the colonial authorities on suspicion of functioning as the backbone of the Mau Mau organization in their local area, the Fort Hall District (Elkins 2005, 219). Both women left children behind and were detained for five years without trial. Pregnant women were forced into detention at Kiamti and had to give births to their infants in appalling conditions. Hundreds of infants died. Women were forced to strap newborn babies on their backs in order to work; often the women would come back to find the child dead. If they stopped to nurse the child or attend to its cries, the women were beaten by the Home Guards (Africans from other countries or Kikuyu loyalists).

Two of the most coveted duties women could receive at Kiamti were tending to the putrid toilet buckets and the garden. Mau Mau detainee Helen Macharia described the state of the women at the detention camp, Kiamti,

> The women's hair was matted, they had not bathed properly since their arrests, toilet bucket waste was encrusted in their scalps and backs; their skin was often covered with scabs and boils, and they walked around like paranoid creatures, always jerking their heads from side to side for fear of being hit with a club or a whip (Elkins 2005, 221).

As Elkins observes, "The camp had fully transformed their physical appearance to the point that they had become the feral-looking Mau Mau savages that Governor Baring and the colonial secretary were peddling in their propaganda to Britain and the international community" (p. 221). As if the complete destruction of human dignity was not enough to bear, the worst punishment at the camp was assignment to the burial gang. As truckloads of bodies were brought into the camp, female detainees had to bury the often rotting corpses in mass graves. If a woman recognized one of the bodies and started to weep, the Home Guards would beat her (Elkins 2005, 227). Anglican priests were brought into Kiamti to preside over massive cleansing ceremonies of female detainees and taught the confessed detainees bible classes.

The 'method' the British utilized for breaking Mau Mau was the villagization program. In June 1954, the War Council took the action of mandating forced

villagization throughout the Kikuyu reserves. By the end of 1955, over one million Kikuyu were forcibly removed from their scattered homesteads throughout the Central Province and herded into over 800 hastily constructed villages (Elkins 2005, 235). The Home Guards set fire to the thatched roofs of the Kikuyu, destroyed their crops and livestock, and unleashed sheer terror to expedite villagization. In these 'villages', barbered wire entrapped the families and armed guards on watchtowers ensured security. Access to a village was through a single gate. The loyalists and their families lived in nearby Home Guard posts, which were much more livable than the squalid huts constructed in haste.

To ensure that the Kikuyu were not emboldened about the possible success of Mau Mau forest fighters, women suspected of continuing to feed Mau Mau were sometimes brought into the center of the village and shot or hung. Sometimes they were beaten first with clubs and rifle butts and then raped in front of their families. British security forces would at times bring the bodies of the dead forest fighters into the villages and forced the women to carry them around while chanting, "This is independence" (Elkins 2005, 250). Life in the Pipeline camps was certainly worse than in the villages; however, the goal remained the same—to break the Mau Mau by any means necessary including torture, starvation, and murder.

One final way the colonial government attempted to eradicate the 'cult of Mau Mau' was through the Community Development Department. The department established women's clubs (Maendeleo ya Wanawake) throughout Kenya which provided day nurseries, food, milk, and orphan services. Membership in these clubs necessitated the renunciation of Mau Mau; if women chose to remain publicly sympathetic to Mau Mau, they lost access to the services the clubs offered which could mean the difference between life and death for a Kikuyu woman and her children, especially during the famine of 1955-1956 (Presley 1992, 166).

British Government's Response to Mau Mau

The British and colonial government's response to the Mau Mau Rebellion have been characterized as genocidal at worst and heavy-handed at best. With the assassination of the Senior Chief Waruhiu in October 1952, the next eight years for most of the Kikuyu in Kenya was a living hell of torture, imprisonment without trial, and exile. Included in the detainees, were a great number of women as well.

The newly appointed Governor Evelyn Baring arrived in Kenya ten days after the Senior Chief's assassination. While a large funeral was held to mourn the Senior Chief's death, Mau Mau rejoiced. Governing Baring was convinced he needed to decapitate the leadership of Mau Mau in its infancy before the movement became any stronger. Baring estimated it would take three months at most. In October 1952, Operation Jack Scott was launched, and a state of emergency was declared which would not be lifted until 1960. In this operation, Jomo Kenyatta and another 150 "leaders" of Mau Mau were rounded up and hauled off to a Nairobi police station. Contrary to Governor Baring's plan, the arrest of the more moderate voices in the Kenyan nationalist movement only increased the violence of Mau Mau, and Kenyatta became a 'martyr-like' figure (Elkins 2005, 36). The colonial government prosecuted Kenyatta and his co-defendants, charging them with fomenting a revolution. Kenyatta

and his co-defendants were sentenced to the maximum of seven years imprisonment with hard labor to be followed by a life-time of exile (Elkins 2005, 46). With the arrest of Kenyatta, the Kikuyu interpreted this development as an ominous sign in their quest for self-determination. Within weeks, hundreds and eventually thousands of Mau Mau fled into the forests, where they fought a classic guerrilla war against the British until approximately 500 rebels remained in 1956.

In January 1953, the sensational and horrific murder of an entire white European family accelerated the crisis in Kenya. The Ruck family was hacked to death by their own trusted servants, including a six-year old boy in his bed surrounded by his stuffed animals. Graphic images of the massacred Europeans were printed in Kenyan newspapers and the British press. The next day over 1,000 white settlers marched in Nairobi, demanding justice and the elimination of Mau Mau by any means necessary. Mau Mau attacked an armory in early 1953, stole a large supply of firearms and ammunition and released Mau Mau prisoners. In addition, Mau Mau attacked the homesteads of loyalists who had been given Kikuyu land. They burned loyalists in their huts and hacked to death those who tried to escape.

With pressure mounting from the white settlers and the emergence of vigilante squads, Governor Baring had to act. Emergency Regulations took effect in January 1953, which included provisions for: communal punishment, curfews, the control of individual and mass movements of people, the confiscation of property and land, censorship and banning of publications, the disbanding of all African political organizations, the control and disposition of labor, suspension of due process, and detention without trial (Elkins 2005, 55). By May 1953 over 100,000 Kikuyu had been deported from their homes and returned to the Kikuyu reserves. The Mau Mau were depicted as dark, evil, secretive, and degraded by the colonial government and the white settlers. "The Mau Mau became for many whites in Kenya what the Armenians had been to the Turks, the Tutsis to the Hutus, the Bengalis to the Pakistanis, and the Jews to the Nazis" (Elkins 2005, 49).

In May 1953 General Sir George Erskine was called in to bring an end to the violence and restore order to Kenya. Thus, began interrogations with extensive use of sadistic violence. "Screening" was the term for interrogation used during the Mau Mau rebellion. Screeners were a combination of European officials and Kikuyu loyalists. Screeners utilized electric shocks, sexual violence beyond comprehension, and beatings to solicit information from Mau Mau about the location and strength of the forest fighters. Another purpose of screening was to encourage Mau Mau to confess oaths. Along with screening came the introduction of the "Pipeline" which was intended as a form of 'rehabilitation' of Mau Mau. Rehabilitation was never a real goal of the Pipeline due to the lack of funds and manpower dedicated to this endeavor. For example, there were 250 men and women working on the rehabilitation of nearly 1.5 million Kikuyu, a ratio of 1 to 6,000 (Elkins 2005, 149). Detainees were classified as "white, grey, and black" depending on their level of Mau Mau devotion. Those classified as "black" were hard-core detainees who endured some of the most severe torture. The colonial government believed 'black detainees' were unredeemable and would eventually be sent into permanent exile. "Grey" detainees were dedicated Mau Mau adherents, but could be redeemed through hard labor and proper re-education. "White" detainees could be repatriated to the African reserves,

and most importantly these detainees could be utilized to either provide information on other detainees, or encourage others to confess their oaths. Detainees could be transferred up and down the Pipeline, depending upon their 'progress.'

In April 1954, the British launched Operation Anvil by General Sir Erskine who deployed 25,000 security force members to cordon off the city of Nairobi for a complete purging of Kikuyu (Elkins 2005, 122). The British blared loudspeakers, advising all Africans to pack one bag and leave their homes immediately. The Africans were taken to temporary barbed wire enclosures where employment identity cards were used to determine the tribal affiliations. Screeners separated the Kikuyu while members of other ethnic groups such as the Masai, Luo, Embu, and Meru were permitted to return to their homes. Nairobi was targeted because nearly three-quarters of the city's African male population of 60,000 were Kikuyu, along with some 20,000 Kikuyu women and children, who were considered by the British as passive supporters of Mau Mau. The population in the detainee camps increased tremendously. Beatings, torture, sexual violence (including rape and castration), disease, forced labor, and death were the norm in the camps; however, Kikuyu did try to educate themselves by self-organizing literacy classes. Many Mau Mau were well-educated and possessed advanced degrees from foreign universities. Detainees, though broken physically, tried to maintain their sanity. However, those who confessed their oaths were given less demeaning jobs in the camps and could even then become interrogators during the constant screening sessions. In fact, Jomo Kenyatta's son confessed his oath and was then sent to various camps within the Pipeline to participate in screening.

The British government's reaction to what was happening in Kenya was relatively muted; however, some detainees were able to write letters detailing the conditions in the camp which made their way to the Labour Party Members of Parliament (MPs). In particular, one female Labour MP, Barbara Castle, tried throughout the 1950s to establish an independent inquiry into the atrocities being committed in Kenya in the name of civilization. Moreover, some members of the Anglican Church added their voice to the growing chorus of condemnation. The British government even had to deal with ex-officials who worked in the camps for a period of time denouncing what they saw in the Pipeline. For example, Eileen Fletcher was a devout Quaker who had been hired to help with rehabilitation in the camps. Fletcher signed a four year contract but resigned in less than a year after working in the Kiamti camp for female Mau Mau. She traveled to other Pipeline camps and wrote a three-part series called "Kenya's Concentration Camps—An Eyewitness Account" (Presley 1992, 145) The colonial and British government did their best to characterize the detractors as insufficiently informed; however, criticism in the more liberal leaning newspapers mounted. In March 1959, the Hola Massacre was the final straw. Ten detainees were beaten to death in the camp; however, Colonial Secretary Lennon-Boyd tried to claim the detainees died from drinking foul water (Elkins 2005, 345). Again, MP Castle took to the floor of the House of Commons to denounce the travesty. No independent investigation was held, but the days of the colonial regime in Kenya were numbered.

When the first colony wide elections were held in 1961, the Kenya African Union pledged it would only take its seats in the new parliament if Kenyatta was

released. Kenyatta was finally released in April 1961 and immediately gave a press conference preaching forgiveness but claiming that the fight for *uhuru*, Kiswahili for freedom, had finally been achieved. Kenyatta, as the British officials realized, was never a leader of Mau Mau; nevertheless, he remained in detention and often isolation from 1952 until 1961. In fact, Kenyatta went on to sign detention orders of some of those Mau Mau Governor Baring had detained during the 1950s. Nearly 20,000 European settlers left Kenya and with them a tremendous amount of foreign investment. To this day, many members of Mau Mau are fearful of telling researchers of their participation in the rebellion, and mutual recriminations remain between the families of loyalists and Mau Mau. No national monuments were ever constructed to the estimated 50,000 Kikuyu killed in the Pipeline and in the forests. Moreover, no financial compensation was ever given to those Kikuyu who had their land taken from then and redistributed to European settlers or Kikuyu loyalists. Kenyatta remained in power until 1978, overseeing an increasingly authoritarian state. After Kenyatta's death, the country was ruled by Daniel arap Moi until 2002. Finally, true multiparty elections that year brought Mwai Kibaki to office as Kenya's third president since independence. Interestingly, Kibaki defeated Uhuru Kenyatta's, Jomo's son, in this election.

In the end, it is difficult to state definitively that Mau Mau achieved it goal of land reclamation and independence from the British. Atrocities were certainly committed by both sides; however, it is clear from the evidence that the British government in London and the colonial government in Kenya violated human rights of the Kikuyu, and some argue even supported a genocidal campaign against the Kikuyu. Women were active supporters and participants of Mau Mau through oathing, sending supplies to Mau Mau, and even as combatants. In a traditional African society in the 1950s, women were clearly articulating their demands for land and freedom as vocally as were the Kikuyu men. Mau Mau women actively challenged the artificial separation between the private and public spheres, which had dominated Kikuyu culture before colonization. Paradoxically, colonization and the changes it wrought encouraged the participation of women in the public sphere and eventually in political violence against the colonial regime. The colonial government unequivocally characterized Mau Mau as degenerate terrorists who needed to be eradicated from Kenya, and this in the mind of the British necessitated equally harsh treatment of Mau Mau women.

The National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria

The role of Algerian women in the armed resistance against French occupation of the North African country is memorialized in the film *Battle of Algiers* by Gillo Pontecorvo (1966). The images of Algerian women cutting their hair and donning Western style clothes in order to gain access past cordons and checkpoints still resonates today. While women played a substantial support role in the political violence directed against France from 1954-1962, women's role in independent Algeria has been a struggle between the forces of traditionalism and some women's yearnings for more direct participation in the public sphere of life.

Macrolevel Factors

France conquered Algeria in 1830 and pursued a policy of colonization from 1830 until 1871, when the last serious indigenous resistance was broken and the territory was transferred from military to civilian rule (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 1). By the early 1900s, the substantial European minority residing in Algeria had become 'native' and were known as *pied-noirs*. Most of these Europeans were born in Algeria and felt separate, distinct, and in some ways superior to their metropolitan 'soft' compatriots who had it easy in France. Immigrants of crisis, who had fallen on hard times or were victims of political repression and war, went to Algeria. French settlers did not find El Dorado in Algeria (Talbot 1980, 10). Many of these Europeans living in Algeria were small farmers; but the majority of Muslims in Algeria had lost the most fertile lands to Europeans. By the beginning of the 20th century, wine exports to France became the mainstay of the Algerian economy.

The history of French colonization was always based on the concept of assimilation. This entailed bringing the benefits of French civilization and culture to the Muslim population of Algeria, as well as all of France's colonial territories. After World War I, an incredible rate of rural to urban migration occurred within Algeria, which caused the cities of Algeria to swell. As the urbanized population continued to increase, nationalist sentiments began to solidify. In 1926, Algerian nationalist Messali Hadj created in France the Etoile Nord-Africaine (ENA), a movement with a proletarian, nationalist, and revolutionary agenda. Although the French government banned ENA and arrested Hadj, the nationalist fire could not be extinguished. In 1937, the ENA narrowed its focus from all of the Maghreb to Algeria itself and became known as the Parti du Peuple Algérien (PPA), which was also banned within two years (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 3).

As was the case with Kenya, World War II constituted a major turning point for Algerian nationalism. First, many Algerians participated in the war under conscription. Second, France's defeat at the hands of Nazi Germany and the creation of Vichy France indicated to many Algerians that France was vulnerable. In effect, the occupation of France cut European France off from the empire. Third, the sentiments expressed in the Atlantic Charter, namely the right to self-determination, inspired Algerians that this was finally their time to achieve independence. For example, in February 1943 Ferhat Abbas, a liberal and nationalist, issued the Manifeste du Peuple Algérien. The document announced the death of Algerian support for assimilationism, called for home rule in Algeria, and loose federal ties with the mainland (Talbot 1980, 21).

On May 8, 1945, the celebrations of V-E (Victory in Europe) day in the town of Sétif, Algeria turned violent. Riots occurred between Algerian pro-independence demonstrators and the French police. The riots then expanded into the masses. Although only five percent of the Algerian population participated in the actual riots, 100 were left dead (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 4-5). The French responded with extensive repression and bombed Algerian villages. At the end of the uprising, over 1,500 Algerians were among the official fatalities. This event was certainly a harbinger of the unrest to come.

During France's ill-fated and unstable Fourth Republic (1946-1958), changes were enacted regarding the relationship between France and its department of Algeria. Most importantly, executive power was placed in the hands of a governor-general under the direction of the Minister of the Interior in Paris. The governor-general was to be assisted by an elected Algerian Assembly; however, voters were divided into two electoral colleges. The first college consisted of the European population and certain categories of Muslims, and the second college included 1.5 million Algerians (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 5).

By the late 1940s/early 1950s, these cosmetic changes in granting Algeria greater autonomy were largely deficient to counter the groundswell of nationalist sentiment. The Dutch were unsuccessful in re-colonizing Indonesia, Britain withdrew from Palestine in 1947, and France was defeated at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. The time was opportune for a challenge to France's rule in Algeria. With Indochina lost, the nationalists in Algeria began the war of national liberation revolution on 1 November 1954.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The origins of the revolutionaries who would form the nucleus of the FLN were relatively modest; most came from small towns and villages. Their educations were also modest; however, many had attended secondary school (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 7). The direction of the Algerian revolution was originally loosely directed by a small committee (the Committee of 22) created in the spring of 1954. The newly minted FLN chose the Aurès mountains as the best spot to strike first (Talbot 1980, 28). The mountains had provided refuge for men fleeing invaders or the law for centuries. A rag-tag bunch of seven hundred to three thousand Algerians assembled bombs and second-hand rifles in preparation for the November 1, 1954 uprising. Moreover, many of the French troops stationed in Algeria had just been released from Vietminh prison camps and were not in top military readiness.

The FLN did not possess a highly structured or comprehensive ideology. The ultimate goal of independence from France or *Algérie algerienne*, rather than *Algérie française* directed the means to the end. The FLN was willing to accept aid from any source, but insisted on maintaining it was a non-Marxist movement (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 12). The stated goal of the revolution was an Islamic state. Moreover, in preparation for the November uprising, the FLN divided Algeria into six military-political districts, or *wilayas*, under the head of a district chief.

The Algerian revolution began on 1 November 1954 with a series of low-level violence across the country. By this point, approximately one million *pied-noirs* called Algeria home. The attacks were directed against economic installations and government buildings, and police stations. Ambushes of automobiles carrying Algerian notables, who had been warned to cease their collaboration with the French, were targeted. The FLN specifically ordered, however, that European civilians not be harmed (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 41). The French reacted with force and alacrity and almost eradicated the FLN in its nascent phase. By December 1954, French Prime Minister Pierre Mendès France dispatched an additional 20,000 troops and twenty companies of riot police to Algeria. Between November 2, 1954 and the

fall of Mendès's government in February 1955, not one settler was killed (Talbot 1980, 39). From 1954 to the summer of 1956, the FLN largely depended upon its network of rural guerrillas to sustain the uprising, through forced participation of the local populations. By the end of 1955, most of the founders of the FLN had been killed or arrested; however, the FLN was engaging in hit and run tactics. Moreover, Algerian miners slaughtered Europeans at a mining village of El Halia, including the overseers and their families. In a scene reminiscent of the assault carried out by Kenyans against the British colonizers as described in the section on the Mau Mau, French were hacked to death and their throats were slit. In response, the French Foreign Legion arrived in the midst of the attacks and killed 1200 Algerians in reprisal (Talbot 1980, 50).

Rejecting any discussion of the Algerian 'internal affair' via the United Nations, France declared a state of emergency in early April 1955. Over the course of 1955, the number of French troops stationed in Algeria doubled to 180,000 by the year's end (Talbot 1980, 53). With France's governments dissolving on a regular basis, there was a clear lack of leadership and continuity within the French National Assembly. The French Communist Party called for bringing home all the draftees sent to Algeria, while other political parties maintained Algeria was indeed forever part of France.

Although the initial FLN attacks were supposed to avoid targeting European civilians, a campaign of targeted assassinations and mass casualty bombings of European civilians began in 1956. However, the FLN also carried out terrorist attacks against Algerians who cooperated with the French occupation force. "The FLN's use of terrorism was rationally conceived; when the FLN chose Algerian municipal officials as victims, the large number of their subsequent resignations was a logical and desired consequence" (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 22).

The FLN unleashed a fierce campaign against the Algerian population itself and forbade them to consult French doctors, midwives, pharmacists, judges, and lawyers. Also, Algerians were not permitted to smoke, drink, or amuse themselves since these activities were viewed as degenerate and part of France's master plan to keep the Algerians too preoccupied to launch a unified war of national liberation. Those who disobeyed orders not to smoke or drink were to be mutilated and have their noses or lips cut off (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 44). The FLN threw bombs and grenades into groups of Algerian workers on French construction sites and into bars or cafes frequented by the *pied-noirs* and Algerians. In particular, the FLN targeted *harkis*, Algerian soldiers serving in the French army. The main goal was to effectively terminate all cooperation between the French and Algerians and to polarize both groups' opinions about each other.

The well-known anti-colonial essayist, Frantz Fanon viewed violence as therapeutic and beneficial. "It [violence] frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and action; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect" (quoted in Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 33). However, despite the FLN's obvious use of violence, it continued to engage in non-violent political actions as well. For example, strikes were called to coincide with the opening of the United Nations General Assembly debate on the Algerian question. The famous "Casbah" slum area,

home to 80,000 Algerians and memorialized in the film *Battle of Algiers*, was the main area of insurgency and counter-insurgency tactics.

As the violence in Algeria escalated, the political stability in France collapsed. In May 1958, the Fourth Republic fell and Free French World War II hero, Charles de Gaulle, was asked to save France from itself. Once the Fifth Republic was created, which ended the period of fragile coalition governments and vested extraordinary powers in the French President, the FLN responded with the creation of the GPRA (Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria). The GPRA remained committed to its objective of total independence from France and refused to permit any other Algerian parties to represent the Algerian people in any future negotiations with de Gaulle's government. In effect, the FLN held a monopoly as the only 'representative' of the Algerian people's aspirations. This move on the part of the FLN, as we will see in subsequent chapters, was similar to the tactics utilized by the PKK in Turkey and the LTTE in Sri Lanka—the effective elimination of all other indigenous movements or parties which may have held a different vision for the future of the country.

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in the FLN

As with the case of Kenya, we must analyze how and why women in a fairly traditional society such as Algeria became actively involved in the FLN movement. However, before we examine this question and the lives of some of the women involved in the FLN, it is instructive to examine how women were involved in the public sphere, while under French colonization, prior to the war of national liberation from 1954-1962.

"French policy eschewed most interference with Islamic personal law and an unreformed shariah remained more or less intact" (Nashat and Tucker 1999, 86). At the end of the 19th century, less than 2000 Algerian girls were enrolled in school. In fact, the French colonial authorities lobbied against state-supported modern instruction for Muslim females despite the France's motto of equality, liberty, and fraternity for all of its citizens. The French colonial authorities argued that the schools would be too costly and would produce women who would not be accepted by traditional Algerian society. Despite these obstacles, Algerian women, like their counterparts in Egypt, did participate in violent collective action during the 19th century (Nashat and Tucker 1999, 89-90). This tradition was continued in the 20th century as well.

Fanon wrote, "The revolutionary war in Algeria is not a war of men. Rather the struggle for independence during the last years of the 1950s is kept alive by the women in the home" (Fanon in Decker 1991, 183). Karla Cunningham (2003) discuses three phases of women using the veil as a strategic device in the battle to rid Algeria of French influence. During the first stage of the Algerian Revolution, Algerians resisted the colonial offensive by taking up the 'cult of the veil.' Arab women, in response to France's desire to unveil her, secured her covering ever so more tightly. However, during the first stage of the Algerian revolution, only men were involved in the armed struggle. But French adaptation to resistance tactics prompted the male leaders to transform their strategy and include women in the public struggle. Hence, the male

FLN leadership accepted the utilization of women in the national liberation struggle for reasons of tactical necessity rather than viewing women necessarily as co-equals. First and foremost, Algerian women were able to evade French checkpoints more easily. Thus, the second phase of the veil led to the unveiling of Algerian women and dressing in European clothing styles to make them more European in appearance. Despite hiding bombs in purses and baby strollers, Algerian women were viewed as less threatening. It is the bombing of the Milk Bar, portrayed so vividly in Gillo Pontecorvo's *Battle of Algiers* (1966), which masterfully demonstrates the unveiled Algerian woman's ability to participate in terrorist activities. In the third phase women were transformed into mobile arsenals, by carrying "revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards, or bombs" (Cunningham 2003, 174). After the Battle of Algiers and introduction of General Jacques Massu into Algeria in 1957, the veil reappeared. "The reason is that everyone—Algerian men and women were suspected of involvement in terrorist activities. Under these circumstances, it was necessary for Algerian women to conceal the package from the eyes of the occupiers and again to cover themselves" (Decker 1991, 192).

The FLN developed its views of women within the context of French colonialism, and French colonists justified their supposed superior culture in their insistence on winning Algerian women over to European ways. The Algerian response to this cultural imperialism centered upon the politicized veil. *Al-Muhahid*, the FLN organ, proclaimed that on the first day of the revolution, "women attainted their full dignity as citizens… were more willing than ever to wear the veil as a sign of quiet affirmation and patriotism" (Tucker and Nashat 1999, 112). The FLN publicized women's participation in the war as evidence of their freedom and dignity under Islam, and thus a complete refutation to France's characterization of Algeria's backwardness vis-à-vis its treatment of women.

The actual number of women who participated in the movement is not known. Approximately, 11,000 women were registered by the Ministry of War as veterans (Lazreg 1994, 119) as compared to over 300,000 men. However, according to Djamila Amrane who has studied this subject in depth, a great number of women were not able to complete the appropriate forms for certification as war veterans. Of course, women had to be literate, which meant that a number of the rural women who participated in the war against the French were not included. Also, in cases where women worked in groups as food and refuge suppliers, only the leader was entitled to certification. Urban women comprised twenty per cent of all women involved in the war, and generally chose to join the FLN (Lazreg 1994, 120). The urban women were generally drawn from the French-educated middle class, although other classes were represented. Many of these women were employed as clerical workers, nurses, or accountants. Others in the urban areas were unemployed young women waiting to get married. Rural women, who lived in the mountainous areas where a great deal of the fighting took place, had to give refuge to the A.L.N. (Army of National Liberation) out of fear or compassion.

In the FLN, women first served as messengers and intelligence gatherers and a small percentage, perhaps around ten per cent, as actual combatants (Lazreg 1994, 124). Women took charge of maintaining an underground network of safe houses stocked with food and medical supplies. The combatant women in the FLN were

often younger and unmarried. Women joined the F.L.N. for a variety of reasons. Some women such as Djamila Bouhired had older brothers who were members of the FLN. Other times, the FLN sought out particular women who had European features; in particular, these Algerian women wearing Western dress could carry the messages, money, grenades, revolvers, and bombs through French checkpoints without suspicion. Reasons for Algerian women joining the FLN were diverse. Some women undoubtedly witnessed first hand the brutality of French rule, including women being raped and their male relatives being beaten by French police and military officials. Other women followed into a family tradition of resistance, and others wanted to give meaning to their life (Lazreg 1994, 123). "Some of the most publicized combatants of the FLN were women: Jamil Buhrayd was only 22 years of age when arrested while operating as a liaison agent. She was wounded during her arrest, tortured in interrogation, and condemned to death in 1957. Her execution was never carried out, but she spent the remainder of the war incarcerated in France. While *al-Mujahid*, the organ of the FLN, recognized her as the most famous Algerian woman, she was not alone. Other women, such as Jamilah Bupasha, Zohrah Drif, and Djohar Akru were jailed and tortured as FLN urban agents (Tucker and Nashat 1999, 112).

Zohrah Drif, a blond Algerian, was twenty years old and a student in the Faculty of Law at the University of Algiers when she set a bomb at the Milk Bar café in September 1956, which killed three French youths and injured dozens. She was the daughter of a respected Islamic judge. During World War II, her father told her that Germany's invasion of France was God's revenge against the French for their horrible treatment of Muslims. She was moved to action when she witnessed the guillotining of two FLN leaders at the infamous Barbarossa Prison in Algiers. In high school, she became aware of the massacre of peaceful Algerian demonstrations in Sétif at the end of World War II. Much like the August Revolution in Vietnam in 1945, the Algerians believed that with the end of World War II, their quest for national self-determination would finally be recognized by a humbled France.

She was captured in early October 1957 along with Saadi Yacef,[1] reportedly her boyfriend at the time in the Casbah of Algiers by members of the French Foreign Legion, After a multi-hour standoff, Yacef and Zohrah surrendered. In August 1958, she was sentenced to 20 years of hard labor by the military tribunal of Algiers for terrorism and was locked up in the women's section of the Barbarossa prison. She published a 20-page treatise entitled *The Death of My Brothers* in 1960 while in prison. Drif was pardoned by de Gaulle in 1962. Today, she is a retired lawyer and longtime senior member of the Algerian Senate, and speaks at various regional meetings on issues related to women's socioeconomic equality. She married Rabah Bitat, one of the chief founders of the Algerian revolution. In a 2006 interview with Reuters, the 70 year old Drif was unremorseful about her actions during the war. She said, "Political methods had reached their limits and I was convinced that effectiveness

1 Yacef was sentenced to death three times, escaped execution, and then was pardoned at the end of the war. He played himself as El-hadi Jaffar in *Battle of Algiers.*

lay in armed action. I made that choice. Consequently, planting a bomb seemed to be to be the minimum I should do. The problem was to do it successfully."[2]

In an article[3] comparing Russian President Putin's war in Chechnya to Charles de Gaulle's war in Algeria, Matthew Evangelista, a noted Russian expert, asks the question: what motivated women to join the violent struggle against the French? Interestingly, he does not ask the same question of the male FLN leadership. Of course, he cites personal reasons as one factor. Evangelista discusses that in Saadi Yacef's memoirs, he convinced reluctant female bombers that they would be avenging the deaths of innocent Muslim children who had been slaughtered by French bombs planted in the tight alleyways of the Casbah. Zohrah Drif, however, in various interviews claims that she actively wanted to join a terrorist group and participate in armed action rather than harboring FLN fighters in safe houses or serving as a nurse or a secretary.

Will Jensen's study of Algerian women during the 1970s and 1980s showed that those who earned a living, moved freely in public places, and were politically active tended to be 'women without men'—they were by and large widowed, divorced, or orphaned females (Nashat and Tucker 1999, 107). Working as bath house attendants, washers of the dead, religious leaders, or local politicians, these women were socially marginalized and were regarded as not conforming to gender norms regarding women and work.

Moreover, when faced with economic and political problems after the war, the new government of Algeria tended to undercut the gains women had made through the theme of cultural continuity (Tucker and Nashat 1999, 112). Under the post-1962 authoritarian, socialist government civil society groups had to be sanctioned by the government. For example, the National Union of Algerian Women was instructed by the state to serve the woman's interest as wife and mother and not to abandon the ethical code deeply held by the people (Tucker and Nashat 1999, 112). This sentiment is best expressed in a 1980 interview FLN operative Fatma Baïchi gave to Djamila Amrane (1999b) when Baïchi was 50 years old.

Fatma Baïchi Fatma was born in Algeria in 1931, became engaged in 1945 and joined the FLN at the age of 17. She acted as a liaison to get *Fedaayin* through the residential areas. As a young girl attending the meetings of the Algerian Communist Party, she tells Amrane she always had a burning desire to fight. Even though her older brother did not want her to join the Communist party, her younger brother would help her sneak out of the house and cover for her with Fatma's step-mother. Fatma gave safe harbor to two members of the FLN, which eventually led to her arrest in June 1957. As she relates the circumstances of her first arrest, Fatma said a double agent named Houria, who was a member of the FLN but was then tortured by the French and started providing information to the French about FLN leaders and

2 Accessed from http://wahdah.blogspot.com/2006_09_01_archive.html on 25 May 2007.

3 Matthew Evangelista. (October 2005). "Is Putin the New De Gaulle? A Comparison of the Chechen and Algerian Wars." The Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies. Cornell University, New York.

operatives, showed up one day at Fatma's door seeking refuge. After two rebuffs to Houria's request, Fatma relented the third time. At that point, the French police burst into Fatma's house and arrested her. Fatma was then moved to multiple interrogation centers where she was stripped naked, beaten, and electrocuted. At night, men in hoods would come into the prisons to identify the prisoners. Eventually, Fatma's brothers were also arrested even though she repeatedly told her interrogators that her brothers were not involved in the FLN and that she did not know personally any of the FLN leaders. She was moved to various prisons where sometimes she was only one of a few women. In September 1957, she arrived at the prison Serkadji where she was reunited with many of her FLN sisters. The women were kept in a separate dormitory; however, the executions were frequent. Men were hung to the cries of "Tahia El Djazaïr" (Long Live Algeria) and "Allah Akbar" (God is Great). The guards would then rush into the prison cells, using brute force to subdue the incarcerated. After each execution, the prisoners would refuse food as an act of defiance.

After three years of being shuttled to various prisons and enduring both psychological and physical torture, Fatma was released. In 1961 she was married to a family neighbor and was then expected to fulfill her traditional role in Algerian society. In the interview, she laments how she could no longer work and remain active in the resistance. Her husband prevented her from leaving the house to see her FLN sisters. Once her children became more independent, she began to test her freedom and she related that her husband, because he is old and tired now, lets her freely go out and do what she wishes, but the days of the revolution are now over and there is no cause any longer worth fighting for.

Djamila Boupacha Another woman who captured the attention of the world through her story of torture at the hands of the French authorities is Djamila Boupacha. Boupacha was arrested at the age of 22 for allegedly planting a bomb in a university cafeteria in September 1959. The bomb was dismantled before it detonated. Almost all members of the Boupacha family were arrested, interrogated, and tortured. Boupacha 'confessed' to planting the bomb in the university cafeteria after enduring over thirty days of torture, including having a bottle forcibly inserted into her vagina, electrocution, and multiple beatings. Her brother, who was also incarcerated, was able to get a letter to the French lawyer, Gisèle Halimi, of Tunisian descent, who agreed to represent Djamila before her military court trial. Eventually, Djamila's story of torture enraged many French intellectuals and the world, including the famed French feminist and companion of Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir. De Beauvoir eagerly agreed to lead the Djamila Boupacha committee in Paris, which sought to bring to the mainstream French public the truth of what 'civilized' France was doing to maintain Algeria as part of its fading empire.

Djamila never denied her affiliation with the FLN and admitted to acting as an FLN liaison, hiding FLN members in her house, and distributing FLN propaganda. Her FLN undercover name was "Khelida." She told her lawyer that she was proud to be a member of the FLN but harbored no enmity towards France. In Djamila's mind, the Algerian people had no other choice but to take up arms in order to be free. She was offered an acquittal if she would accede to a psychiatric evaluation

whereupon she would be declared insane under the penal code. Subsequently, she would not be held responsible for her actions (the planting of the bomb), but likewise her allegations of torture would also be summarily dismissed. Djamila refused this offer.

Djamila's lawyer, Halimi, received the letter from Djamila's brother in April 1960. Djamila was detained at Barbarossa prison in Algiers. The Boupacha home had been raided in February 1960 on a tip from an informer that two leaders of the FLN could be captured there. The FLN leaders were not found and subsequently Djamila's father, brother, and sister were taken into custody. Upon interrogation, Djamila did not deny having aided the two FLN leaders, Si Djamal and Si Mourad, in the past but denied knowing their current whereabouts. After witnessing her father's torture and subsequently being stripped naked with electrical wires taped to her nipples, Djamila was then sent back to the same cell, but this time a new prisoner was her cellmate. This Algerian woman named Zineb Laroussi was actually a criminal turned informant for the authorities. Zineb tried to convince Djamila that she too was a committed member of the FLN. Djamila did not offer Zineb any details of her involvement with the FLN, rightfully fearing a trap. However, it was Zineb who told Djamila of the condition she was brought back to in the cell, unconscious and bleeding profusely, once Djamila had been vaginally penetrated with a beer bottle.

On 15 March 1960, Djamila signed her pre-written confession before the magistrate, Monsieur Berard. When asked if she had anything else to add to the statement, Djamila spoke of the torture she had already endured, despite having been told by the police who escorted her that she should say nothing else to the magistrate and simply sign the pre-written confession about the university bombing. However, upon signing the confession, she added that she wanted to be examined by a doctor. In particular, Djamila was extremely concerned that her sexual torture had compromised her virginity, thus making her ability to be married in traditional Algerian society next to impossible.

Her trial in a military court was set for June 1960. Djamila's attorney, Halimi, was only permitted to visit Algeria for 48 hours to gather testimony from her new client. Meeting in the prison courtyard, Halimi dutifully took notes outlining all the events which had transpired in the past few months. The two women bonded instantly, and at that point Halimi became utterly committed to mounting a vigorous defense on behalf of her client. However, numerous obstacles were set forth in Halimi's path, but Halimi eventually succeeded in having a civil suit filed regarding the use of torture to extract confessions.

First, a doctor instructed by the presiding magistrate to examine Djamila gave conflicting testimony. In his written report to the court, he stated that he did not give Djamila a gynecological exam because of the embarrassment it would have caused both of them, but then also stated that she had "menstrual troubles of a constitutional nature" (de Beauvoir and Halimi 1962, 52). Second, the authorities in Algeria would only permit Halimi to stay in the country for a very specific period of time. In a completely farcical turn of events, Djamila's trial was to take place on 17 June 1960; however, Halimi only was granted permission to remain in the country from 7 June-15 June 1960. Therefore, Djamila would have to appear in court without her Parisian

defense counsel. Third, photographs of all the police and military personnel who came in contact with Djamila since the night of the raid on her house and during the thirty-three days she was interrogated before signing her 'confession' were denied at the request of Halimi. Fourth, the French government attempted to quash the articles being penned by Simone de Beauvoir and others condemning the handling of the case of Djamila.

The Djamila Boupcha Committee, based in Paris and led by de Beauvoir, became convinced that it was absolutely necessary to remove the case from the jurisdiction of the Algerian courts. Press conferences were organized for French and foreign journalists, and meetings were conducted with officials in Paris. Former French Resistance fighters joined the committee and argued that what France was condoning in Algeria was tantamount to the Nazi atrocities. In the committee's meeting with Monsieur Michelet, France's Minister of Justice, he assured the committee that the articles being written by the French intellectuals on the side of Djamila were depressing the spirits of the military in France and that if this treatment of Djamila in fact occurred, it then must be the case of a 'few bad apples' and not part of a systematic plan to subjugate and pacify the Algerian population.

As Halimi endeavored to represent her client as best she could from Paris, the hearings in Algeria continued. Djamila's cellmate, Zineb, who was a prison informant, testified that Djamila had suffered no physical torture as far she could tell and had only been removed from the cell for thirty minutes at the most. This was the same Zineb who when Djamila awoke from her unconsciousness, tried to comfort Djamila to some degree and even told other female prisoners of the torture Djamila had endured. Also, the officials who were called into testify before the Algerian military court all said they were positively hurt that Djamila would accuse them of such atrocities since they had 'coddled' her and that she even made jokes with them as she signed the confession in March 1960. Eventually, though, the committee's efforts paid off and at the end of June 1960, the presiding magistrate in Algeria agreed to allow Djamila to be flown to France to pursue her civil suit alleging torture. The argument presented by Halimi that the civil suit on torture must be settled before the military case against Djamila in Algeria could be concluded succeeded. However, the magistrate held that Djamila's transfer to France was the sole financial responsibility of her lawyer, Halimi. The Djamila Boupacha Committee wired the 125,000 francs to Algeria and the cause célèbre of Ms. Boupacha was safely deposited in France vis-à-vis a military plane a few days later.

Djamila underwent another round of medical and psychological examinations at the Fresnes prison in Paris. Given the lapsed time between the initial allegations of torture and her examination in France, the doctors concluded that she *could* have been 'deflowered' with a bottle inserted forcibly in her vagina, but they could not definitively conclude this to be the case. Moreover, the faints scars on her body *could* be consistent with cigarette burns as she claimed. The psychologist's assessment of Djamila was that she was of sound mind, committed to the FLN cause, and incapable of lying. At last in December 1960, Djamila's case was adjourned permanently from the Algerian jurisdiction and transferred to Caen, France. Upon hearing the good news, Djamila wrote a letter to the Committee which had worked so fervently on her behalf. Here is an excerpt:

> Let me offer you my very best wishes for 1961. The thing I desire above all is peace, and I know that this is your most deeply felt wish too. And it is because Frenchmen such as you exist that we can still hope for friendly relations between our two countries, despite all the violence and cruelty we have suffered on top of a lengthy period of colonization and oppression. But you can put your trust in us too: when the war is over we will know better than to succumb to the sort of racial prejudice from which we ourselves have suffered. Let the end come quickly, so that we can at last get rid of this weight of hatred that lies so heavily upon us (de Beauvoir and Halimi 1962, 134).

Djamila's parents and sister both traveled to France to testify as well. After their testimony, the presiding magistrate in France ordered his Algerian counterparts to produce more documentation from the time of the raid on the Boupacha home until her transfer to France. Meanwhile, two Algerian women who were detained in the same prison as Djamila offered to testify on behalf of her claims, so long as they testified in France and not Algeria. By November 1961, the case was still open and Djamila had now gone on a hunger strike. In an interesting turn of events, the jail informant Zineb had even confessed that she had lied to the magistrates in Algiers and had seen the bloodstains on Djamila's nightshirt when she was returned to the cell after being violated and had cared for Djamila while she was unconscious. Zineb related to the court how she was visited by some officials who threatened her with disappearance if she changed her story regarding Djamila's treatment.

As the case continued, political negotiations were underway between de Gaulle's government and the FLN in Algeria. In March 1962, the Evian agreement came into force. On 20 March 1962, an amnesty was declared for all Muslim political prisoners. Djamila Boupacha was released on 21 April 1962. Under the amnesty agreement, extant court cases, such as Djamila's were discontinued.

Despite women's involvement in the Algerian war of national liberation, women were nearly absent in leadership positions within the FLN as well as the Algerian Government in Exile in Tunisia (Lazreg 1994: 125). Algerian women's agency in choosing to join the FLN is often suspect. Like many of the other case studies examined in this book, women's involvement in political violence often occurs through a social network. Algerian women's equality in the FLN is doubtful; however, according to the historian Alistair Horne, "on the whole the FLN woman was treated with respect never experienced before either from her menfolk or from even the most liberal French emancipators" (Lazreg 1994, 133). Women's participation in political violence against the French colonial regime certainly challenged existing gender relations in traditional Algerian society. While women's participation in the liberation movement has been viewed as regrettable but strategically necessary by some observers such as Frantz Fanon (Lazreg 1994, 126), Algerian women experienced jail and torture, took charge of businesses and farms while their male relatives were fighting, provided critical support services for the sustainability of the FLN, and forged bonds with one another which transcended ethnicity, class, and geographical origins. While the FLN certainly did not espouse an avowedly feminist agenda, Algerian women made tremendous sacrifices in the name of liberation for their country, and many of these same women hoped that through their sacrifice their rights would be automatically recognized once independence was achieved.

Governmental Response to the FLN

The French government responded to the Algerian situation with a combination of political overtures and military tactics. A moderate solution, like those reached in Tunisia and Morocco, was impossible—namely because Algeria maintained such a large settler population. Most notably, the French utilized torture to elicit information from FLN members. An interesting part to the Algerian case was the creation of the *Organisation armée secrète* (OAS) in Algeria, which was comprised of *pied noirs* who did not agree with Paris's political dialogue with the FLN. Finally, French citizens and Algerians living in France also constituted an important network for keeping the war of national liberation financed and stockpiled with weapons.

With the onset of the Battle of Algiers, Governor-General Robert Lacoste ordered the Tenth Paratroop Division into Algiers in January 1957. General Jacques Massu, the Commander of the division and a veteran of the Free French forces with considerable experience in Indochina and Suez, became the de facto police chief of Algiers. Due to the enactment of the Special Powers Law, he was given carte blanche to bring the FLN to its knees. With 8000 men under his control, Massu famously used torture to elicit information about FLN cells. While the FLN's leadership fled to Tunis, the operatives within the FLN were subjected to the following torture tactics: beatings, water deprivation, splinters pushed under their nails and toes, lighted cigarettes pressed on their flesh, bottles rammed into vaginas, and bodies twisted and contorted by means of pulleys and ropes (Talbot 1980, 88). Some members of the French press and intelligentsia, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, condemned the torture. As described in the Djamila Boupacha case, the feminist and intellectual Simone de Beauvoir marshaled all of her resources to condemn the entire war and of course the treatment of this one Algerian woman. Articles appeared in *Le* Monde and other publications. Letters of support for the committee poured in from France and all over the world.

Many members of the Jeanson network, comprised of French men and women who actively supported the FLN, contend that the use of torture was the major turning point in their moral outrage against the war in Algeria. Drawing upon the symbolism of the French Resistance, both male and female French sympathizers, believed it was their absolute duty to uphold the ideals of the French Revolution by actively supplying financing and weapons to the FLN. In September 1960, twenty members of the Jeanson network went on trial in the same courtroom where Alfred Dreyfus had been convicted six decades earlier (Talbot 1980, 171). Moreover, over one hundred artists and writers issued a manifesto supporting the "Right to Draft Resistance" in the Algerian War. Consciously drawing upon the ghost of Dreyfus defender Emile Zola, the signers of the manifesto were somewhat ostracized from gaining work in France. Moreover, some war veterans organized demonstrations to denounce the manifesto. Back in Paris, the government scrutinized the publications in Paris and sometimes confiscated the papers before they hit the newsstands in the morning if they included offending material (Talbot 1980, 107). The French government recognized the "Battle of Algiers" also included a battle for the hearts and minds of French citizens regarding the righteousness of the cause—to keep Algeria part of France.

As many have said "only President Nixon could have gone to China", the same holds true of de Gaulle for Algeria. It is important to keep in mind that the Fourth Republic government was overthrown by the military in May 1958 because it was rumored that the government of Prime Minister Pierre Pfimlin favored negotiations. De Gaulle's government would need full powers for six months to regain order; therefore, the French National Assembly was prorogued until the end of 1958. This was an extraordinary concession to presidential power by any account. In the interim, de Gaulle took to the airwaves and declared the army could not remain a state within a state (Talbot 1980, 143). In October 1958, de Gaulle made his first overture to the FLN. The FLN's struggle had become pointless, and the time had come for a "peace of the brave." Assuring FLN operatives safe passage to Paris if they wanted to talk, he became the first French leader since 1954 to describe the FLN as something more than terrorists.

De Gaulle, owing his rise to power to a collection of right-wing interest groups and the military, nonetheless deftly made the Algerian question more malleable. Executions of FLN prisoners were temporarily halted, and when an attempt at a mutual cease-fire failed, de Gaulle decreed a unilateral truce (Crenshaw Hutchison 1978, 107). At the end of August 1959, he traveled to Algeria for the first time and spoke to Algerians directly (Talbot 1980, 151). In September 1959, he gave his self-determination address. He laid out three options: (1) independence or secession which de Gaulle warned would lead to dreadful poverty, political chaos, and a dictatorship by the communists for Algerians; (2) "Frenchification", which meant the same as integration; and (3) Algeria could remain associated with France, have a government of Algeria by Algerians, but France would take a hand in economic development, defense, and conduct of foreign relations.

Despite de Gaulle's lack of support from the majority of *pied noirs* in Algeria, two out of three mainland French citizens supported de Gaulle's overtures to the FLN (Talbot 1980, 154). The first negotiations between de Gaulle's government and the FLN took place in June 1960. In the summer of 1960, de Gaulle began talking publicly of an *Algérie algérienne*, and carried this sentiment on throughout the year in other speeches (Talbot 1980, 182). Army activists now believed that de Gaulle was no longer in support of maintaining Algeria under French control and the plotting for a putsch began. General Salan, who had once been a supporter of de Gaulle, led the unsuccessful April 1961 putsch and the OAS.[4] De Gaulle took to the airwaves and railed against the coup plotters. By the end of July 1961, nearly all the leaders had been tried; others went underground and many were condemned to death in absentia (Talbot 1980, 213).

The January 1961 referendum vote was preceded by violent pro-independence demonstrations in Algeria. However, the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of independence and in March 1962, the Evian Accords granted the FLN complete

4 The OAS was a short-lived French nationalist political-military underground organization formed in January 1961, which used violence in an attempt to prevent Algeria's independence. Founded in Spain by disaffected officers and former members of the French Foreign Legion, the OAS engaged in acts of sabotage and assassination in both France and French Algerian territories.

independence and sovereignty (Talbot 1980, 17). The OAS responded to this announcement with a last ditch effort to instigate a mass Algerian uprising which would then force the French army to intervene and save European lives, thus torpedoing de Gaulle's political settlement. However, the OAS's attempt was in vein. Within a year of Evian, fewer than 200,000 of the one million *pied-noirs* remained in Algeria. After an unsuccessful assassination attempt on de Gaulle's life in August 1962, the OAS disappeared.

At the end of the war in 1962, between 200,000 to 300,000 Algerians were compromised due to their cooperation with France. Much like the Vietnamese who had cooperated with the United States during the war, these Algerians became the victims of retaliation. It is estimated that 50-60,000 Algerians suffered some form of retaliation in the months after the war was over (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 65). In the end, it was not so much that the FLN won, but that the French lost the war (Crenshaw Hutchinson 1978, 151). Over eight years of the Algerian war, 17,000 French soldiers lost their lives while the Algerian government claimed at least 300,000 dead—some of whom died at the hands of the French military, the OAS, and the FLN (Talbot 1980, 246). Ahmed Ben Bella was elected the first President of an independent Algeria but was deposed by army strongman and close friend Hourai Boumédiènne in 1965.

Vietnam's "Long Haired Warriors"

No twentieth century American initiated war remains as divisive an issue as the Vietnam War, or as the Vietnamese people call it the "American War." However, before American military personnel traveled thousands of miles afar from the United States to vanquish the foe of communism and prevent the 'domino theory' from being actualized, the French had fought and lost against the Vietnamese people at the famous battle of Dien Bien Phu. When analyzing the Algerian conflict, many scholars argue the French defeat and ultimate withdrawal in Vietnam was one of the main reasons why the French refused to allow Algeria to become independent. This case study will examine the involvement of Vietnamese women in both the war of national liberation against the French and also the Americans. Americans may not view the Vietnam War as a war of national liberation, but for the Vietnamese, it was a continuation of the war waged successfully against the French for the ultimate right to self-determination, as first codified in the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I.

Macrolevel Factors

There is no definitive date for the beginning of Vietnamese history, nor the time period for which Vietnam existed as a distinct nation of people before the Chinese invasion in 111 B.C.E (Eisen 1984, 12). Archaeologists, however, have discovered that a vibrant Bronze Age civilization flourished in the region known today as Vietnam 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. Chinese invaders overturned the communalism, which marked the early society, and left an indelible mark on both

Vietnamese history and culture. The Chinese ruled Vietnam for a thousand years until 981 A.D. Once the Chinese were expelled, Buddhism became the state religion during the reign of various Vietnamese emperors.

It took the French nearly forty years to completely conquer all of Vietnam. The French first appeared off the coast in 1847, and tried to force the government to accept unfair trade agreements (Eisen 1984, 22). In 1858, 3000 French troops landed and officially commenced the brutal conquest. Peasants fought back; however, the corrupt Vietnamese king signed more treaties with the French, granting more territory to the French and usurping any hope for a successful peasant revolt. By 1884 the French were dominant all throughout Vietnam, and in the mode of all colonizing powers practiced a divide and conquer strategy to pacify the people. The three Vietnamese components, Tonkin, Annam, and Cochin China, along with Laos and Cambodia comprised French Indochina, a vital part of the French empire.

French colonization of Vietnam was extremely brutal. Peasants were kidnapped to build a railway to ship goods to the port cities. Coal mines and rubber plantations sent tens of thousands of Vietnamese to early graves. Moreover, a repressive taxation system was enforced where peasants lost all their land because they had to pay interest rates over 3,000 per cent to afford the loans necessary to pay the tax collectors. By 1930, the French had two-thirds of the cultivated land in the country under their control (Eisen 1984, 23).

The intervention of World War II brought some hope to the Vietnamese people. With the collapse of the French government in 1940 and the establishment of the Vichy regime, many Vietnamese initially thought the Japanese would act as their liberators. However, this hope was quickly dashed as the Japanese continued the brutal repression of the French. A horrific famine occurred in 1944-1945 which took over two million lives. With the defeat of the Japanese imperial regime in August 1945, the Vietnamese people felt that had at last achieved the independence Ho Chi Minh had argued for at the Versailles conference in 1919. The "August Revolution" swept the country. On September 2, 1945 Ho Chi Minh issued Vietnam's declaration of independence from France. Emperor Bao Dai, who had cooperated with the French, fled from Hanoi. Ho Chi Minh became the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; however, France, battered and bruised, would try desperately to reassert its control over the Vietnamese people for almost a decade after the conclusion of World War II.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The main organization which agitated for independence from France even prior to World War II was the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP). It set out two basic goals: to fight against French colonialism to achieve national liberation and to fight against feudalism to gain land for the peasants (Eisen 1984, 85). Also, the ICP was explicitly concerned about women's issues. The ICP leadership established a separate women's organization to mobilize women for the national struggle and equal rights, including equal pay for equal work, full paid maternity leave, and the abolition of polygamy. Women ICP members organized mass demonstrations and organized women-led strikes at rubber plantations in the early 1930s. Women cadres were often hidden in

the homes of peasant families as they crisscrossed the countryside organizing and spreading the ICP's propaganda. At funerals and weddings, ICP female cadres would use these opportunities to distribute their materials since these were the only types of group activity legally permitted by the French colonial administration (Eisen 1984, 98). Members of the ICP used aliases and left meetings one by one. Therefore, if one member was arrested and tortured by the French, she would have little information to reveal.

The ICP definitely challenged the traditional values of Vietnam in the early twentieth century. The traditional family was patriarchal and authoritarian (Tétreault 1994, 113). Male domination in society had been embedded since the rule of the Chinese for nearly 1000 years. The French colonial regime continued its patriarchal practices and only in the early twentieth century were proposals for women's formal education made by Vietnamese intellectuals. However, "women's liberation was part of the generalization of grievances that permitted a broad-based assault on the colonial regime. In Ho Chi Minh's words, women are half of the people. If women are not free, then the people are not free" (Tétreault 1994, 114).

The ICP even sent Nguyen Thi Minh Khai to represent the ICP at the Seventh International Congress in Moscow in 1935. Women carried the bulk of the supplies to the secret bases of the revolutionaries. Nguyen Thi Minh Khai was seen as such a revolutionary figure of the Vietnamese people that the French captured and guillotined her in 1941. The ICP was the locus of power for the Viet Minh, a united coalition of Vietnamese formed by Ho Chi Minh in 1941, to fight against the new aggressors, the Japanese.

After the defeat of the Japanese and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by Ho Chi Minh, the 1946 constitution proclaimed economic and political equality of both sexes, defined the rights of women within the family structure, and provided for female suffrage. Vietnamese women voted for the first time in January 1946 and elected ten women to serve in the national legislature (Tétreault 1994, 115). Despite this auspicious beginning, the French War or First Indochina War commenced in 1946. The French, with American backing, had set up an artificial country in South Vietnam with the capital of Saigon in 1950. Bao Dai was reinstated as Emperor, and Ngo Dinh Diem was the Prime Minister. After a nine year war which climaxed with the successful routing of the French at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954, the Geneva Accords were negotiated.

The Geneva Accords recognized Viet Nam as one sovereign, independent country and arranged for a temporary partition of the country at the 17th parallel, which would facilitate the withdrawing of troops from both sides. Moreover, free elections for a new government of a reunified country were to take place in 1956. These elections never occurred, and with the creation of the American led South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954, South Vietnam was placed under the 'protective umbrella' of a U.S. security guarantee. By late 1954, the U.S. began sending aid directly to Ngo Dinh Diem's regime in the South and a year later, the U.S. was training the South Vietnamese Army directly (Eisen 1984, 30).

Republican U.S. President Eisenhower, elected in November 1952, sent the first U.S. soldiers to Vietnam in 1956 and realized that if free elections were allowed to take place, a vast majority of the Vietnamese population would vote for the

communist Ho Chi Minh. Thus, the U.S. worked to prop up Diem's regime in the south of the country even as the former Catholic seminary student, became more repressive and alienated the Buddhist majority, including the monks who famously engaged in self-immolation as a form of protest against Diem's religious intolerance. In March 1959, Diem declared a state of war against the Vietnamese communists in the South, thus labeling them "Vietcong". Subsequently, in December 1960 the National Liberation Front (NLF) was formed in opposition to Diem's dictatorship.

Reviving much of the rhetoric of the Indochinese Communist Party of the 1930s, the NLF vowed to overthrow Diem's regime and liberate the Vietnamese people from increasing U.S. intervention in Vietnam. The armed branch of the NLF became the People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF). The People's war tactics of the NLF and PLAF included strikes, community action against local civilian and military officials, sabotage, and violent political struggle (Tétrault 1994, 116). Even Madame Nhu, Diem's sister, tried to counter the Viet Minh's appeal to women by forming her own women's groups. Understandably, the NLF's political program appealed to many women. Authored around 1966, the NLF called for free general elections with universal, direct suffrage; enforcement of equality between men and women in every aspect of life; equal pay for equal work; protection of pregnant women; and a two month maternity leave with full pay before and after childbirth (Taylor 1999, 16).

Over the course of the American War, over two million Vietnamese people, soldiers and civilians were killed on all sides of the conflict. One million women were widowed and 800,000 children orphaned (Eisen 1984, 36). Over 50,000 American military personnel lost their lives, and tens of thousands were afflicted with severe physical and mental problems. The Paris Peace Accords, signed in early 1973, brought the war officially to a conclusion and reiterated the sovereign unity of the Vietnamese nation as stated in the 1954 Geneva Accords. Shortly after the withdrawal of American forces, Saigon fell to the Ho Chi Minh offensive and the country of Vietnam remains officially today a communist country despite its increasing economic liberalism, as exemplified by its entry into the World Trade Organization and a bilateral free trade agreement negotiated with the United States in 2006.

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in the French and American Wars

Women's involvement in combat and ultimately political violence begins quite early in Vietnamese recorded history. A source of great inspiration for many women who fought against the French and the Americans were the Trung sisters. In A.D. 40, the Chinese governor of Vietnam executed the noble husband of Lady Trung Trac for his revolutionary behavior, thus moving Trung Trac and her sister, Trung Nhi, to action (Jones 1997, 32). Realizing the difficulty in uniting the people against the much more powerful Chinese force, Trung Trac set out to kill a mythical tiger which had been killing and maiming people and livestock for years. Upon the slaying of the tiger, Trung Nhi then wrote out a proclamation on the tiger's skin, calling for the people of Vietnam to rise up against the Chinese overlords. The Trung sisters then chose and personally trained over three dozen women as generals for their army of 80,000. Incredibly, one of their female generals went into battle pregnant, gave birth

on the battlefield, strapped the baby to her back, and fought her way back to safety—thus, giving rise to the mother-warrior mythology which held true for many women interviewed about their battle experience in both the French and American wars. In A.D. 40, the Trung sisters led warriors in the liberation of Vietnamese towns; however, the Chinese recaptured Vietnam three years later and the Trung sisters committed suicide by drowning rather than be taken by the Chinese.

The French War

The mythology of the Trung sisters inspired many young Vietnamese women into battle against the French colonial administration. While tens of thousands of women remained nameless and faceless to historians and the Vietnamese people themselves, twentieth century "Vietnamese Joan of Arcs" also emerged to rival the valor and sacrifice of the Trung sisters. During the First Indochina War (1946-1954), some women engaged in combat while others provided vital support roles. In the early 1950s, about 840,000 female guerrillas operated in the north and some 140,000 in the south (Tétrault 1994, 115). Women engaged in community mobilization, the transport of war materiel, and intelligence gathering. During the battle of Dien Bien Phu, women transported virtually anything needed by their comrades, on their backs or balanced precariously on bicycles, through the monsoon rains. Other women played vital roles even before Dien Bien Phu.

Ho Thi Bi Ho Thi Bi came from a very poor family where her mother was a widow with three children to raise (Taylor 1999, 28). Bi became active in the resistance as a teenager, organizing boycotts against the French goods as early as 1945. She became a combatant with the Viet Minh and fought with peasants armed with knives and bamboo sticks with poisoned tips. Once the French returned in 1946 Ho Thi Bi, now married, took her three children to a nearby village and gave them to her mother to be raised. She became more determined to resist the French when they attacked her village at night, raping women, stealing livestock, and torturing people. She obtained hand grenades and taught villagers how to throw them. To break Ho Thi Bi's will, the enemy captured and killed her husband as well as her younger brother, and her youngest child died. While these traumatic events might have broken any person's will to continue the national liberation struggle, she knew she had to obey "Uncle Ho" as she was the daughter of the Vietnamese nation. The French put a price on her head, plastered her picture everywhere, yet the peasants protected her in safe houses. After the surrender of the French at Dien Bien Phu, she was ordered to arm a division of Southern party members who headed to the north of the country after the 1954 Geneva Accords.

Le Thi One woman who has given an account of her early involvement in the ICP is Le Thi (born Duong Thi Thoa), who after the war became a leading feminist scholar and activist. In an interview with Mark Sidel, she related her story, and her own essay was transcribed by Sidel (1998). Le Thi was born into a family of teachers who believed in Confucianism, yet treated both their daughters and sons equally. Thus, Le Thi was sent to school along with her brothers. Once the French government fell

in 1940, the students in her school no longer believed the French were invincible. According to Li, schoolchildren began purposely raising the French flag lower than the Vietnamese flag in the courtyard. With the coming of the Japanese, hopes for freedom were quickly dashed in Vietnam. Through the recruitment of her sister and classmates, Le Thi officially joined the network of secret Viet Minh activities in 1944. Her task was to distribute patriotic newspapers to readers, organize financial contributions for the cause, and ferry medicine and supplies to the resistance zones. Women had formed the Women's League for National Salvation, which affiliated with the Viet Minh (League for the Independence of Vietnam). They engaged secretively in martial arts training, weapons instruction, and other activities (Sidel 1998, 1023), all without the knowledge or approval of her parents. Le Thi also cooked for the men in the resistance zones. Le Thi's brush with immortality was when she was chosen to go up on the reviewing stand in Ba Dinh Square on September 2, 1945 and raise the Vietnamese flag of independence, along with another woman named Dam Thi Loan.

Le Thi's entire family was involved in the national liberation struggle in some capacity. One of her sisters became a broadcaster for the revolutionary government of Vietnam's radio station. She officially joined the Communist Party and trained by day in self-defense and combat classes and at night taught illiterate peasants how to read. In December 1946, she joined the Willing-to-Die Military Battalion and participated in fighting until February 1947. She severed the ties to her family and became a professional revolutionary and female cadre until the French defeat in 1954.

Ut Tich Another woman who exemplified the chapter title is Ut Tich. Women, such as Ut Tich, were expected to carry out three responsibilities in the cause of national liberation: taking responsibility for the household and raising the children while the men went off to fight; assuming the primary responsibility of food production to feed the soldiers; and being prepared to fight in place of husbands who went off to fight and might not return for years (Taylor 1999, 9). Ut Tich was born into an impoverished family. Her father died of exhaustion while laboring for the French occupiers. As a small child, she was hired out for menial housework to a wealthy French landowner, who beat her regularly. When the August Revolution of 1945 erupted, she took the opportunity to flee her situation and found an uncle who was equally as oppressive. Coming upon some documents detailing Ho Chi Minh's plans to overthrow the French, she handed the documents over to a cadre so the plans did not fall into the hands of the French. She was rewarded for her bravery and then became a liaison for resistance fighters at the age of 15. She informed her comrades of an impending attack by the French in 1946 and was allowed to participate in the ambush against the French as a reward for her loyalty. Ut Tich worked to reeducate soldiers of the Saigon government to join the resistance and offered her services as an ambulance attendant. Fulfilling the ultimate mother/warrior duty, she was a mother to six children while she and her husband planned and executed ambushes for the enemy. Even throughout pregnancies, she continued the war of national liberation. Earning the title of Heroine of the Liberation Army in early 1965, Ut Tich's life and service was featured in the NLF's 1965 booklet entitled "Brilliant Examples to

Emulate: The Distinguished Services of Women Fighters." Ut Tich probably died in 1965. "No doubt many of these stories have been embellished over time, but it is important to note that these women were always portrayed as loving mothers and loyal wives who did not forget their Confucian heritage" (Taylor 1999, 12).

Nguyen Thi Dinh Nguyen Thi Dinh of Ben Tre province in the southern part of Vietnam entered the resistance against the French in 1937 at the age of 17. Her memoir *No Other Road to Take* (published in 1965) details her involvement in the war against the French and then eventually against Diem's regime and his American backers. Born the youngest of ten children, she was educated at home by an older brother and became involved in the communist movement against the French occupation by innocently enough distributing propaganda pamphlets for her older brother, who was deeply involved in the movement. She would rise in the middle of the night to row a boat out in the water for the men to catch shrimp and soon began using this time for her revolutionary work. If caught with the pamphlets, her brother told her to claim she was illiterate and say she was paid by a stranger to distribute them.

As a young girl, she noted the arrivals and departures of various cadres from her parents' house and even saw the red flag with the yellow hammer and sickle symbol tucked away for safe keeping. She witnessed brutal landlords, who controlled all of the land, come and demand outrageous payments of rent from the poor peasants and was outraged when one of the landlords demanded her mother kill Nguyen's hen to satiate his own ravenous appetite. As a young girl, she was infuriated by the injustice she saw on a daily basis and took food to her brother, Ba Chan, who was arrested and savagely beaten for six months.

Once Nguyen reached puberty, prospects of marriage abounded; however, she was committed to the revolution and would only marry if she found a husband who was equally committed as she to the revolution. In her late teenage years, she found a man named Bich. Her parents approved of the marriage and they quickly conceived a son together. Shortly after their marriage, Bich left to continue his work for the revolution but returned to witness his son's birth. Three days after the birth of their son, Bich was arrested and sent to prison. Nguyen was able to visit her husband in prison for a brief period, but then she too was arrested in July 1940. She was taken to a prison in the Ben Tre province and kept there for three weeks where she was interrogated about Bich's activities. She painfully handed her son over to her mother once she was transported to yet another prison called Ba Ra, which was near the border with Cambodia. Forced into hard labor by her French masters, she feared she would never emerge from the prison alive but did not speak of being raped. For three years she remained at Ba Ra but then due to heart problems, she was taken back to Ben Tre province and put under house arrest. Upon reconnecting with her son and family, she learned that her husband, Bich, had died in prison. As a widow at the age of 23, village officials and soldiers came to her house to make advances but she rebuffed them all.

In 1944 as the Viet Minh movement was gaining strength with the end of World War II approaching, Nguyen was assigned to mobilize and organize the women in the Chau Tanh district. Again, she left her son with her mother and reveled in the

August 1945 revolution by leading thousands of people armed with knives, sticks, bright red banners, and placards. After the 1945 August revolution, the Ben Tre Province Party Committee assigned Nguyen the task of operating in the Province Women's National Salvation Association. She was tasked with going to the districts and villages to build up the women's organization network.

Nguyen was visiting with troops when she was summoned by the Province Party Committee and given a new and special mission. She was chosen by the delegation going to the North to report to President Ho and the government, and to ask for weapons to supply the South. Flattered by this request, she also felt as though she did not have enough experience or information to transmit to Uncle Ho in the north regarding the South's commitment to resistance against the French. At 26 years of age, she set out with others to meet with Uncle Ho. Uncle Ho met personally with each member of the Southern delegation, including Nguyen. After a period of working and studying in Hanoi, she returned to the South. She was then put in charge of transporting arms to the south or the enemy's zone of occupation. With her comrades, a large old boat was commandeered and for over a week in November 1946, they sought to find the perfect landing spot where they would not be caught by the French or the Southern Vietnamese forces. Fearing they had been captured by the enemy, Nguyen hesitantly pulled out a letter of introduction which was hidden in her hair. Upon reading this letter, the comrades jumped up and down for joy and welcomed Sister Dinh.

In the early 1950s she was assigned, along with her second husband, Hai Tri, to the front to counter the French influence in south Vietnam. Her son continued to live with her mother while Nguyen and her husband farmed their rice field and prepared for guerrilla warfare and the expansion of the liberated zone. In her memoir, she discussed how many times she was almost killed. In 1952 as she was hiding in a bunker, she was captured by enemy forces with a fake identity card on her person. Fearful of being raped by her captors, she glanced toward a fence and saw a silhouette of an old woman. Thinking quickly on her feet, she called to this stranger woman as "mother" and shouted that she needed to be released in order to be with her child. This fearless older woman acted the part of Nguyen's mother; however, they were both arrested. Luckily the column of soldiers came under attack, allowing Nguyen and the old woman to escape in the confusion.

After the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, she met her second husband and son in the Ben Tre province to discuss the family going to the North. Her son wished to go to the North to study while the Ben Tre City Party Committee (communists), but Nguyen wanted her son to remain in the south since he was an effective mobilizer of students. As a dutiful mother, Nguyen accompanied her son to the North and then returned back to the South to organize the resistance against the Diem regime. During this period she disguised herself and raised pigs and poultry in the house of a villager. Diem's forces constantly harassed the villagers and all people were forced to carry an identification card by the Diem regime. "The A ID cards indicated people who were on their side; the B ID card indicated those who were Viet Cong suspects; and the C ID cards indicated genuine Viet Cong, or former members of the Resistance" (p. 49).

During this period, Nguyen also learned of the murder of her nephew by the enemy and became outraged by the daily harassment of villagers in her province. Nguyen writes, "We immediately thought that in order to survive we would have to consolidate and expand our ranks for the struggle, otherwise if we let the masses remain quiet, dispersed, and disorganized, we would all perish" (p. 51). At this point, Nguyen was committed to organizing a consolidated uprising no matter the personal cost to her. Moreover, a 'wanted' poster was circulated with her description and a reward for the capture of 'an extremely dangerous Viet Cong female.'

In preparation for the uprising in Ben Tre province which took place in January 1960, Nguyen continued her recruitment, running of arms and equipment, and lived clandestinely. She would often dress as a nun and take refuge in Buddhist pagodas, worrying constantly that her captured comrades may succumb to the torture tactics used under interrogation by the Diem regime and give Nguyen's location to the enemy forces. In her memoir, *No Other Road to Take*, she relates several stories of heroic women who withstood brutal rape, torture, and ultimately death for refusing to renounce the Viet Cong.[5]

At the end of 1959, she was engaged in her work when she was summoned to address the agroville resettlement project whereby Diem has ordered entire villages to move within a month's time. According to Nguyen's account, thousands of villagers were ordered under the threat of death to destroy hundreds of acres of rice plants. In particular one village was the designated 'model' resettlement area. President Diem's visit to this village, Thanh Thoi, was supposed to be an opportunity for the people to sing the praises of their leader; however, a riot broke out upon Diem's arrival. After a quick retreat by Diem, the notorious 10/59 decree was issued whereby sympathetic villagers who were accused and 'convicted' of harboring Viet Cong would have their property confiscated and could face execution by the guillotine.

With the arrival of Tet (the Vietnamese New Year) on the horizon, the population in a few villages in the south, including Nguyen's home province of Ben Tre, were eager to revive the spirit of the 1945 August Revolution and the 1954 defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu. Nguyen and her comrades met in early January 1960 to discuss the goals, requirements, and plans of action in Ben Tre Province. The hoped a domino effect would take place. If Ben Tre became a fully liberated zone, other provinces would take notice and also engage in guerrilla warfare against Diem and his American backers. As Diem's regime had categorized the people according to their loyalty to his regime, Nguyen and her comrades also devised a classification system. Village officials, security police agents, and informers were divided into three categories: (1) tyrants who had blood debts toward the people; (2) those who were lukewarm in the service to the Diem regime; and (3) those who had been forced to serve. Landlords were divided into three categories: (1) those who acted as henchmen for the enemy; (2) those who were neutral; and (3) those who had children serving in the revolution (p. 65). Revolutionary courts would try these individuals and enforce 'appropriate' punishments.

5 Whether these stories are fact or faction or a mixture of both is difficult to determine as this is a memoir with relatively few references.

Nguyen was put in charge of keeping track of the overall movement. In her memoir, it is important to note that she never discusses actually killing another person directly or indirectly. Heady with the prospect of success, Nguyen did not sleep for many nights as she prepared the villagers for combat, secured weapons, and coordinated informants. The Ben Tre Uprising in January 1960 succeeded in capturing ten posts held by Diem's forces and greatly undermined the foundation of the regime in the south of the country overall. In 'liberated' villages, banners were hoisted demanding the resignation of Diem and the dissolution of his puppet parliament. Uprisings spread throughout Ben Tre province as Nguyen and her comrades had hoped.

Following the uprising in late January 1960, she was appointed to the leadership committee of the NLF (National Liberation Front) Central Committee and the next year at the General Women's Congress of South Vietnam she was elected Chairman of the South Vietnam Women's Liberation Association. In 1965, she was appointed Deputy Commander of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces. Nguyen continued her work with women until her death in 1992.

The American War

In the interim period between the end of the First Indochina War and the start of the second one, women who supported the original political goals of the ICP and the Viet Minh carried out propaganda activities, such as teaching politics and stirring up hatred of local officials for their tax collecting methods, their torture, and imprisonment of those suspected to be Communists, and the drafting of their young men into the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). With the creation of the National Liberation Front in 1960, a new organization would lead the fight against the Americans.

"During the French Wars, women could decide whether to commit their lives to the resistance. But the American War had to be fought as an all-out war for national salvation. Once the able bodied men had enlisted, and then the normally exempt only sons, Catholics, and minorities were called up, only the women were left" (Turner 1998, 33). Women's role in the American War as long-haired warriors was much more evident. The origin of the term "long-haired warriors" is obscure, but Nguyen Thi Dinh stated in her memoir *No Other Road to Take* that it applied to women who in 1960 carried out face to face struggles with the enemy. Some contend that Ho Chi Minh gave the name to the women of the Ben Tre uprising and that it then gradually spread to all women in the NLF (Taylor 1999, 77). Others contend that is was more a term of derision granted by Ngo Dinh Diem to condemn these 'unfeminine' women.

Requirements for joining the NFL were simple: any female over the age of 16 and willing to cooperate in the activities of the association was eligible for membership. Most women who joined the NLF engaged in support activities such as secretarial work, cooking, mending clothes, and producing food for the front line. By 1965, the NLF claimed more than one million women amongst its members (Taylor 1999, 60).

Hanoi, the seat of the north and power base for the NLF, issued special instructions for how women revolutionaries could contribute to the cause: (1) arouse

hatred among the people toward the aggressor; (2) encourage solidarity so that the Vietnamese and the ethnic minorities would cooperate against the common enemy in the war; (3) use revolutionary violence, including assassination and terrorism; and (4) believe in and preach the inevitable victory of the NLF and the revolution (Taylor 1999, 69). Most women who fought did so in one of three ways: in village militias, which were often unarmed; as part of assassination squads or sniper units; or as guerrillas, fighting as part of a female contingent of paramilitary units in villages (Taylor 1999, 83). Women trapped soldiers in ambushes, placed feces-dipped punji stakes in pits, and planted explosive devices made from unexploded ordnance.

Some women were trained to shoot down American aircraft. One of the most famous pictures of the American War is of a 17 year old petite peasant woman named Nguyen Thi Kim Lai aiming a large rifle at a physically imposing 22 year old American soldier named Captain William Robison after his plane had been shot down during the Christmas bombing in 1972 (Taylor 1999, 110). Kim Lai led him out of the jungle where he was then imprisoned at the Hoa Lo Prison, known by American service personnel as "Hanoi Hilton." "The picture symbolized the relative size of the two antagonists, the unfairness of the conflict, the determination of the Communists to win, and the power of women. The story had a dramatic ending. Captain Robinson returned to Vietnam in May 1985, met Kim Lai in Hanoi, and asked for her forgiveness which she granted" (Taylor 1999, 110).

Women were also vital in maintaining the critical supply route known as Ho Chi Minh trail which began in the southern part of North Vietnam, ran through Laos, cut through Cambodia, and then entered the South. Many women from the North labored daily and nightly to keep the trail open, widening it, repairing it from American bombs, and making detours when necessary. Many of the women who worked on the Ho Chi Minh trail became involved through Uncle Ho's volunteer youth corps. Most were from the countryside and had no education beyond the seventh grade. Some women lied about their age and joined at age 13 (Turner 1998, 73). Women were trained with the men in communication networks, medical units, and other support personnel. Suffering unimaginable hardship, these women labored often for years by protecting ammunition depots, collecting the dead and burying them along the Ho Chi Minh trail, and even organizing entertainment, such as plays. Thousands of young women of course volunteered for thousands of various reasons. In interviews with these war veterans, some related stories of American bombs obliterating their villages and killing their loved ones while others volunteered because they felt it would provide a sense of adventure (Turner 1998, 75).

One woman, Ngo Thi Tuyen, is memorialized for helping to keep a vital bridge open called Dragon's Jaw Bridge which was a vital link for sending supplies to the South. Ngo Thi Tuyen shot down U.S. aircraft sent to destroy the bridge, dug trenches, cared for the wounded, kept the militias fed, and volunteered for dangerous assignments (Turner 1998, 55).

During the American war, Vietnamese women worked for the American military, doing laundry, shining their boots, and selling them fruit and soft drinks along with the rampant prostitution. Often these women were committed members of the NLF and PLAF (Eisen 1984, 105). They were an invaluable source of intelligence gathering for the NLF. By gaining entrance to U.S. bases during the day, they

could then relay the necessary shelling distances for the PLAF to attack at night. Women were full-time members and often leaders of the PLAF. Forty per cent of the regimental commanders of the PLAF were women (Eisen 1984, 105). Fighting in the PLAF, however, was not the only avenue for Vietnamese women's engagement in the American war. Over 100,000 women also supported the North in the South of the country by working as spies, propagandists, and weapons makers (Turner 1998, 35). It is estimated that about 60,000 women in the South took part in direct military engagements as Viet Cong soldiers against the South's Republican army and the Americans.

Despite the bravery and heroics of many of these women, their involvement in political violence often was forced rather than voluntary. One memoir which gives a much more nuanced account of the good and evil forces both at work during the American War is Le Ly Hayslip's memoir, *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places: A Vietnamese Woman's Journey from War to Peace* (1989).

Le Ly Hayslip In this memoir, the reader is presented with a vivid account detailing how Hayslip's village, Ky La, was continually torn between the Vietminh, the French, and the South Vietnamese army. Written many years after Le Ly left Vietnam in 1970 because there was a Viet Cong death warrant on her head, Hayslip vacillates between the past and present to weave a story not of righteous indignation and unflagging patriotism, but of a family caught in the middle of two wars, trying its best to survive. In 1986, she returned to Vietnam to see the father of her first son and make peace with her past.

Born into a poor peasant family who survived off the land, she was aware from an early age that her family supported the Viet Minh by digging secret tunnels under their beds and passing supplies into it. One of Le Ly's brothers even went off to fight with Viet Minh. Le Ly was close to her father as the youngest child of the family and spent many hours working with him in their fields. To pass the time, he would relate stories of heroic Vietnamese women, including the Trung sisters, who fought against the Chinese invasion. Her father told Le Ly how he and her mother were forcibly taken by the French to build a runway for their airplanes, where they worked tirelessly from sun up to sun down with only a meager bowl of rice for sustenance.

As Le Ly becomes a young teenager, she became more aware of the bloodshed and terror surrounding her in the village. The Viet Minh (called the Viet Cong by Diem's regime), come under the cover of darkness for supplies and demanded the villagers' allegiance. The children were put to work preparing the finishing touches on booby traps and decoys. The Viet Minh even killed Catholic villagers which greatly distressed a young Le Ly. During the day, the Republicans (the South Vietnamese army) also harassed the villagers, demanding food and lodging, and most importantly intelligence regarding where the Viet Minh were hiding. The Viet Cong taught the children revolutionary songs glorifying Uncle Ho Chi Minh. Moreover, these songs told the children that if they were killed, they will live on in history and that the Americans want to enslave them as the French had for over a century. At a young age, Le Ly was inducted into a secret self-defense force and was responsible for warning the Viet Cong about Republican (South Vietnamese) movements in her village.

In early 1964, during one bombardment of her village by the Republicans, Le Ly lay terrified in a burrow her family had built in the case of attacks. Despite her best efforts at evasion, she was discovered by the Republican soldiers and carted off for interrogation. Initially, she tried to play herself off as a stupid child who had no information to give; however, she was then quickly beaten severely, denied food, and kept for three days in a tiny, filthy cage. On the third day her mother and brother-in-law, who worked for the government's police force in Danang, came to retrieve her understandably distraught daughter. After her first arrest, Le Ly at the age of 15 was appointed as a sentry by the Viet Cong to report on movements of Republican soldiers. Depending on the color of shirt Le Ly wore—brown if everything was fine, white if something suspicious was happening, and black if a major threat was around—she could communicate silently with other Viet Cong scouts, who would in turn dutifully relay the information up the improvised chain of command. Due to her bravery, a planned attack by a joint Republican/American force had been aborted. Once again, Le Ly was detained and was shipped off again to Don Thi Tran prison. "We often wondered why heavily armed soldiers worried so much about us women and children, but by this time, experience had taught them never to turn their back on a villager—no matter how skinny, little, or harmless she appeared" (p. 74). Once again, her brother-in-law retrieved her from the prison but swore he would never do it again. Upon her return to the village, the Viet Cong congratulated her for her bravery and even authored a song, "Sister Ly" on her behalf which would be taught to all the children.

This momentary joy turned dark once again when Le Ly was arrested, along with a friend, by the Republican military police and sent to My Thi, a maximum security POW prison outside Danang, that even hardened Viet Cong did not like to discuss. At My Thi, Hayslip was electrocuted and tied to a post in the afternoon sun, slathered in honey, and then made to endure for hours black ants eating her flesh, immobile to move. Another family relative, a Republican uncle in the army, secured her release for half of Le Ly's dowry before more harm came to her. Despite this turn of good fortune for Le Ly and her family, her family was now ostracized by the rest of the village because everyone knew nobody was released from My Thi in less than three days. Their house was now often spared in Republican attacks, and Le Ly's father forbade her to work in the fields because of his fear she would not survive another arrest by the Republicans or Viet Cong. She was summoned by the Viet Cong to account for her betrayal, sentenced to death, and then raped in the fields as she lay wishing for a bullet to her head.

Le Ly was struck by the hardened women who returned to her village after training in the North of the country. Even though Le Ly tried to engage them in conversations about typical young adolescent issues—namely boys—she was struck by how committed they were to the cause. Once the bombardment began, she tended to the wounded as best as possible with her stolen medical supply kits and helped bury the dead. Le Ly began to see another side of the Viet Cong—the force which was supposed to be fighting to liberate its people. Suspected spies and traitors were 'tried' in kangaroo courts and summarily executed. She writes, "If the Republicans were like elephants trampling our village, the Viet Cong were like snakes that came

at us in the night. At least you could see an elephant coming and get out of is way" (p. 69).

Eventually, Le Ly's father bargained with the Viet Cong to send his wife and only remaining child at home to Saigon where Le Ly's sister worked as a servant. Her father remained in the village to tend the fields and maintain the ancestors' graves. In 1966, at the age of 15, while she was a nanny at a house in Saigon, she fell in love with the master of the house, conceived a child with him, and dreamt of their life together. Of course, this was not Le Ly's fate, and she moved to the United States in 1970. The war tore her family in two, sending brothers to the north to fight and keeping her parents on constant edge about their children's wellbeing. Her father attempted suicide while her mother eked out a menial existence doing odd jobs in Saigon and then Danang. As a new mother and desperate to provide for her baby, Le Ly sold items such as cigarettes and alcohol to American soldiers. She even risked her life to return to her village and found her father badly beaten and close to death. At this point, she nursed him back to health and was then approached by the Viet Cong. Because she had developed a 'business' relationship with the Americans at various firebases by selling her wares, the Viet Cong wanted her to smuggle explosives onto the base and blow up as many American soldiers as possible. However, the Viet Cong lost track of Le Ly's whereabouts, so she never had to carry out their demands. Shortly thereafter, her father died and she began a series of ill-fated relationships with American "boyfriends."

Upon her return to Vietnam in 1986, Le Ly now has three sons. She longs to reconnect with the family she left behind, but was concerned about her own safety. She was able to meet with the father of her first son, a Vietnamese man named Anh, who was once the wealthy master of the house who seduced Le Ly when she was 15 years old. Most importantly, she sees how the war still holds deep pain for her family—her siblings and mother are constantly worried that communist party officials will not look kindly upon an American visiting Vietnam, bringing her capitalist ways with her.

Vietnamese Women after the War

Women veterans of the war, while venerated in museums and stamps, are viewed in many ways as 'damaged goods'. Ho Chi Minh is said to have remarked frequently about the incredible toll the war would take on the female population. Women were encouraged by the NLF to return to their villages and begin families after the age of thirty; however, women's service rendered them unmarriageable, and childless female ex-combatants bear children outside of marriage with little social ostracism since this is viewed as their just reward for the years of service (Turner 1998, 23). Other female soldiers were too fearful to have children due to the damaging birth defects witnessed by the use of Agent Orange during the American war. Despite the official governmental rhetoric of recognizing the long-haired warriors' service, this generation of women is viewed with a sense of pity by many because they have irrevocably lost the essence of their womanhood. Moreover, women veterans have been vocal about criticizing the lack of a proper war pension and medical benefits for their services. In a strange and cruel twist of irony, women who were encouraged by

the predecessor to the current communist regime in Vietnam were championed for their sacrifice to the nation, but when the American War was finally over, they were expected to return to the Confucian values of decades past and produce offspring for future generations.

French and American Governmental Response

Both the French and American governments certainly recognized the importance of women's involvement in both the First and Second Indochina Wars. One place where women's history in the French war abounds is on the prison island of Con Dao, home to the former French prison of Poulo Condore (Taylor 1999, 131). In French times, the prisoners were sometimes worked to death. One story in particular of Vo Thi Sau exemplifies the commitment of the women to the national liberation cause. In 1948, after many of her friends and relatives joined the Resistance against the French, Sau became a contact for a local guerrilla force in a region about thirty-five miles north of Saigon (Grace 1974, 173). At the age of 13 she became a member of local security force. She was given a grenade to kill a French captain and wounded twelve soldiers. Then in 1949, a Vietnamese collaborator who was the canton chief of the district managed to get the French to execute hundreds of young men suspected of being Viet Minh cadres. Sau was given the responsibility of eliminating this traitor. Since ammunition was so scarce, she was given only one hand grenade. It did not explode and she was caught by the French authorities. She went through three jails and scores of torture sessions at the hands of the French and their Vietnamese collaborators. Finally, after the French failed to get any information from her, they sentenced her to death by firing squad. Since she was under the age of 18 and could not be legally executed according to the French colonial law, she was transferred to the infamous prison on Con Son island where she was executed in 1952 without a trial. France's 'anti-terrorism' tactics in Vietnam would be transferred to the Algerian situation in the later 1950s.

In the Second Indochina War, the American military certainly realized the important role women played as couriers, spies, and combatants. For example, the CIA-led Operation Phoenix sought to eliminate the Viet Cong infrastructure and destroy the NLF, but top-level cadres were targeted by the CIA and ARVN (Taylor 1999, 81). Despite the end of the American War in 1973, bloodshed in Vietnam did not cease in the 1970s due to the invasion of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces in the late 1970s and border wars with the Chinese on and off until the late 1980s. From the Trung sisters of first century to the long-haired warriors of the French and American wars, it is evident that Vietnamese women were an invaluable part of these wars of national liberation.

Chapter Summary

All three of these case studies demonstrated how women in patriarchal societies challenged the restrictions on their involvement in the public sphere and ultimately took up arms on behalf of national liberation. Women's involvement in wars of

national liberation, out of all the types of political violence explored in this book, is probably the most legitimized or accepted by outside observers. When war comes, even the women have to fight leads one to a conclusion that women would rather not fight; however, due to the impact the colonization had on their families and their nation, they were left with no other alternatives. Whether these hundreds of thousands of women would have preferred a peaceful resolution to the colonial question is not known, but it is just as erroneous to assume that the men in Kenya, Algeria, and Vietnam preferred the tactic of political violence over peaceful resolution. What is clear, however, is that in all three cases the colonial authorities certainly viewed women as a real threat to their ability to keep control over their colonial holdings. The British in Kenya as well as the French in Algeria and Vietnam certainly recognized that women were serving as liaisons, guerrilla fighters, bomb makers and planters, and in numerous other capacities. Subsequently, these women were arrested, raped, interrogated, and tortured by the thousands in an attempt to break their will and resistance. The memoirs written and interviews given by some of these women are moving to read and starkly present the true monstrosity of power and violence colonial authorities readily utilized to remain in power.

After independence for these countries, most of the women, as did the men, certainly welcomed the end of war. However, for the women who had in some cases been strategically utilized by the male leaders, these women were expected to return to their lives of domesticity and caring for children and others in the community. In a way, it was similar to the expectations about women in the United States who had worked in the industrial factories during World War II. The 1950s in the United States is widely viewed as the return to normalcy where domestic tranquility reigned supreme in the exploding suburbs, and men resumed their role as primary breadwinner and head of the household. As we saw in Kenya and Algeria, and to a lesser extent Vietnam, the women who fought on behalf of national liberation were largely excluded from leadership positions in the post-independence governments. Of course, there were exceptions. While post-colonial governments may have paid homage to the ‘long-haired warriors’ who fought, died, and suffered, they became in many respects propaganda tools of these patriarchal governments. It has been left largely up to historians and the women themselves, many of whom are now in their last years of life, to ensure that future generations in these three countries understand how women helped liberate nations under colonial oppression.

Chapter 5

Tigers, Eterras, and Republicans: Women and Ethnonational Political Violence

Ethnonational separatists are groups or organizations which view themselves as a minority population according to religious, ethnic, or linguistic differences. Often they seek secession and ultimately independence from a majority population. In some cases, these types of political demands are mainly vocalized through peaceful means; however, in other cases, political violence and terrorism are utilized. All too often, there has been a history of discrimination and sometimes even physical violence perpetrated by the majority population against the minority population, as we will see in the case of Sri Lanka. One would assume that in a democratic system, a minority population would have more legitimate and non-violent means to express its political grievances and work to achieve political objectives; however, this is not necessarily always the case as we will see in the case study of Northern Ireland. In the three case studies examined in this chapter, two groups—the LTTE of Sri Lanka and ETA (Basque Homeland and Freedom) in Spain—desire sovereign independence from the current government. In the case of Northern Ireland, the majority of Catholic Republicans favor union with the Republic of Ireland, separation from the United Kingdom, and not an independent, sovereign Northern Ireland.

As we will see in the three case studies, women's involvement in political violence encompasses the spectrum of acting mainly in support roles to participating as active perpetrators of political violence and terrorism. The LTTE, in particular, has the dubious distinction of being one of the first terrorist organizations to utilize female suicide bombers in a very lethal manner. The Basque ETA has utilized women mainly as couriers, intelligence gatherers, and facilitators of weapons movements throughout the Basque territory. Finally, there is a long history of women's involvement in Irish Republicanism beginning with Inghinidhe na hEireann (The Daughters of Ireland) and Cumann na mBan (Irishwomen's Council) in the early 20th century. After the division of the Irish Republican Army into the Official IRA and the Provisional IRA (PIRA) in the late 1960s, the PIRA utilized women in similar ways as the Basque ETA; however, some PIRA women were also bomb makers and bomb detonators. Furthermore, hundreds of suspected PIRA women were swept up by the British government in the policy known as interment, held in deplorable prison conditions, and participated in the same hunger strikes and no-wash protests as their male PIRA brethren.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)

In July 1983, Sri Lanka plunged into a devastating civil war. To date, more the 65,000 have lost their lives out of a total population of twenty million. More than 700,000 internally displaced persons and 1.3 million refugees have suffered the effects of the conflict as well (Tambiah 2005, 246). Despite numerous cease-fires and third party mediation, the conflict continues as of this writing. In fact after a relative lull in hostilities, fighting intensified in 2007. The conflict in Sri Lanka is notable for the significant number of women who participate in the LTTE as combatants and suicide bombers. The governments of Sri Lanka, Canada, and the United States classify the LTTE as a terrorist organization, and those who study terrorism consistently characterize Sri Lanka as a prime example of an ethnonational conflict.

Macrolevel Factors

An island with a rich history, Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) has been beset by civil war since 1983. As with any case study, it is important to understand the conditions on the ground which preceded the outbreak of large-scale conflict between the Sinhala-speaking majority, who are largely Buddhist and the Tamil minority, who are largely Hindu. Occupied by the Portuguese in the 16th century and by the Dutch in the 17th century, the island was ceded to the British in 1796, became a crown colony in 1802, and was united under British rule by 1815. The British became the dominant colonial power in Sri Lanka by the early 1800s. After a few bloody insurrections against British rule, Ceylon's independence was effectively quashed in 1818 when the Kandyan monarchy became a British dependency. The Kandyan peasantry were stripped of their lands by the Wastelands Ordinance and reduced to extreme poverty and destitution.

The British found that the uplands of Sri Lanka were very suited to coffee, tea, and rubber cultivation, and by the mid 19th century Ceylon tea had become a staple of the British market, bringing great wealth to a small class of white tea planters. To work the estates, the planters imported large numbers of Tamil workers as indentured laborers from south India, who soon made up ten per cent of the island's population. Economic development under British colonialism focused on the central and western areas of the island (Bloom 2005, 48). The British colonialists, following their usual practice, played one ethnic group against the others. They favored the semi-European Burghers and also certain high-caste Sri Lankans, thus fostering divisions and enmities which have survived ever since. Moreover, because the Tamil areas were less arable, more Tamils than Sinhalese took advantage of educational opportunities offered by British missionaries. This gave the Tamils more access to the civil service and higher paying jobs since they were more educated and able to speak English as well (Bloom 2005, 48).

After World War II with the cries of self-determination growing stronger throughout the colonized world, Ceylon became independent from Great Britain in 1948. Ceylon's name was changed to Sri Lanka in 1972. After independence, the Sinhalese elite ensured their political domination with the Sinhala-only policy of 1956 (Tambiah 2005, 247). This made Sinhala the sole official language, marginalizing

entirely the Tamil language and displacing English, the colonial tongue. As a result, work and promotions in the state bureaucracy for those who were Tamil or English-educated were difficult to secure. However, Tamils were better off economically than the majority Sinhalese after independence. Coinciding with the Sinhala-only language policy was a Sinhalese revivalist campaign in the 1950s and 1960s. The leaders of this movement claimed "the Sinhalese descended from Aryan migrants from Bengal in the 5th century BC; moreover, Buddha visited the island three times and consecrated it to his doctrine" (Bloom 2005, 49). The dominance of Buddhism on the island was viewed as a direct command from Buddha. As discrimination against Tamils and anti-Tamil riots increased, demands for Tamil self-determination also became steeped in a rival, chauvinistic ideology. The response to Sinhalese nationalism was the myth that Tamils were the pure Dravidian race, and they were the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka (Bloom 2005, 50). In the 1960s, Buddhism was given primacy as the state religion, and Tamils were put under a quota system for positions in the civil service and entrance into universities.

During the 1960s and 1970s the Tamils responded politically, not through terrorism. They main Tamil political party, the Federal Party, tried to represent Tamil interests through a non-violent protest movement; however, by the 1970s, more Tamils were calling for separation and outright militancy against the government. The Tamil United Liberation Front, established in 1972, was the first to call for the establishment of a separate Tamil state, but through constitutional means. In the 1970s, at least five Tamil groups emerged. One of these groups included the Tamil National Tigers (TNT). Under the leadership of Vellupillai Prabhakaran, the TNT was renamed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in 1976 and called for secession and independence. In 1979, the Sri Lankan government promulgated the Prevention of Terrorism Act which permitted the army and police, which were dominated by the Sinhalese, to hold prisoners incommunicado for up to eighteen months without a trial (Bloom 2005, 51). The legislation also allowed for confessions, made under duress or torture, to become admissible. "The PTA was made retroactive. The police and army interpreted the law as carte blanche to arrest without warrant, search, and seize families. Rather than mitigate the increasing violence between Tamils and Sinhalese, the PTA escalated it" (Bloom 2005, 52).

Since its inception in 1976, the LTTE under Prabhakaran's leadership became an increasingly efficient guerrilla organization with specialization, a clear command structure, and the capacity to hold swaths of territory, thus effectively challenging the government's sovereignty (Pedazhur 2005, 72). In 1983, the LTTE launched its first large-scale guerrilla operation. It executed an ambush and killed thirteen Sri Lankan soldiers in the Jaffna region, which is largely populated by Tamils. The bodies of the soldiers were returned mutilated and then put on public display by the government (Bloom 2005, 53). This enraged the Sinhalese community, leading to a three-day wave of anti-Tamil violence. Sinhalese burned Tamil homes and destroyed Tamil businesses and properties. Widespread looting, pillaging, and raping of Tamil women were not stopped by the police forces or Sri Lankan army. While the degree of government involvement in fomenting the anti-Tamil violence was unclear, the 'disorganized mob' the government claimed to have no control over was armed with voters lists and detailed lists of all Tamil-owned businesses (Bloom 2005, 53). Over

fifty Tamil 'terrorists' were incarcerated at a top security prison and died in police custody. The government introduced an emergency regulation which allowed the security forces to bury or cremate people they shot without revealing their identities or carry out inquiries.

After the violence was contained, support for the LTTE increased dramatically from perhaps 600 LTTE members before 1983 to 10,000 after the violence (Bloom 2005, 53). After 1983, the government established an economic blockade that not only cut off food supplies, but made it harder for the LTTE to obtain materials for weapons making (Hopgood 2005, 51). As conditions worsened, over 100,000 Tamils from the northern regions of Sri Lanka left for Tamil Nadu in Southern India. As the 1980s continued, the LTTE became the main opposition group to the Sri Lanka government, mainly because Prabhakaran decided to eliminate the other four major Tamil resistance groups. "In contrast to what might be expected from a guerrilla or a terrorist organization whose goals were national liberation, the first violent actions initiated by the Tigers were not aimed at army forces or Sinhalese politicians but rather at moderate politicians and Tamil civilians in Jaffna suspected of collaborating with the government" (Pedazhur 2005, 81). By the late 1980s, therefore, the LTTE had effectively eliminated its competition.

In 1983, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi made the decision to support the Tamil insurgency both for domestic reasons (to placate India's increasingly disgruntled Tamil population concentrated in the state of Tamil Nadu) and for foreign policy considerations (to increase regional stability given Sri Lanka's close proximity to India) (Fair 2004, 35). India's intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) executed this policy of supporting the LTTE. Within one year there were over thirty training camps in Tamil Nadu, and some 20,000 Sri Lankan insurgents were receiving sanctuary, financial support, training, and weapons. In a similar tactic to the United States government's support of the Arab Afghans or the *mujahideen* fighting against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the 1980s, India's support of the LTTE would constitute a case of 'blowback' only a few years later.

In April l987, a car bomb exploded at a bus station in the capital of Sri Lanka, Colombo, killing 113 people (Bloom 2005, 56). In July 1987, the first suicide attack took place when a LTTE member drove a truck packed with explosives into a Sri Lankan Army (SLA) camp stationed in a former college, in the north of the Jaffna peninsula. The number of casualties, ranged from 40 to 100 (Hopgood 2005, 50). The government launched an all-out offensive on Jaffna peninsula, the Tamil stronghold. At this point, the Indian government decided to intervene in the Sri Lankan crisis. "India's abrupt policy shift resulted in part from its realization that Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka could give a fillip to the separatist aspirations of India's own restless Tamil population" (Fair 2004, 35). After weeks of negotiations, the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord was signed in late July 1987 by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayweardene. The accord was supposed to outline a power sharing agreement and declared Sri Lanka a multiethnic and multilingual pluralistic society. India agreed to establish order in the north and east with an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and to cease assisting Tamil insurgents. Militant groups, although initially reluctant, agreed to surrender their arms to the IPKF. Soon the Indian army found itself fighting the LTTE it had only a few years earlier been

actively training, financing, and equipping. The IPKF withdrew its forces in 1990, and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by a female LTTE suicide bomber, Dhanu, in May 1991.

Throughout the 1990s, various cease-fires were violated. The LTTE has been responsible for executing targeted assassinations against local officials, military policemen, moderate Tamils, and political leaders and candidates. In 1997, the United States designated the LTTE as a foreign terrorist organization and Canada, Britain, and Australia shortly followed suit. In 2000 the LTTE began an offensive to retake the Jaffna Peninsula in the north of the island with over 7000 light infantry cadre; 3000 were estimated to be women (Fair 2004, 25). At the end of 2000, the LTTE experienced one of its first failures in a suicide bombing. Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga survived a suicide attack with one lost eye. Then in 2001, a damaging strike was carried out by the LTTE against Sri Lanka's only international airport, located in the capital city of Colombo. Both civilian and military aircraft were damaged and destroyed, and a score of Sri Lankan military and police officials were killed.

In 2002, many hoped a significant breakthrough had emerged with the Norwegian government brokering a lasting agreement between the two sides. However, that ceasefire is effectively moribund. In July 2004, a female suicide bomber killed four policemen and herself in Colombo, threatening the tenuous ceasefire (Alison 2004, 450). The misery of Sri Lanka was only increased when the people suffered its worst natural disaster in late 2004 when giant waves generated by an undersea earthquake off Indonesia swept ashore, killing more than 30,000 people and devastating swathes of the coast. The government did permit humanitarian aid to reach the Tamil-held areas. These hopes for peace have been dashed by an increase in the violence in the last few years. For example in June 2006, a landmine explosion ripped through a passenger bus in northern Sri Lanka, killing at least 63 people and wounding 71 in the most serious attack on civilians since the government and the LTTE signed a ceasefire agreement in 2002. Hours after the attack, the government responded with air strikes on the LTTE's positions in the northeast of Sri Lanka. Weeks later, one of Sri Lanka's most senior army generals, Major General Parami Kulatunga, was killed in a powerful bomb attack just outside Colombo, as he was driving along a main highway when his car hit an explosion. In 2006, the European Union also added the LTTE to its list of terrorist organizations.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The LTTE is best characterized as an ethno-separatist movement which wants *eelam* (freedom) for the Tamil people in the northern part of island. Initial calls for autonomy from the Sri Lankan government have now become a non-negotiable demand for secession. Led by Prabharakan since the mid-1970s, many have characterized his leadership as a personality cult. In other words, Prabkharakan is the LTTE and the LTTE is Prabkharakan. Yet, at the same time the LTTE has attracted considerable scholarly attention for its high number of women involved in the organization. It has been estimated that 30-40 per cent of the LTTE's highly effective suicide terrorism has been carried out by females (Ness 2005, 363). What makes this organization

attractive to women, and are women equals to men in the minds of the LTTE's leadership and stated goals?

Initially, LTTE women were involved in propaganda work, medical care, information collection, and fund-raising (Alison 2004, 450). Soon, however, they were given military training. In 1983, the organization founded a special section for women called the Women's Front of the Liberation Tigers. The LTTE has actively recruited women into its military force since the mid-1980s, even though all Tamil militant groups emphasized women's participation in the national liberation struggle. The women's military wing is well-organized and professional. The LTTE's naval force, the Sea Tigers, which has been responsible for numerous terrorist attacks against Sri Lankan naval vessels, and the Black Tigers, the LTTE's suicide squad,[1] contains large numbers of women.

The change in the LTTE's policy regarding the recruitment of Tamil women was due to a combination of reasons. First, there was a strategic need for more bodies due to the decimation of the young male population because of combat deaths and refugee outflows. Second, there was an ideological need to demonstrate that the LTTE was in fact an all-encompassing social movement, and not only concerned with military battles. And third, pressure came from the young Tamil women themselves to be included in the organization.

The LTTE, even though it is secular in orientation, relies heavily upon the vision of the glorious cultural past, "an imagined golden age before the perceived historical, social, and cultural degradation of the Tamil people took place" (Ness 2005, 362). In Hindu mythology, there is also a tradition of women who participate in battle and of female cadres in the Indian National Army, formed during World War II by nationalists seeking India's independence from Great Britain. In the LTTE philosophy, the continuum of Sathyabama, Krishna's wife fighting by his side, and the making of a Tamil Tigress is presented as natural and predictable (Ness 2005, 363). Female combatants, however, are kept in segregated units. They live in separate camps, run their own military organization, and plan their own projects. Marriage is also prohibited for women before the age of 25. Suicide bombers of both genders get to have their last meal with Prabhakaran (Ness 2005, 364). "LTTE female combatants are constructed not as abandoning their femininity but rather as suspending it on a situational basis; they maintain the innate qualities of femininity as recognized by the culture that surrounds them even as they kill" (Ness 2005, 364). In order to understand how women are accepted as liberation fighters/terrorists/suicide bombers in extremely patriarchal societies such as Sri Lanka and Palestine, the leadership of

1 Between the first Black Tiger death in 1987 and the 2002 ceasefire, there was an average of 16 Black Tiger deaths each year (Hopgood 2005, 53). The names of the Black Tigers are publicized by the LTTE, often with their ranks, after their operations so they can honored in Tamil newspapers and various Tamil websites. Most regular LTTE cadres do not know whether their comrades are trained as Black Tigers. Hopgood argues, "The Black Tigers are not a suicide unit in the sense that the agent must die for the operation to be a success. Given the amount of training Black Tigers seem to receive, it is obviously preferable if they do survive and return as long as the mission is accomplished" (Hopgood 2005, 72). In other words, the Black Tigers should not be necessarily viewed as a 'death cult.'

these groups has to rationalize these otherwise forbidden acts by women so as not to upset the dominant cultural and gender norms.

First, women's participation is rationalized as "desperate measures for desperate times" (Ness 2005, 366). Because the situation is so dire, women out of necessity, for the defense of religion in the case of Palestine or to defend the Tamil homeland in the case of Sri Lanka, must be called upon. However, once normal times reemerge or the glorious past is recaptured, then women will return to their 'normal' roles. Second, women's participation as suicide bombers has to be historicized in the context of women militants from the past. This is evident in the reliance upon the story of Krishna's wife fighting alongside him for the LTTE. Third, the female suicide bombers are elevated to a level in which they become awe-inspiring due to her beauty, brilliance, or piety. "The deed and she become transcendent and any contingency associated with her being female is relegated to the background" (Ness 2005, 368). In Miranda Alison's interview research with LTTE combatants and ex-combatants, she found however, that even though the female Tamil militants are revered, especially the suicide bombers, the women are not viewed as suitable wives because they are not passive enough or because they would have to leave their family at a moment's notice and go back to fight on behalf of the LTTE (Alison 2004, 458). In other words, for many female LTTE members their life it totally dedicated to armed struggle.

According to de Mel, the female suicide bomber is not liberated because her participation in terrorist attacks is still constrained by men. Moreover, these women are characterized as deviant, mentally disturbed, and sexually frustrated by those who refuse to consider their political agency or humanity (cited in Tambiah 2005, 258). Moreover, the LTTE reportedly has executed Tamil sex workers in Jaffna who had clients from the Sri Lankan army (de Mel 2004, 89). Obviously, the fear that sex workers will divulge LTTE secrets to their Sri Lankan clients could be one of the motivating forces for having them executed; however, Tamil women who make a living through prostitution are undoubtedly viewed as defiling Tamil culture. For example, Tambiah (2005) discusses the 2002 issuing of a LTTE pamphlet entitled "Let Us Preserve the Cultural Identity of Tamil Women" which called upon Tamil women to follow a prescribed dress code. While the incidence of rape of Tamil women by the Sri Lankan military, Indian peacekeepers in the late 1980s, and Tamil militants is difficult to document, Tambiah argues that women's bodies are increasingly the site of contestation between the government and the Tamil separatists. Tamil women are thus caught in an interesting paradox. "While its women cadres challenge previously prescribed gender positions through their combat roles, they are also expected to preserve national traditions, notably through sexual chastity. Civilian women too are expected to symbolize national culture and tradition through dress and sexual containment" (Tambiah 2005, 251).

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in the LTTE

The participation of women fighters in the LTTE increased dramatically in the 1990s, including their promotion to more senior roles. The ratio of dead female LTTE fighters to men has approximately doubled from 1:8 to 1:4 (Hopgood 2005, 67). If

the same ratio were true for the Black Tigers, the 147 Black Tiger deaths since 1996 would include at least 30 women and may even have been higher if women were also involved in land attacks (Hopgood 2005, 68). In the Sea Tigers, the LTTE's naval unit which conducts suicide operations against Sri Lankan naval vessels, it is estimated that thirty percent of the operatives are female (Fair 2004, 29).

From Miranda Alison's fieldwork in Sri Lanka, we are able to gain a valuable insight into the lives and motivations of some of these women. In her interviews with LTTE fighters and ex-combatants, Alison (2004) found that women and girls have a variety of interconnected motivations for joining the LTTE including: perceptions of societal insecurity for their Tamil community; fear of their own individual insecurity for gender-specific reasons; to avenge the death of a loved one; poverty; sexual violence against women; and ideas of women's emancipation (p. 450). Half of the fourteen LTTE women Alison interviewed mentioned the death of a family member as a motivating factor.

One of the themes which appears repeatedly in the context of the LTTE women is the issue of sexual violence and rape. Even Dhanu, the woman who blew herself up while standing next to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Ghandi in 1991, was reportedly raped. Another version is that Dhanu was instead avenging her mother's rape by Indian peacekeeping forces (Bloom 2005, 160). In the 2002 "Let us Preserve the Cultural Identity of Tamil Women" pamphlet, it discusses how the Tamil 'race' is under assault by the Sinhala-dominated Sri Lankan forces. In particular, women are called upon to be the bearers of the Tamil people's identity and honor. "Women of all ages must withstand the army, the instrument by which the Sinhala-dominated state and Sinhala nation contaminate the Tamil culture, through various penetrative acts that are sexually compromising" (Tambiah 2005, 248). This corruption or contamination of Tamil women takes place vis-à-vis sexual harassment of Tamil women at military checkpoints and the widespread availability of pornographic films and liquor courtesy of the Sri Lankan army, according to the Tamils. Half of the women Miranda Alison (2003) interviewed discussed sexual violence against Tamil women as one of the main reasons why they joined the LTTE (p. 43), but the majority of women Alison interviewed said they had not been aware of issues surrounding women's social conditions, women's rights, or equality before they joined the movement. Yet, the goals as formulated by the Women's Front of the LTTE in 1991 include: abolishing semi-feudal customs like dowry; eliminating all discrimination against Tamil women and all other discrimination to secure social, political, and economic equality; ensuring Tamil women control their own lives; and securing legal protection for women against sexual harassment, rape, and domestic violence (Alison 2003, 45).

While liberal feminists should applaud these stated goals, many feminists have questioned the ideology of women's liberation as characterized by the LTTE. Radical and difference feminists, for example, challenge the militant nature of female LTTE combatants as inherently anti-feminist and are skeptical that women's participation in the LTTE has brought about improvement for Tamil women as a whole (Alison 2003, 46). This is a similar concern shared by Barbara Victor (2003) in her study of female Palestinian suicide bombers and Mia Bloom (2005) in her comprehensive study of suicide bombing. Both authors question whether women's participation in

suicide bombing is liberating in any real sense, especially when women are not in the top leadership of the ranks of these terrorist organizations despite their sacrifice, and women are fulfilling the ultimate patriarchal ideal of motherhood by giving up her body for the collective, the nation (Bloom 2005, 165). This idea of self-sacrifice is similar to the maternal affective codes discussed in relation to the female Italian Red Brigades members in Chapter 2. For example, the Tamil Nation website valorizes Malati, the first woman to die in battle at the age of 20. Here is an excerpt from the website's contents:

> The first woman warrior (porali) that embraced heroic death (viramaranattai) in the India-Tamililam war. She died on 10 October 1987 in Kopay, Yalppnam, in a confrontation with the IPKF. She was not only the first woman, she was among the first to die in that war against the IPKF. She was fatally wounded and took cyanide. Her death story is told by Janani who was active on the battle front for six years: "We were in our bunkers firing at the (Indian) army. Hundreds of Indian troops had jumped out of their vehicles and were firing as they moved towards us. Mortar shells were exploding everywhere. We knew the army was advancing quickly. Malati was shot in both legs. She couldn't move and she was bleeding profusely. Realizing that she was mortally wounded, she swallowed cyanide. A decision had been made to withdraw because we were heavily out-numbered. Myself and another girl Viji went over to carry Malati. Malati refused to come with us. She begged us to leave her and asked us to withdraw. Nevertheless, we lifted Malati and carried her and when we arrived at a safe place she was dead" (http://www.tamilnation.org, accessed on 24 July 2006).

Recruitment posters in northern Sri Lanka prominently feature female LTTE cadres (Fair 2004, 26). These posters are intended to overcome families' traditional resistance to send daughters into combat; to give a public face to the LTTE's platform of gender equality; and to incite men to join the LTTE by feminizing and demeaning men who cannot match the bravery and sacrifice of the female recruits.

Sri Lanka's Governmental Reaction

The Sri Lankan government's reaction to the LTTE over the decades has oscillated between trying to negotiate with the LTTE and pursuing a plan of complete eradication of the LTTE's leadership and its stronghold in the northern part of the island. Both the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE have been condemned by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch for various human rights abuses. In particular, the LTTE has been rightfully castigated for its abduction and recruitment of child soldiers into its ranks.[2] The sophistication of LTTE attacks, including anti-aircraft equipment, has called into question the old adage that terrorism is a weapon of the weak against the strong. In fact, some Sri Lankan officials question whether the LTTE can really be characterized as a guerrilla group or terrorist organization and rather argue the LTTE is in fact the equivalent

2 See Jimmie Briggs (2005) for more information on the plight of child soldiers (both male and female) in Sri Lanka.

of a conventional fighting force with weapons, a clear command structure, and sophisticated training camps.

As discussed earlier in 1979, the Sri Lankan government promulgated the Prevention of Terrorism Act which permitted the army and police, which were dominated by the Sinhalese, to hold prisoners incommunicado for up to eighteen months without a trial (Bloom 2005, 51). The legislation also allowed for confessions, made under duress or torture, to become admissible. "The PTA was made retroactive. The police and army interpreted the law as carte blanche to arrest without warrant, search, and seize families. Rather than mitigate the increasing violence between Tamils and Sinhalese, the PTA escalated it" (Bloom 2005, 52).

The Sri Lankan government and counterterrorism forces, while receiving increased international support especially after 9.11.2001, have been somewhat ineffective in infiltrating the ranks of the LTTE and stopping suicide attacks by the Black Tiger unit. In response to the 2000 LTTE offensive to recapture the Jaffna peninsula in the north of the island, the government tightened its already strict censorship that called for the banning of live broadcasts. Due to the resulting lack of credible information, rumors spread that the LTTE was specifically recruiting young schoolgirls to pose as suicide bombers. The police then increased efforts to stop and check children at Tamil-dominated schools, only increasing Tamil alienation and distrust towards the government (Fair 2004, 59). Moreover, during the battle for Jaffna in 2000, the Sri Lankan Army imposed a round-the-clock curfew on the town's half a million residents.

With the 2002 peace initiative moribund, the fighting has only intensified with serious human rights abuses committed on both sides of the conflict. In April 2007, the Tamil Tigers used a small airplane to bomb an air force base next to a civilian airport just north of Colombo. Subsequently, a number of international flights to Sri Lanka were canceled. The government has retaliated with an extensive bombing campaign of LTTE strongholds in the north and east of the country. In June 2007, the Sri Lankan government's efforts to expel ethnic minority Tamils living in Colombo was quashed by the country's highest court (Sengupta). The government had deported nearly 400 Tamils living in low-cost hotels in Colombo on suspicion they were helping the LTTE plot bombings in the city, although no criminal charges were filed against these individuals. Human rights groups countered that the government's actions were tantamount to ethnic cleansing. Moreover, an international panel of human rights experts appointed by the current Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapakse has condemned the government's lack of concern over a spate of abductions, extrajudicial killings, and other human rights abuses over the past few years. In particular, the panel was encouraged to examine the killings of international aid workers in Sri Lanka, many of whom have remained in the country since the tsunami of late 2004.

ETA (Euskadi ta Askatasuna or Basque Homeland and Freedom)

Spain's experience with catastrophic terrorism was the March 2004 Madrid train bombings that killed close to 200 individuals and wounded hundreds more. The

government of Jose Maria Aznar initially cast blame on the ethno-separatist terrorist group, ETA, which has been fighting for autonomy from the Spanish government for decades. ETA quickly denied any responsibility for the 2004 attacks, and it was then discovered within less than 24 hours that a Moroccan based cell, loosely affiliated with Al-Qaeda or inspired by Al-Qaedism, was instead responsible. Nevertheless, everyone in Spain knew about ETA's terrorist attacks over the years. Moreover, ETA has had some women within its ranks, which warrants this group's inclusion in this chapter.

Macrolevel Factors

Today, Spain is a constitutional monarchy; however, the country has been affected by diverse influences from the Romans, Muslims, and French. By the late 19th century, Spain had lost almost all of its overseas territories due to the Spanish-American War. The early decades of the 20th century brought little stability to Spain. Following the election of a left-wing coalition in February 1936 that included the Communist Party, there was increased political polarization, anti-clericalism, and political violence. Although the governing coalition, called the Popular Front, had won a majority in parliament, it had received only 34 per cent of the popular vote. In July, right-wing generals attempted a military takeover. The coup failed to topple the government and civil war (1936-39) ensued. After three years, Nationalist forces led by General Francisco Franco emerged victorious with the support of Germany and Italy. The Republican side was supported by the Soviet Union and the volunteer International Brigades, organized by the communist parties of other nations. The Spanish Civil War has been called the first battle of World War II. Spanish involvement in World War II was in fact a continuation of its Civil War, as the ideological conflicts involved had much in common, despite Franco's official policy of neutrality. As a result tens of thousands of very experienced Spanish Civil War veterans also fought, with great skill and ferocity, throughout World War II in Europe, the Soviet Union and North Africa for both sides.

During Franco's decades of rule, the Basque nationality and language was supposed to be eradicated. The Basque language is unique in that it cannot be traced to any other family of languages. The Basque people live historically in the south of France and northern Spain. The historical identity and continuing life of the Basque people required an effort to create or recreate their history (Merkl 1986, 45). This role was taken on by Sabino de Arana y Goiri who originated the name *Euskadi* for the four provinces, developed the Basque ideology and in 1895, founded the Basque Nationalist party (PNV) which already in 1918 and again in 1931 had attracted one third of the Basque vote for the *Cortes* (Spanish parliament). The PNV played an important role against Franco at the time of the Civil War and organized political opposition to the dictatorship from exile (Wieviorka 1997, 297). At the end of World War II, the PNV had high aspirations since the Axis Powers had been defeated and Germany, Italy, and even Japan were on their way to becoming democracies. It appeared as through Franco's Spain would be isolated after the war; however, with the onset of the Cold War and a right-wing Catholic dictatorship until 1974, Franco was able to continue his brutal rule.

After Franco's death in 1975, the country became a constitutional monarchy. Franco's personally-designated heir Prince Juan Carlos assumed the position of king and head of state. With the approval of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the arrival of representative democracy, some regions such as Basque Country and Navarra were given complete financial autonomy, and other regions such as Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalucia, were given some political autonomy. Without mentioning them by name, the Spanish Constitution recognizes the possibility of regional languages being co-official in their respective autonomous communities. The following languages are co-official with Spanish according to the appropriate Autonomy Statutes: Catalan, Basque, Galician, and Occitan. While the constitutional referendum of 1978 passed easily with two-thirds of the electorate's approval, less than one-third of the Basques voted yes. Abstention, actively campaigned for by most Basque nationalist groups, was 55 per cent or close to twice the national average (Woodworth 2001, 4).

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

ETA is best characterized as an ethnonational separatist movement. The main focus of ETA has been the preservation of Basque identity. The trouble, however, is determining what constitutes this identity. The idea that the Basques predate the other peoples of the Iberian peninsula and that this gives them the right to nationhood has been something of an obsession with some nationalist anthropologists and historians (Woodworth 2001, 20). The Basques have occupied an area of about 20,000 square kilometers in southern France and northern Spain for at least 2,000 years and possibly longer. At no time since the 11th century have the Basques been governed by a Basque leader in a single political unit, and that political unification lasted for only 35 years. During the time of the Spanish empire, the Basques were accorded *fueros* (special rights) such as exemptions from compulsory military service and paying customs duties on goods entering the Basque country from abroad as well as the power to decide their own levels of taxation.

Modern Basque nationalism developed in the late 1800s/early 1900s when rapid urban industrialization seemed to threaten the rural-based economic system and cultural values to which many Basques were deeply attached. The founding father of Basque nationalism, Sabino Arana, had to invent not only a flag but also a name, *Euskadi*, for the country he wanted to free from Spanish domination. Sabino Arana, the son of a Bilbao shipbuilder, founded the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) in 1895. Since Arana did not himself speak Basque fluently, he broke with a tradition evident in the Basque language by making race, in the biological sense, the key element of Basque nationality (Woodworth 2001, 26). Initially, Arana insisted that only those with four ethnically Basque grandparents could join the PNV, but as the decades passed, the Basque language became the major unifying force. *Euskera* (the Basque language) does not belong to the Indo-European family of languages; some have tentatively linked it to languages spoken in the Caucasus and there also may be a connection with the Berbers of north Africa so it is possible to imagine a great migration of mountain people many millennia go, which left remnants on the Pyrenees and Atlas mountain ranges between present-day Spain and France.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the PNV grew rapidly beyond its urban origins, to become the hegemonic party of nationalism throughout Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava (Woodworth 2001, 28). Under the Spanish Civil War, however, Franco's repression sought to eradicate the Basque language, or Euskera, and everything which embodied a distinctive Basque nation (Wieviorka 1997, 298). Since Basque nationalists had sided with the Republican government in the Spanish Civil War, Franco restricted virtually any public expressions of Basque culture and banned all expressions of Basque nationalism, including public display of the nationalist flag, celebration of nationalist holidays, speaking the Basque language in public and teaching it in schools; even baptizing children with non-Spanish names was illegal. For the Basques, the importance of transmitting their language to future generations was of the utmost importance. However, the Basque people also formed a collective identity as a unique nation within Spain through clubs and organizations for gastronomy, sporting events, hiking/mountain clubs, and other cultural events. Incidentally, the Basque mountain-climbing clubs served as a cover for clandestine meetings. "It was during these excursions to their remote mountains that ETA chose to make many of its initial contacts, which later led to recruiting activities in earnest" (Clark 1986, 125).

Within the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), however, a crisis over ideology began to emerge. Some preferred to rely on nationalism and Catholicism as the main tenets of the PNV, while others were leaning toward a more explicit Marxist orientation by the late 1950s and early 1960s. "Revolutionary vocabulary became the norm in an organization which studied the classical trinity—Marx, Lenin, and Mao" (Clark 1986, 129). Several university students started holding secret study sessions in 1952, first focusing on the Basque language, then on nationalist themes, and finally on a wide range of political issues. The name they chose was EKIN, which in Euskera means "to act" (Woodworth 2001, 35). The definitive split came in 1958 when EKIN took many young PNV militants with it. A year later on July 31, 1959, on the anniversary of Arana's foundation of the PNV, ETA was chosen as the new name of the organization.

ETA explicitly adopted the principle of armed struggle and broke with the PNV's non-violent political thinking by the early 1960s. ETA wanted full independence, not autonomy, for the seven provinces it claimed as Basque (four provinces in Spain and three in France). It shifted away from the traditional emphasis on race and ethnicity as the foundation of the nation, and instead made the use of the Basque language the bedrock of Basque nationality. ETA first started painting nationalist graffiti, but within a year ETA had established a military wing. ETA became a movement with nationalist aspirations but relied upon the industrial proletariat for its foot soldiers. In various conferences held in France during the mid-1960s, ETA adopted a "spiral of action-repression-action" (Zarate 2004, 501). This theory posits that to "enlist the populace in a revolutionary struggle, the enemy—the Spanish state—must be defied through a series of increasingly violent actions that will succeed in provoking blind acts of repression against the general population" (p. 501).

On July 18, 1961 ETA attempted to derail a train carrying hundreds of former Franco soldiers to a commemoration ceremony. While the action failed, the multiple arrests that followed provided a hardening of the organizational guidelines

and increased ideological radicalization. The first ETA 'martyr' was Etxebarrieta ('Txabi') who shot dead a Spanish police officer in June 1968; Txabi was in turn killed by another police officer. Huge funeral masses were organized in memory of Txabi, and revolutionary slogans of ETA were shouted at the funeral (Woodworth 2001, 38). A few months later, Meliton Manzanas was the first high-level Spanish government official in Franco's regime to be assassinated by ETA in August 1968. Manzanas was the commander of the secret police in San Sebastian and a torturer. He was well known for the zeal he exhibited against the political opponents of Franco's regime and was widely hated. ETA waited at his residence and shot him seven times.

Most of the original leadership of ETA was already on the French side of the border in mid-1968 and by early 1969, virtually the entire remaining leadership was arrested. The regime decided to prosecute sixteen of those arrested collectively by a military tribunal. The prosecution demanded the death penalty for six of them and 700 years of aggregate jail sentences for the rest of the defendants (Woodworth 2001, 39). In December 1970 the tribunal gave its verdict. Instead of six death sentences demanded by the prosecution, it handed down nine. However, in the face of appeals by various governments, including the Vatican, Franco commuted the sentences to thirty years jail three days later (Woodworth 2001, 39). ETA carried out no killings in 1970 or 1971, but it did carry out kidnappings of two industrialists in 1972 and 1973 to fill its war chest. In 1972, ETA began planning the kidnapping of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, Franco's heir apparent. ETA had planned to kidnap Blanco and barter him for prisoners, but in June 1973, Franco made Blanco Prime Minister, so ETA decided to go one step further.

Carrero Blanco became a minister in Franco's regime in 1957, was promoted to admiral in 1966, and held the post of vice-president of the State Council from 1967-1973. His political career reached its zenith in June 1973 upon being named Prime Minister of Spain and made a top deputy to Franco. It was only a matter of time before he would succeed the ailing dictator. Within about six months of being named prime minister, he was assassinated in Madrid by four members of ETA, who carried out a bombing while he returned from Catholic Mass in an armored car. ETA placed 80-100 kilograms of explosives in a tunnel they had excavated under the street. The blast catapulted the vehicle over the church it was parked in front of, and it landed on a second floor balcony on the other side of the street.

In 1974, one year before Franco's death, ETA split into two separate organizations: one faction became ETA political-military or ETA(pm) and another ETA military or ETA(m). The difference between the two factions was that the former favored a double political and military strategy, while the latter favored a purely military approach to the conflict, ignoring (for some time) the political scene and also focusing exclusively on assassinating military targets such as policemen and members of the army. Thus, ETA(m)'s ideology necessitated the use of political violence and terrorism in its view to achieve its political objectives.

Robert Clark (1986) examined data on 287 killings, 385 woundings, and 24 kidnappings committed by ETA from 7 June 1968 through 31 December 1980. He found that from June 1968 through December 1980, ETA's violence directly affected approximately 700 persons, of whom 287 were killed. Thus, compared with brutal

guerrilla wars in other countries, ETA's casualty levels were rather low. Similar to the Russian anarchists of the 19th century, most of the time ETA was careful to avoid harming civilian bystanders in its attacks, but its record is not flawless in this regard, and several very serious mistakes resulted in the killing and wounding of numerous bystanders (Clark 1986, 133).

It was only after the election of the first democratically chosen parliament in July 1977, that ETA began to increase its level of violence: to 67 killings in 1978 and 72 in 1979 (Clark 1986, 134). And most paradoxically of all, it was in 1980, when the Basques elected the first regional government they had ever enjoyed, that ETA killings reached a peak of 88 dead in the time frame Clark studied. ETA has killed spies and informers and engaged in kidnappings of industrialists. ETA performed its first car bomb assassination in Madrid in September 1985, resulting in one death and sixteen injuries. Another bomb in July 1986 killed twelve members of the Guardia Civil and injured fifty. On July 19, 1987 the Hipercor bombing was an attack in a shopping center in Barcelona, killing 21 and injuring 45. In this terrorist attack, several entire families were killed. ETA claimed in a communiqué that they had given advance warning of the Hipercor bomb, but that the police had declined to evacuate the area. The police claimed that the warning came only a few minutes before the bomb exploded.

In July 1997 Minguel Angel Blanco Garrido, a local politician in Vizcaya province of Basque Country, was kidnapped by ETA. ETA threatened to assassinate him unless the Spanish government transferred all ETA prisoners to prisons within the Basque country within 48 hours. As soon as the ultimatum expired, he was shot in the back of the head. His kidnapping and brutal murder caused a huge outpouring of grief in Spain and beyond, after his body was found with his hands tied behind his back and two bullets in his head.

While ETA has continued to recruit new generations of members into its ranks, ETA has had to deal with some relative dry spells. The number of people recruited by ETA since the mid-1980s had fallen significantly (Reinares 2004, 476). Many of the younger recruits (often between the ages of 18-23) are being accepted with no military training, and many of the old guard feels as though the new recruits are not really committed nationalists. Some have simply drifted into the ETA after stints of petty crime, and some of them cannot even speak the Basque language.

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in ETA

As is the case with most ethnonational separatist groups, these types of terrorist organizations have deeper roots within the community as compared to sociorevolutionary groups such as the West German RAF and Italian Red Brigades. Ethnonational separatist groups rely upon the protection and support of the community in order to plan and execute surprise attacks. In studying ETA operatives, Clark (1986) and Reinares (2004) found that ETA members are surprisingly 'normal'; they are not sociopaths.

ETA has never had a large number of women directly involved in the organization; however, there does seem to be a historical pattern comparable to women who participated on the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. Clark (1986) found

that in the 1960s and 1970s, when being a member of ETA did not seem to be such a hazardous matter, husband and wife teams were fairly common within ETA. Several of the Burgos trial prisoners (1970) were in fact married to one another, including Gregorio Lopez Irasuegui and Arantxa Arruti and Juana Dorronsoro and Francisco Javier Izco de la Iglesia. Another early ETA leader, Jose Maria Escubi was also married to an ETA member, Mariasu Goenaga.

Most of the women in ETA have become involved through a family connection to the Basque cause or due to a personal, namely male, connection to the movement. Fernando Reinares (2004) collected data corresponding to over 600 individuals who became militants of ETA between the early 1970s and the late 1990s and found that ninety per cent of ETA terrorists are men (p. 466).[3] He found that most of the women joined ETA due to affective ties with boyfriends or husbands. In an interview with Alazane, a member of ETA who joined at 24 years of age, journalist Eileen MacDonald affirms Reinares's observation. Alazane said to MacDonald, "I come from a village near San Sebastian that is 90 per cent Basque speaking, but that is not the reason I joined the commando unit. The village is hardly a center of political knowledge or activity, and my parents certainly did not have any influence on what I eventually did. I became aware of injustices and the repression of the Basque people when I was a teenager… I got involved because a man I knew was a member" (MacDonald 1991, 10).

However, this does not mean that these women lacked "ideological affinity with the subculture of radical Basque nationalism" (Renaires 2004, 467). On the other hand, according to some of the interviews conducted by Reinares, he found that women often fulfilled traditional roles within ETA. For example, one woman who was recruited at the age of twenty and came from a family where the Basque language was spoken said, "What usually happens is that women, unfortunately, get in because of their husbands or because of their boyfriends, and once they are inside they functioned as women…. ETA was a true reflection of the surrounding society as far as machismo is concerned" (p. 470). Other female ETA members told Reinares during their interviews of how often men wanted to have sex with them and how the ETA women had to prove they were twice as good as the men to be accorded respect. Women recruited into ETA were usually assigned by their predominantly male colleagues tasks such as information gathering. Even though women were assigned to less violent positions within ETA, ETA had no problem in carrying out violence against a female ETA member who disassociated herself from the organization. In September 1985 Maria D. Gonzalez Catarain ("Yoyes"), who had been part of the directorate of ETA, was shot dead by two ETA gunmen in her hometown of Ordizia as she walked with her small child.

Eileen MacDonald (1991) interviewed female members of ETA for her book, *Shoot the Women First*. Two sisters, Begona, a nurse, and Yolanda, an economist, were affiliated with *Egizan* (Act Woman), a feminist movement affiliated with ETA's political wing (p. 7). Women also participated in Herri Batasuna, the political wing of ETA, which sought amnesty for ETA prisoners. The women interviewed by Eileen

3 Reinares collected his data by using judicial summaries and proceedings as well as conducting individual interviews with ETA members between 1994 and 1999.

MacDonald spoke of their torture in prisons. According to one ETA operative, Amaia, the most barbaric of the torturers were the female police officers (MacDonald 1991, 18). Amaia tells MacDonald she remembered thinking, "How can you take part in this torture against another woman? How can you stand there and let these men do these things? How can you? The worst thing for me was that I had my period and I had to ask for sanitary napkins and they all laughed at me. It made me so vulnerable" (p. 18). In what seems like a surreal response to MacDonald as well, we see a glimpse of the ideological importance attributed to the Basque cause in Amaia's statement. Amaia appears to believe the difference feminists that women are inherently more compassionate and nurturing; she cannot fathom how another women could stand by and allow violence to be directed towards her, a 'political prisoner'. How could a woman be a torturer, asks Amaia? How can she not feel compassion for her fellow 'sister'? But then, Amaia is not able or unwilling to turn the mirror back on herself and see the irony that she is a woman who supports the use of violence to further her political objectives of Basque independence.

Spain's Governmental Response

During the Franco dictatorship, ETA was able to take advantage of toleration by the French government, which allowed Spanish Basque members to move freely through French territory, believing that in this manner they were contributing to the end of Franco's regime. The French government viewed the Spanish Basques as political refugees up until the early 1980s. The most disturbing part about the Spanish government's reaction to ETA were the "dirty wars" carried out from (1975-1981) and (1983-1987). In these "dirty wars" against ETA, *Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación*, known by the acronym GAL or "Antiterrorist Liberation Groups" committed assassinations, kidnappings, and torture, not only of ETA members but of civilians (including French citizens, some of whom had nothing to do with ETA). The GAL, some argue, was never truly a unified unit. Moreover, those who carried out orders on behalf of GAL for monetary compensation, including at least two female assassins, were a motley assortment of right-wing mercenaries from countries such as Italy, France, and Argentina (Woodworth 2001, 47). The GAL, most disturbingly, operated on both sides of the French/Spanish border. Often, ETA members were targeted in bars, cafes, and on deserted highways in the French Basque country. Then these 'death squads' would retreat back to the Spanish border, with no inquiry from either the French or Spanish police. Even in some cases, fellow Basques would chase down the GAL assassins and try to have the French police arrest them after a shooting had occurred at a bar, only to be arrested themselves by the French police while the assassins got away on foot, car, or moped. With the dirty war tactics, including the murder of a beloved doctor and ETA supporter Santiago Brouard in November 1984, support for ETA among the Basques strengthened. Similar to the Italian Red Brigades, "Basque nationalists believed that behind the shifting scenes of parliamentary democracy, the same Francoist fascist state apparatus was functioning as murderously and untouchably as ever" (Woodworth 2001, 125).

After the first round of the dirty war, a change in government to the Socialist Party for the first time brought the promise of an end to the cycle of killing. In October

1982, the Socialists' party leader Felipe González became Spain's first Socialist Prime Minister in decades. While many governmental cabinets were reorganized, the Interior Ministry remained in the hands of the right-wing establishment, many of whom were Franco supporters. The Socialist government was accused of being weak on terrorism as ETA's killings continued. Thus, for the next four years, the Socialist government, which many Basques had assumed would be more sympathetic to their cause, carried out the second round of the dirty war. Moreover, the French government, which had hitherto largely allowed the Spanish Basques to operate at will within French Basque country, started more actively cooperating with the Spanish government. "The GAL campaign caused many French Basques to see the refugees (Spanish Basques) as causing a rapid decline in the local economy, especially the tourism business, as the news spread that bars and boulevards of the region's coastal resorts were now the targets of a terrorist group" (Woodworth 2001, 102).

During this period, the Spanish government had a policy referred to as "reinsertion", under which imprisoned ETA members whom the government believed had genuinely abandoned the armed struggle could be freed and allowed to rejoin society. Claiming a need to prevent ETA from coercively impeding this reinsertion, the Socialist government decided that imprisoned ETA members, who previously had all been imprisoned within the Basque Country, would instead be dispersed to prisons throughout Spain, some as far from their families as the Spanish-controlled Canary Islands.

In 1986 *Gesto-por-la-Paz* (the Association for Peace in the Basque Country) was founded; they began to convene silent demonstrations in communities throughout the Basque Country the day after any violent killing occurred, whether committed by ETA or by GAL. In January 1988, all Basque political parties, except the ETA-affiliated Herri Batasuna, signed a pact with the intention of ending ETA's violence. Weeks later, ETA announced a 60-day ceasefire, which was prolonged several times. Negotiations known as the *Mesa-de-Argel* (Algiers Table) took place between the ETA representative Eugenio Etxebaste ("Antxon") and the Socialist government of Spain but no successful conclusion was reached, and ETA eventually resumed the use of violence.

In 1992, three of ETA's top leaders were arrested in the French Basque town of Bidart, which led to changes in ETA's leadership and direction. After a two-month truce, ETA adopted even more radical positions. "Y-Groups" were formed, generally young people (often minors) dedicated to 'street struggle', including burning buses, benches, ATMs, setting fires in garbage cans, and throwing Molotov cocktails. Although the "Y-Groups" were troublesome, they certainly were a far cry from the political violence and terrorism committed by ETA in the 1970s and 1980s. Some observers believed this was the dénouement of ETA. However, this was certainly not the case. In 1995 a failed ETA car bombing was directed against José Maria Aznar, a conservative politician who was the leader of the then opposition Conservative party. There was also an abortive attempt on the life of King Juan Carlos I. But the act with the most far far-reaching impact came in July 1997 when Conservative party council member Miguel Ángel Blanco was kidnapped in the Basque city of Ermua. His kidnappers threatened to kill Blanco unless the Spanish government met

ETA's demands. More than six million people demonstrated to demand his release, with demonstrations occurring as much in the Basque regions as elsewhere in Spain. After three days, ETA carried through their threat, killing him and unleashing massive demonstrations against ETA.

In 1997 a Spanish court convicted and imprisoned several individuals involved in GAL, including not only mercenaries and low-level police officials but politicians up to the highest levels of the government of Prime Minister González. Some of those arrested began to speak out about their governmental 'pay masters' who financed the GAL death squads. No major cases of foul play on the part of the Spanish government after 1987 have been proven in court, although ETA supporters routinely claim human rights violations and torture by security forces. ETA's manuals had been found telling its members and supporters to claim routinely that they had been tortured while detained.

After the Good Friday Accord of 1998 was signed and voted upon to bring an end to the "troubles" of Northern Ireland, another attempt was made to bring peace to the Basque country. In September 1998, ETA declared a unilateral truce or ceasefire, and began a process of dialogue with Spain's Conservative government. The dialogue continued for some time, but ETA resumed assassinations in 2000, accusing the government of being inflexible in the negotiations. The communiqué that declared the end of the truce cited the failure of the process to achieve political change as the reason for the return to violence. The Spanish government, from the highest levels, accused ETA of having declared a false truce in order to rearm. In November 2001 a car bomb in Madrid injured 65, and attacks on soccer stadiums and tourist destinations continued.

The September 11th attacks appeared to deal a hard blow to ETA, as seen by the toughening of antiterrorist measures (such as the freezing of bank accounts), the increase in international police coordination, and the end of the toleration some countries had, up until then, extended to ETA. In 2002 the Basque nationalist youth movement, Jarrai, was outlawed in addition to Herri Batasuna, the political arm of ETA. On Christmas Eve 2003, National Police arrested two ETA members who had left dynamite in a railroad car prepared to explode at a train station in Madrid. And only 10 days before the March 11, 2004 terrorist attack, a light truck with over 500 kilograms of explosives was left to cause a massacre, but was intercepted by Spanish police. ETA was initially accused of executing the March 11th Madrid train bombings, which occurred a few days before the national elections. However, it soon became clear that the attack had been the work of radical Islamists. For the next two years, there was speculation as to whether ETA was refraining from their previous level of violence out of weakness, out of a change of heart or of tactics, or because the March 11th attacks had completely depleted any support for political violence. In 2005, the Spanish parliament authorized the government to hold talks with ETA, which is listed as a terrorist organization by the European Union and the United States, on the condition the group decommissioned its arms.

Then on 22 March 2006, ETA sent a DVD message to the Basque television network and journals with a communiqué from the organization announcing a permanent ceasefire. Three ETA members, including a woman, declared the cease-fire as a bid to "promote a democratic process in the Basque country in which our

rights as a people will be recognized. The government, it warned, must recognize the results of this democratic process with no type of limitation." The government's reaction was one of caution and prudence. Socialist Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero told parliament, "Any peace process after so many years of horror and terror will be long and difficult." A few days before the release of ETA's communiqué, the Spanish parliament approved a new relationship between the central government and Catalonia, recognizing it as "a nation." Some observers suggested that the vote encouraged ETA to hope for a similar, or better, deal if it renounced violence.

The hope engendered by the March 2006 ETA communiqué, however, may be short-lived. In December 2006, two individuals were killed at the Madrid airport in a car bombing. In June 2007, ETA said it was ending its cease fire. A few days later, Spanish police arrested the leader of the political wing Batasuna, Arnaldo Otegi, for making comments in support of terrorism. Prime Minister Zapatero, who has been accused by the conservative Popular Party, of being soft on terrorism for its willingness to negotiate with ETA, countered with the fact that 92 members of ETA had been arrested (Burnett). Finally, recent elections in the Basque region have encouraged increased police presence as politicians are frequent targets of ETA assassinations, especially those politicians who favor negotiations with the government in Madrid.

In its 40-year history, ETA has killed more than 800 people. While most of its attacks have been targeted bombings and shootings, civilians have certainly been killed in cycles of political violence. The GAL, under a Socialist government, responded with violence, targeted and indiscriminate, of its own. The women of ETA have been involved as passive and active supporters. Although Basque women have historically not constituted the leadership of ETA, women's involvement, like men's, has resulted from personal relationships with those already involved in radical Basque nationalism and by working within the larger Basque social movement. Unlike the other case studies such as the Red Brigades and Red Army Faction, female *eterras* (ETA supporters) have not severed ties with their families and often maintained a 'traditional' lifestyle such as working a full-time job and/or raising a family while participating in armed struggle.

Irish Republicanism

The case of the IRA is one which has been memorialized and debated for decades in books and movies. While many Americans may have little knowledge of the LTTE or ETA, the IRA presents a different case. Due to the large number of Irish-Americans, the IRA has always sought to maintain its ties with the Irish-American community. This is not to argue of course that a majority, or even substantial minority, of Irish-Americans agree with the IRA's use of terrorism. However, it is undisputed that members of the IRA often traveled to the United States to solicit contributions for 'the cause.' As with all of these case studies, many will disagree about the historical context of "the Troubles"; however, the Troubles have certainly affected thousands of families—Protestants and Catholics alike in Northern Ireland. Of particular note,

however, for this book is the role women have played in the conflict. Again, it is interesting to note that in a conservative Irish society, women challenged gender roles—as they have in Sri Lanka and the Basque country.

Macrolevel Factors

The origins of conflict between Catholics and Protestants in the northern part of Ireland began with the settler-colonial Plantation of Ulster in 1609, where native owned land was confiscated, and Ulster was 'settled' by English and Scottish Protestants. Conflict between the native Catholics and the 'planters' led to two spasms of bloody ethno-religious conflict in the 17th century. However, British Protestant dominance in Ireland was ensured by victory in these wars and by the Penal Laws, which circumscribed the religious, legal, and political rights of anyone who did not adhere to the tenets of the Anglican Church of Ireland. The breakdown of the Penal Laws, in the late 1700s, ushered in a new period of sectarian conflict. In the 1780s, restrictions were lifted on the ability of the Catholic Irish to rent land; however, this resulted in greater competition for it. Both communities, the Catholics and the Protestants, formed vigilante/militia type groups and attacked one another.

Despite this animosity and violence, many Presbyterians, Catholics and liberal Protestants were involved in the Society of the United Irishmen, which aspired to create a united Ireland devoid of sectarian divisions and completely independent from the United Kingdom. However, repression from the United Kingdom, continued sectarian strife, and the hard-line Protestant Orange Order ensured the Society of United Irishmen's vision would never come to fruition.

With the abolition of the Irish Parliament and incorporation of Ireland into the United Kingdom in 1801, the stage was set for continued conflict. Most of the Protestants sects put their differences aside and bound themselves together collectively as 'loyalists' to the United Kingdom. The Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s largely eliminated legal discrimination against Catholics, which constituted around 75 per cent of the population at this time, and they played an increasingly important role in Irish politics, namely championing the restoration of Irish self-government.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Home Rule or limited self-government looked like a real possibility for Ulster; however, the Protestants fearing a Catholic-dominated country, signed the Ulster Covenant in 1912. This agreement pledged to resist Home Rule by force if necessary by forming a paramilitary group, the Ulster Volunteer Force. Catholics or 'Nationalists' in turn formed the Volunteers of Ireland (Óglaigh na hÉireann) and civil war between the two groups appeared inevitable. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 temporarily averted this crisis and delayed the question of Home Rule in Ulster.

However, the ill-fated Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916 by Irish Republican elements, including the Irish Republican Brotherhood and Irish Volunteers, brought the issue of Northern Ireland's status back to the forefront. Even though the rebellion was put down and its leaders executed, this demonstration of political violence greatly radicalized Irish nationalist politics and inspired generations of Irish republicans for decades to come with the actions and words of the 1916 Easter Rising Proclamation

which read, "In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty. Six times during the past 300 years, they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish republic as a sovereign independent state" (English 2003, 4).

After the Rising, Irish Volunteers were imprisoned, and their homes were frequently raided and searched by the police. In 1917, *Sinn Fein* (meaning Ourselves Alone), originally a non-violent, non-republican party was organized and committed itself to the Irish republic (English 2003, 15). The independence question came to a head in 1918, when the separatist Sinn Fein party won a majority of seats in Ireland and seceded from the United Kingdom. A guerrilla war, waged by the IRA from 1918 to 1922, led to the partition of Ireland into the six northern Irish counties known as Northern Ireland, where a Protestant majority wished to remain part of the United Kingdom, and the 26 Irish counties of the south, where Catholics constituted a minority of the population. The partition of Ireland was confirmed in the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, which ended the guerrilla war in the south and created the Irish Free State, albeit with limited independence until it became fully independent in 1949.

Under the 1921 Treaty, however, Northern Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom, albeit under a separate system of government, with its own parliament (at Stormont) and a devolved government. Nationalists, however, saw the partition of Ireland as an illegal and arbitrary division of the island of Ireland against the will of its people, and argued that the Northern Ireland state was neither legitimate nor democratic, but created with a deliberately-engineered Unionist majority. The terms of the 1921 treaty split the Irish populace, and in 1922, the anti-Treaty faction, led by the IRA, rejected the decision by the *Dail* (the Irish assembly) to accept the terms of partition.

The IRA continued its campaign of activism and political violence throughout the 1930s and 1940s including noxious dealings with Nazi Germany. It seems the old adage, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", influenced the IRA's decision to utilize arms connections from Nazi Germany. Moreover, Irish also came to the United States on 'speaking tours' to raise money and arms from Irish-Americans in order to continue the fight against the British. The next major military venture for the IRA came during the 1956-62 border campaign. The main thrust of the campaign was to attack military installations, communications, and public property in the north through guerrilla warfare (English 2003, 73). These 'flying columns' of IRA men would then be able to establish liberated areas in the north. By early 1962, however, public support for the campaign was low; therefore, the IRA Army Council met, voted to end the hit and run attacks, and ordered all the IRA units to dump their arms (p. 75).

As the conflict continued, Catholics in Northern Ireland began looking to the United States' Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s as a model to emulate. Catholics suffered discrimination in housing, schools, and employment by the Protestant majority. Moreover, the two communities lived in two different worlds. In Belfast, two-thirds of all families lived in streets where over 90 per cent of the households were of the same religion (Arthur 1997, 259). Nevertheless, some

Catholics supported a non-violent approach to addressing their perceived injustices. For example, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) was formed in 1967. Peaceful marches and rent/rate strikes by Catholic households were the main forms of conventional protest. Moreover, the IRA had increasingly involved itself in various forms of community politics and was moving away from its single minded pursuit of unification through force (Guelke 1986, 94). And then, in January 1969 a group of demonstrators on a cross country march were ambushed and attacked by loyalists. The Protestant-dominated Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) failed to protect the marchers. In March and April of the same year, a series of bomb attacks on electricity supply lines and water plants were carried out by Protestants, attempting to raise the specter of IRA involvement behind the NICRA's activities. The IRA was derisively referred to as "I Ran Away" by Northern Ireland Catholics who viewed the organization as incapable of protecting Catholics from Protestant violence. At a critical December 1969 IRA meeting, the divide came over the principle of whether to continue the policy of abstentionism whereby the IRA refused to recognize the parliamentary authority of Stormont in Northern Ireland. The leadership was committed to abandoning this policy and begin incorporation into conventional politics through participation in elections. A majority of the IRA principals voted in favor of reversing the policy of abstentionism and were known as the Official IRA (OIRA); however, a vocal minority withdrew and formed the Provisional Army Council, which came to be known as the Provisional IRA (PIRA) or the "Provos."

The years 1970-72 saw an explosion of political violence in Northern Ireland, peaking in the year 1972, when nearly 500 people lost their lives. Suspected Irish nationalists were put in internment camps beginning in August 1971, after the reforms of the Unionist administration, led by Brian Faulker, failed to secure the cooperation of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), which was the party representing the majority of Catholics in Northern Ireland (Guelke 1986, 99). By 1972, the Provisionals had killed more than 100 soldiers, wounded 500 more, and carried out over 1,000 bombings mostly on commercial targets. The Provisionals, despite a temporary ceasefire in 1972 and talks with British officials were determined to continue their campaign until the achievement of a united Ireland.

The tipping point in the 'Troubles' was the clash between the army and Catholics on January 30, 1972, which became known as Bloody Sunday in Derry, Northern Ireland. An illegal anti-internment march, organized by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, resulted in a skirmish between the army and a small section of the march; however, the end result was the death of 14 male civilians—all Catholics. After Bloody Sunday, over 25,000 people gathered outside of St. Mary's Church to watch the coffins as they were taken from the church to the cemetery. Bloody Sunday effectively ended the hope for most Catholics in Northern Ireland that peaceful, constitutional means could be utilized to achieve their political objective of a united Ireland. Recruitment in the IRA increased, and the Northern Ireland Catholics withdrew their consent from the Protestant-dominated Unionist government. The Northern Ireland parliament at Stormont was prorogated (discontinued without being formally dissolved), and the United Kingdom imposed direct rule again in March 1972 under Prime Minister Edward Heath (Arthur 1997, 265).

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The IRA, like many of the cases discussed in this book, has seen its share of factionalization throughout the decades. Splits have occurred over ideology and tactics, but at the heart of the IRA has always been freedom for a united Ireland. As mentioned in the previous section, the first major division occurred in December 1969. As Richard English notes,

> The break came over the issue of parliamentary abstentionism, an emblem of republican alternative legitimacy. The states in Ireland were in traditional republican thinking, illegitimate. Britain had no right to partition Ireland, to govern the north or to control the south. To send representatives to the Belfast (N. Ireland), Dublin (Ireland), or London parliaments would legitimize the illegitimate. One should try to abolish the northern parliament, not campaign for seats there (English 2003, 107).

Moreover, one faction within the IRA was more committed to traditional Marxist thought and envisioned establishing alliances with other national liberation groups throughout the world while working toward the establishment of a socialist, democratic, and most importantly united Ireland. Thus, the Provisional IRA was established and became the "IRA" of the 1970s onward. The PIRA utilized anti-imperialism as a way to frame its cause to the world, and held that just as other British colonies had used armed force to free themselves and establish the right to self-determination, the Irish colony would follow suit. For IRA prisoners the writings of Frantz Fanon were an important source of ideological justification for the utilization of political violence and terrorism. Moreover, the importance of learning the Irish language was important for many IRA operatives. In fact, some IRA prisoners utilized the opportunity while incarcerated to learn the Irish language for the first time, and they could use this as a secret means of communication.

The effective use of terrorism, that is violence directed deliberately against civilians, began in the early 1970s within Northern Ireland and England. The terrorist tactic used most extensively by the IRA was bombings of pubs, stores, and cars. In July 1976, the British Ambassador to the Republic of Ireland, Christopher Ewart-Biggs was killed by the IRA in Dublin, and in August 1977 the IRA attempted to kill Queen Elizabeth II while she was visiting Ulster with a bomb planted at a university. As the death toll mounted, scores of IRA operatives were incarcerated. But in January 1975, the Gardiner Report recommended phasing out IRA operatives' 'political prisoner' status because "of the sustenance it gave to the paramilitary organization, and it reinforced the paramilitaries' own depiction of themselves as engaged in a legitimate political struggle" (English 2003, 188). The special 'political prisoner' status ended for all those sentenced for crimes committed after March 1, 1976. The prisoners, many of whom were now detained in the H-Blocks in Long Kesh prison near Belfast, retaliated with acts of civil disobedience. For example, they engaged in the 'blanket and no-wash protests' where they refused to wear the prison clothes given to them, and smeared excrement and urine on themselves to make the lives of those working in the prison more difficult. The blanket and no-wash protests were minor nuisances for the British government compared to the onset of the hunger strikes.

Hunger strikes were nothing new in the long history of Republican resistance to British rule. They had been utilized by both male and female detainees in the 1920s. The hunger strikers issued five demands including: the right to wear their own clothes, the right not to do prison labor, free association with fellow prisoners, 50 per cent remission of their sentences, and normal visitation rights. On December 1, 1980 despite a lot of concern from the IRA leadership, three female Republican prisoners detained in Armagh prison joined the hunger strike: Mairead Farrell, Mairead Nugent, and Mary Doyle (English 2003, 194). After a cessation in the hunger strike due to a belief that the British would acquiesce to the hunger strikers' demands, a second strike began in March 1981. The leader of this strike was Bobby Sands, who died on his 66th day without food. Eventually, nine other male Republican prisoners died as a direct result of their self-imposed hunger strike. Ideologically, the death of Bobby Sands was important for the IRA. The IRA argued the British government was directly responsible for the death of Sands and the others. Sands became an iconic martyr, whose image was emblazoned in murals throughout Northern Ireland. With over 100,000 mourners attending Sands's funeral, the IRA as the only true voice for Republicanism was revitalized once again as had been the case a decade earlier with Bloody Sunday.

Despite the end of the hunger strike, the violence continued throughout the 1980s. In October 1984, a bomb planted a month before the Conservative Party conference in Brighton, was intended to kill Prime Minister Thatcher and her cabinet. The bomb detonated in the early hours of the morning, killing five and injuring dozens. Prime Minister Thatcher continued on with the party conference to demonstrate Great Britain's determination not to concede to terrorism. In November 1987 an IRA bomb exploded during a war remembrance ceremony in Enniskillen, bringing down the wall of the community hall and killing eleven Protestants. The following day, the IRA issued a statement expressing its regrets for the deaths and stating that the bomb had been intended to kill members of the British Crown, not civilians (English 2003, 255).

Despite the appearance that the violence was continuing unabated during the 1980s, two promising steps were occurring behind the scenes. First, the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 was negotiated by the moderate Social Democratic and Labor Party leader John Hume, Prime Minister Thatcher, and the Ireland Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald. The agreement confirmed that Northern Ireland's status would not be altered without the consent of the majority in Northern Ireland, which meant that demographically the Protestants continued to maintain a numerical majority and would not vote for unification with the rest of Ireland. However, the agreement also called for establishing an intergovernmental conference between Dublin and London for addressing matters relating to Northern Ireland, and the agreement included language which reflected the shared preference for the reversal of British direct rule in Northern Ireland and devolution of power.

Second, John Hume of the SDLP and Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, were secretly meeting. These meetings were facilitated by Catholic clergy and were known to the governments in Dublin and London. "John Hume's repeated argument to Gerry Adams was that the real obstacle to Irish unity and separation from Britain was simply that many people did not want it; hence, the central problem was not

with Britain but rather with the IRA itself" (English 2003, 264). By the late 1980s, the IRA was faced with a myriad of problems. It was losing members due to the successful efforts of the British intelligence services and their use of informers who had managed to win the trust of the IRA leadership. Also, due to attacks such as Eniskillen, the IRA was starting to lose the publicity war as well. It was becoming more difficult for the IRA to portray itself as the proverbial "David" trying to slay the "Goliath" of the British government.

The 1990s brought a welcome change in the context of the troubles. First, the Downing Street Declaration of 1993 was negotiated between British Prime Minister John Major and Ireland Taoiseach Albert Reynolds. The document reiterated many of the points of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement and left the door open for groups such as Sinn Fein and Protestant paramilitary factions to join the dialogue if they renounced once and for all the use of violence. Second, U.S. President Bill Clinton authorized a short-term visa for Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams to visit the United States. Even though the British government strongly opposed this move, the 'normalization' of Sinn Fein began in earnest. In August of 1994, the IRA announced a cease-fire and one month later, the United Kingdom lifted its broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein. Two years later, however, the IRA withdrew its ceasefire based upon what it perceived as British Prime Minister John Major's foot-dragging on the peace process. In the summer of 1996, peace talks began between Northern Ireland's political parties, but Sinn Fein was excluded from the dialogue due to its refusal to abide by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell's principles. Included in these principles or guidelines for the continuation of peace talks was the absolute decommissioning of all weapons before joining the dialogue. Sinn Fein refused initially to adhere to this principle.

As the Mitchell-sponsored talks proceeded onward, the British general election in 1997 brought the Labour Party to a majority of seats in the House of Commons. The new Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair quickly committed his government to consistent involvement and support of the Mitchell talks, and Mo Mowlam[4] was appointed as the first and only female Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. Mowlam was praised for visiting loyalists in prison to encourage their participation in the peace process and for putting pressure on Sinn Fein to agree to the decommissioning principle. Finally, in September 1997, Sinn Fein endorsed the Mitchell principles and entered formal political talks.

The accession of Sinn Fein to the Mitchell principles, however, caused yet another rupture within the IRA. As a result, the Real IRA was declared to be the 'true' voice of Republicanism. The Real IRA's political wing was called the 32-County Sovereignty Committee and was led by Michael McKevitt and his partner Bernadette Sands-McKevitt (sister of the late Bobby Sands). This faction viewed the peace process as completely illegitimate, and Ms. Sands-McKevitt argued her brother would be outraged at the 'selling-out' of the Provisional IRA. Despite this schism, the peace process continued.

The Belfast or "Good Friday' Agreement of 1998 called for the following: the British and Irish governments to recognize the legitimacy of whatever choice was

4 Mo Mowlam passed away due to complications from a brain tumor in August 2005 at the age of 55.

freely exercised by a majority of the people in Northern Ireland with regard to its status; the establishment of a Northern Irish Assembly (at Stormont); the creation of a North/South Irish Ministerial Council and a British-Irish Council; and the decommissioning of all weapons by both Protestant paramilitary forces and the Republicans. The PIRA members viewed the northern Assembly as a transition phase to a united Ireland and believed that demographically speaking, the Catholics in Northern Ireland would outnumber the Protestants in the near future. Thus, Sinn Fein accepted the terms of the agreement as well as most Northern Ireland political parties, except for the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) led by the intractable Reverend Ian Paisley. In May 1998, referendums held in both the north and south of Ireland passed by a comfortable margin. Tragically, a few months later in August 1998, a devastating Real IRA bomb in Omagh killed 29 people. Under enormous pressure, the Real IRA declared a suspension and then cessation of its operations (English 2003, 318), and Michael McKevitt was sentenced to 20 years in prison in 2003.

While direct rule over Northern Ireland from London came to an end in December 1999, the power-sharing agreement envisioned in the Good Friday Agreement never materialized for any substantial period of time. Multiple suspensions of the Stormont Assembly have plagued the process to the present. Despite continued support from Prime Minister Blair, the main issues over decommissioning and Paisley's refusal to work with Sinn Fein have made it near impossible to create a functioning legislative body. Direct rule from London was restored in October 2002, and under the temporary rules policy matters such as the economy can be debated, but laws cannot be made. The British Government set a November 24, 2006 deadline for the two main parties, Sinn Fein and the Democratic Unionist Party, to work out their differences. Finally in May of 2007, with only a month left in Prime Minister's Blair's tenure, a new unity government was formed. DUP leader Ian Paisley, who once said he would never form a government with a terrorist organization (referring to Sinn Fein) assumed the duties of First Minister and Martin McGuiness of Sinn Fein is the Deputy First Minister.

Microlevel Factors: Women's Involvement in Irish Republicanism

Throughout Irish history, women have played an integral part in the struggle against Great Britain. Even in a traditional, conservative society like Ireland, women were expected to engage in politics and then retreat to the private sphere once the men were released from prison or came back from fighting. While Ireland's traditionalism has certainly changed dramatically within the past few decades, Irish women's role in political violence did not begin with the PIRA of the late 1960s.

Even in the 1880s, the Ladies Land League was formed to take control of the mass movement known as the Land League where thousands of tenant farmers pledged to fight against the rents and landlord power (Ward 1983, 5). The male leaders of the Land League knew they would be jailed for refusing to pay the rents to the 800 landlords who owned half the land in Ireland, so the women were called upon to keep the movement going while the men were in prison. The Land League women, led most formidably by two sisters Anna and Fanny Parnell, kept tabs on

evictions, provided money and shelter to evicted families, and even traveled to the United States for fund raising. While condemned by much of the mainstream Irish press and the Catholic Church for their unlady-like political activism, the women were increasingly arrested under statutes to curb prostitution rather than being treated as political prisoners like the men. The Ladies Land League, while short-lived, was committed to the vision of a united Ireland free from British domination and disagreed with the policies of the more moderate Irish National League.

Inghinidhe na hEireann (The Daughters of Ireland) was founded in 1900 and was open to women of Irish birth or descent who were dedicated to complete independence. Its first President, Maud Gonne, was the daughter of a colonel in the British Army who had been stationed in Ireland for most of his life. Even though she was from the upper crust of society, she was deeply touched by the land evictions and devoted her entire life to Irish nationalism. An early feminist, political activist, actress, and muse of poet William Butler Yeats, Maud Gonne was angered that the Celtic literary societies did not allow women to be members. Therefore, she and a score of other women established the Daughters of Ireland with the following goals: the complete independence of Ireland; the study of Gaelic and Irish literature; and the combating of British influence in Ireland. The Daughters offered classes in the Irish language for children and began performing plays in Irish too. Their publication, *Bean na hEireann* (Woman of Ireland) was the first women's paper to call for freedom for Ireland and complete equality for women (Ward 1983, 69). Despite prolonged absences from Ireland due to the need to tend to her children in France, Maud Gonne MacBride continued to write articles for Woman of Ireland. In 1918 she was arrested in Dublin and imprisoned in England for six months. During the War of Independence she worked for the relief of victims of violence. In 1921 she opposed the Treaty of Ireland and advocated the Republican side. Finally, Maud Gonne was the mother of Sean MacBride who became the IRA's Chief of Staff in the 1930s (Arthur 1997, 273).

Although the Daughters of Ireland was a relatively short-lived organization, it accomplished a great deal insofar as making women's participation at republican meetings more commonplace in a deeply traditional society. Women's activism and support for armed resistance against British rule was increasingly becoming more mainstream. Then in 1914 at the outbreak of World War I another organization, *Cumann na mBan* (Irishwomen's Council), was created.

The Irishwomen's Council's goals included: advancing the cause of Irish liberty, organizing women, assisting and arming Irish men for the defense of Ireland, and engaging in fundraising to support these goals. In 1915, the Daughters of Ireland became a branch of the Irishwomen's Council. Generally, like the future women of the PIRA, Cumann na mBnan members were sisters, wives, and girlfriends of the Irish Volunteers. Many of the women adhered to conventional female roles in the beginning, but by the end of 1915, each branch was divided into squads of six women who were to be trained in signaling, first aid, and home nursing. Some women even elected to be trained in handling fire arms. Approximately 90 women participated in the Easter Rising of 1916 (Ward 1983, 111). Sixty of these women were Cumann na mBan members; they engaged in medical duties, cooking, and running messages.

However, the indefatigable Countess Constance Markiewicz of Anglo-Irish stock and a foreign title by marriage to her estranged Polish husband, condemned separate ladies auxiliaries as demoralizing to women because they deprived women of all initiative and independence (Ward 1983, 98). In 1911, she burned the Union Jack flag during a visit from King George V, and during the Easter Rising of 1916, she acted as a sniper and commandeered vehicles to establish barricades. Lieutenant Markievicz was second in command to Michael Mallin during the fighting in St. Stephen's Green. Mallin, Markievicz, and their men held their ground for six days until they finally surrendered. They were taken to Dublin Castle, and the Countess was then transported to Kilmainham jail where she was placed in solitary confinement. Sentenced to death, her sentence was commuted to life on account of her sex. However, in 1917 the Countess and others involved in the Easter Rising were released from prison due a general amnesty. The Countess continued her political activism by being jailed for her anti-conscription activities during World War I and was then elected as an MP to the British House of Commons on the Sinn Fein ticket. She refused to take her seat as consistent with the policy of parliamentary abstentionism. She was named the Labour Minister in the first Dáil or assembly in Dublin. She left the government, however, in 1922 after the majority of the Dáil voted in favor of the 1921 Treaty which effectively partitioned Ireland. She died in 1927 at the age of 59 due to complications from appendicitis.

After the Easter Rising, the women of Cumann na nBan organized themselves into committees to look after prisoners and raise money for the families of those imprisoned. Cumann na nBan definitely identified more with the militancy of the Irish Volunteers than the relatively moderate republicanism of Sinn Fein. Despite this fact, however, Sinn Fein declared at its 1917 convention that its constitution would now include the following statement, "the equality of men and women in this organization will be emphasized in all speeches and pamphlets" (Ward 1983, 125). Moreover, at least four women were elected to Sinn Fein's Executive Council at the convention.

By 1919-1920, the situation in Ireland became more unbearable. The British unleashed the "Black and Tans" of paid mercenaries who terrorized the population, including burning the homes of women, children, and the elderly. Eventually, martial law was declared in many cities in Britain and Cumann na nBan, Sinn Fein, and the IRA were all declared illegal organizations. Nonetheless, the women continued to meet clandestinely and stockpile medicines for another armed clash with the British. With the division over the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the members of Cumann na nBan were largely anti-Treaty. The Countess proposed a resolution, which passed easily, and read, "This executive of Cumann reaffirms their allegiance to the Irish republic and therefore cannot support the Articles of Treaty signed in London" (Ward 1983, 172). With the onset of the Civil War in Ireland between the pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty factions, the women of Cumann were integral to the support of IRA units.

At the time of the Republican split in 1969-1970, many women joined what they perceived to be the socialist wing—the Official IRA—who then disbanded Cumann and accepted women into the OIRA; the PIRA maintained Cumann as a separate organization but allowed women to be seconded into the IRA, which meant they were militarily active but did not have the status of full members (Ward 1983,

259). While the majority of women in Northern Ireland supported a policy of non-violence, committed Republican feminists believed that violence was the only way to force Britain's withdrawal from Northern Ireland. Despite their status, after 1969 women played an increasing 'frontline' role against British troops and Protestant paramilitary units as well as against the British public. Initially, women were used as sexual bait to lure British soldiers into a trap where they were then shot dead by IRA gunmen. Like the women of Algeria, women used the 'safety' of motherhood to help with the terrorist cause. They carried baby bombs in prams to shopping centers (MacDonald 1991, 131).

Women in the IRA and armed Irish Republican groups, like their male counterparts, are often from predominantly working class backgrounds (Talbot 2000, 168). Moreover, they often continue to participate after they have children. In her interviews with Republican women, Eileen MacDonald (1991) listened to stories of how many women found it difficult to balance their participation in the IRA with raising children. If a woman was sent to prison, often the extended family would look after the children, but in situations where they was no immediate family, other Republican women took the children into their own homes. In Mary Corcoran's (2006) interviews with many of these women, she finds IRA internees handled this separation from their children in very different ways. Some women even gave birth to children in prison and kept their babies with them for up to a year. Other women completely refused to have their children visit them in prison and had great difficulty re-establishing their maternal connections with their children upon release. And still other women related to Corcoran in interviews how seeing their children every week or once a month was the only way they remained sane while in prison.

In 1976, the prisoners embarked on a no-wash protest whereby they refused to wear prison clothing and clean out their cells. It was only when all else failed that they resorted to the ultimate protest, the hunger strike. The hunger strikers were supported by the Relatives' Action Committees, which were often founded by women. Bobby Sands was the first to die in the hunger strikes and became a martyr figure for the IRA. Despite initial intransigence from the IRA leadership, the IRA women also participated in the no wash protest and hunger strikes. For more than one year, 32 women, many of whom were under 25 years of age lived in tiny cells and did not wash themselves amid their own menstrual blood and bodily waste (Aretxaga 1997, 122). Relatives of the women prisoners encouraged them to forego the dirty protest, but the women persisted. At the Women's Armagh Prison, the staff came to work every day clad in protective suits and masks to hose down the urine and excrement from the walls. Women were concerned that participation in the hunger strikes would make them sterile, but committed themselves to seeing it through. Challenging the male heroic narrative, Mairead Farrell, Mary Doyle, and Mairead Nugent all embarked on a hunger strike. Mary Doyle, for example, lost her mother in a loyalist bomb explosion. Of the 32 protesting female prisoners, ten lost close relatives—most were killed by loyalists or the British army (Aretxaga 1997, 134). Marion Price, who was sentenced with her sister Dolores in 1973 for bombing the Old Bailey in London, had been on a hunger strike from November 1973-June 1974.

In the late 1970s/early 1980s hunger strikes, prisoners were not force fed; however, the women in the 1920s who also participated in hunger strikes to protest their treatment were force fed, much as incarcerated suffragettes were in the United States and elsewhere. There is no doubt that the IRA women of the 1970s drew strength from their predecessors decades earlier.

Marian Price As discussed in all the case studies, the social network of IRA women was important for their activism. Female IRA members were often immersed in the Republican milieu from a very early age, and they often had male family members who were involved in the IRA. For example IRA Volunteer Marian Price recalled, "I was born into a very staunch Republican family. My father was a republican. My father had been a member of the IRA in the 1940s and my mother's family was republican too, so we always grew up with republicanism" (English 2003, 129). One of Marian's aunts even had both of her hands blown off in 1938 while moving hand grenades. In November 1973, eight Belfast people including sisters Marian and Dolores Price, ages 19 and 22 year old respectively, were found guilty for planting London bombs. Two bombs were defused but the others outside of the Old Bailey and the Ministry of Agriculture exploded. A caretaker died of a heart attack and more than 200 others were injured. Arrested at Heathrow airport as they tried to make an escape, they all admitted to being in the IRA and were given life sentences. Price said, "it doesn't matter if it's Irish people dying, so if the armed struggle was to succeed then it was necessary to bring it to the heart of the British establishment" (English 2003, 163). Marian Price and others went on hunger strike too once the British government decided to stop classifying the IRA detainees as political prisoners. Price was force fed for over 200 days. Labour Party Home Secretary Roy Jenkins realized the appeal of the Price sisters when he said, (they) "were the stuff of which Irish martyrs could be made: two young, slim, dark girls, devout yet dedicated to terrorism. I thought of the violent repercussions when Terrence MacSwiney, lord mayor of Cork, starved himself to death in Brixton jail in 1920 and decided that if an alderman, even though also a scholar/poet, could produce such a wave of retaliation, the consequences of death of those charismatic colleens[5] were incalculable" (English 2003, 164).

In 1980, Marian Price received the Royal Prerogative of Mercy and was freed on humanitarian grounds because she suffered from an eating disorder, most likely induced by her hunger striking days. Price is now married today with two daughters and she remains committed to the republican cause. Price, who was interviewed in 2003 by a reporter from *The Guardian* said, "I don't expect sympathy. I have no regrets. I joined young but I knew the risks involved. I had thought long and hard. It wasn't an emotional reaction to something that happened to my family or me. It was a question of fulfilling the beliefs I still hold" (Cowan 2003). Price, a committed Republican, became discouraged by the PIRA's participation in the Good Friday peace talks and left the organization in 1998. She then joined the 32 County Sovereignty Movement, the political wing of the Real IRA. Price claimed she was visited by some Provisionals who told her to keep quiet regarding her outspoken

5 The word "colleen" is Irish Gaelic for girl.

criticism of the peace talks, but she refused and argued, "to suggest that a war was fought for what they (the Provisionals) have today, it diminishes anybody who partook in that war, anybody who died for it, and went out there and sacrificed their lives and their liberty" (English 2003, 317).

Máire Drumm Máire Drumm, born in 1919, grew up in the tradition of militant republicanism. After completing school in Armagh, she moved to Belfast to find employment. While making visits to Republican prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail from her own area, she met Belfast IRA Volunteer Jimmy Drumm. They were married in 1946 after Jimmy's release, and eventually settled in Andersonstown in West Belfast. After the severe unrest in 1969, Máire emerged as a leader and organizer and opened her house to refugees from parts of Belfast which were under attack from Protestants. Máire was among the first to warn that the 'peace-keeping' British troops were in fact an occupation force and not there to protect the Catholics in Northern Ireland. When the curfews were imposed in July 1970, Máire led the 'pram invasion' which entailed women pushing baby carriages laden with supplies into the besieged area, and in defiance of the British government.

Her leadership qualities were recognized by Sinn Fein, and she was elected as vice-president of the party. Refusing to be silenced in spite of constant harassment, Máire was to serve several periods of imprisonment in Armagh and Mountjoy. Refused a visa to travel to the United States for eye treatment, Máire underwent surgery in a Belfast hospital. While recovering from her operation, Máire was murdered on October 28, 1976. Loyalist gunmen, dressed as doctors, entered the ward and killed Máire, wounding another patient in the attack. At the time of her assassination, her youngest daughter, Máire Og Drumm, was serving a sentence in Armagh Women's prison.

Mairead Farrell Mairead Farrell was born in Belfast in 1957 and had family connections both to the IRA and Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) in past generations on both sides of her family. She joined the IRA as a teenager and was sentenced in 1976 to 14 years imprisonment for possession of explosions and for IRA membership. She became the OC (Officer Commanding) of women prisoners in Armagh jail and was one of the leaders of the Armagh 1980 no-wash protest and a hunger striker as well. She was known for her strong feminist views. At the age of 18, Mairead conspired with two male IRA members to bomb a hotel frequented by the British and many Protestants. As the bomb was planted, the three shouted to all those in the hotel to leave at once. While no one was fatally injured in the bombing, Mairead was captured by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, and one of her male associates was killed. While in the Armagh women's prison serving a 14 year sentence for the bombing, she campaigned for women's equality within the IRA. During that period, Sinn Fein put forth Farrell as a candidate for election.

Scott Graham, in his book *Violent Delights* (1998),[6] claims he was the lover of Mairead Farrell before the bombing. The real shocker in this tale of two star-crossed

6 While Graham's book is a page-turner, there are some concerns that he mixes fact and fiction together to write a compelling novel. Graham claims he first met Farrell in a bar when

lovers is that Graham was a member of the elite British SAS (Special Air Services) until 1998. In Graham's account of his years in the SAS and his secret life as the lover of Farrell, he discusses Mairead's passion for the Republican cause, and how her conviction that violence was the only way to rid Northern Ireland of the British once and for all was solidified during her ten years in prison. While in prison, according to Graham, Mairead immersed herself in Irish history and language courses and formed a tight nucleus of female prisoners who had been convicted for offenses in the name of the IRA.

She was released from prison in October 1986, four years before the term of her original 14 year sentence, and returned to IRA life. Graham's account of his yearning to reconnect with Mairead after their ten year estrangement is again fit for a movie. He relates how he drives around where she used to live and just happens to see her walking on the street. The two reconnect, yet he never confesses to Mairead that he is a member of the SAS. Graham claims that Mairead told him in sobbing episodes of the sexual violence she experienced while in prison for the first two years. As a young, innocent 18 year old, Mairead was a coveted lover for the older female inmates. When Graham asks Mairead how she survived, she explains she eventually succumbed to the need for a 'protector', an older woman who she would have sex with in order to not be raped by other women in Armagh prison. Mairead related to Graham how she began to become more confident and decided to utilize these ten long years to deepen her resolve to the IRA. Participating in the no-wash protest and hunger-strikes made Mairead a leader within the women's prison. Graham claims Mairead also told him she spent a great deal of time in solitary confinement, since the prison guards realized she was one of the leaders.

Two years after her release, Mairead Farrell was gunned down in British-controlled Gibraltar, along with two other IRA male operatives, by the British SAS in 1988. The trio had planned to bomb the band and guard of the Royal Anglican Regiment stationed in Gibraltar. The three IRA members were unarmed when shot dead and no bomb was found in their car; however, a bomb was later recovered in a car park in Spain (English 2003, 256). In this car, which had been rented in one of Mairead's false names, was 64 kilos of Semtex, ammunition from Yugoslavia, detonators from Canada, and batteries and timers from Spain, which had been used in the past by ETA (Graham 1997, 339). SAS member Scott Graham claims in his book *Violent Delights* that the British government never intended to capture the three IRA operatives alive. Moreover, Graham relates how it became known within the SAS that he had been having an affair with Mairead for quite some time. Believing he could have encouraged Mairead to come to England and live a life without the IRA, Graham details how we was planning on coming clean to Mairead very soon to tell her about his life in the SAS. However, before they could reconnect, Graham was ordered to Gibraltar to give a positive identification on her. The British intelligence had information that a bombing was being planned. As he was driven around Gibraltar on the look out for his lover, Graham said he had a sick feeling that this would be the end of Mairead's life. Graham describes how their eyes met even

---

she was a young woman. Throughout their entire relationship, he lied to Mairead and told her that he was a welder, which would account for his long absences from Northern Ireland.

though he was traveling in a car and Mairead was on foot. At this point, he radioed to operational headquarters and within a minute the SAS had surrounded the three of them and gun shots were fired in rapid succession. According to Graham, Mairead was shot three times in the back from a distance of less than three feet. A top-secret investigation was launched into the killings, and 60 Labour MPs sponsored a motion in the House of Commons "denouncing the Gibraltar shootings by SAS troops as an act of terrorism and tantamount to capital punishment without trial" (Graham 1997, 332). Moreover, the European Court of Human Rights ruled in 1995 that there was no justification for the killings of the three individuals—Mairead Farrell, Daniel McCann, and Sean Savage. Mairead Farrell was dead at the age of 31, yet even the funerals of the three IRA members turned violent when a Protestant loyalist, Michael Stone, attacked mourners with grenades and guns. Stone killed three and wounded many more before he was stopped.[7]

While women undoubtedly played an important role in early 20th century Ireland, it is apparent that women were often relegated to support roles within the broader Republican movement. Women provided safe houses for IRA operatives, ferried messages and guns on their bodies to designated locations, and even patrolled the streets in the middle of the night to warn the Catholic men in Northern Ireland of British round-ups. They stoically waited for Republican men imprisoned by the British to return home and kept the family fed and clothed during those long months and years. Women also formed the bulk of the membership of the Relative Actions Committee, which was formed in 1976. "To convey the reality of their sons' situation, the women wrapped themselves only in blankets and took to the streets of Catholic districts with banners and posters to make the invisible visible" (Aretxaga 1997, 106). Thus, despite Ireland being a traditional, male-dominated society, women were breaking through gender barriers in not so subtle ways; however, Sinn Fein remained a relatively 'unenlightened' organization when it came to addressing gender equity.

"The model of gender relations proposed from the republican ranks of the PIRA in the first half of the 1970s was tremendously conservative. If the male ideal was the republican martyr, then the female ideal was the devoted republican wife and mother" (Aretxaga 1997, 151). Hence, many of the wall murals painted in Northern Ireland portrayed a weeping "Mother Ireland" akin to the Virgin Mary weeping for the loss of her sons in the struggle against the British. However, the IRA did have a radical feminist faction which linked national independence and women's liberation. A February 1979 article in an official IRA newspaper was entitled "The Slave of Slaves", and it criticized the absence of women in the republican movement. Eventually, Sinn Fein established a Department of Women's Affairs to ensure a unity in struggle. While issues of divorce and contraception were discussed within Sinn Fein's women's section, a relatively conservative approach to these social issues was maintained. After all, the Irish Constitution of 1937 had banned divorce, prohibited contraception, and severely restricted salaried work for married women since the

7 In November 2006, Michael Stone was again arrested for breaking into a gathering of Protestants and Catholics to restart the moribund Stormont Assembly. He was detained by guards and has been charged with criminal offenses. Stone was released from jail in 2000 as part of the terms of the Good Friday Peace Accords.

domestic sphere and motherhood defined the social role for women in Irish society (Aretxaga 1997, 63).

Britain's Governmental Response

The British government's response to the Troubles in Northern Ireland has been a combination of political engagement, policing and covert operations over the past four decades. As of this writing, the Stormont Assembly in Northern Ireland has been reconstituted after years in suspension. Hopefully, this is the start of a new chapter of peace and compromise between Northern Ireland's Catholics and Protestants.

Politically, the British government has permitted representatives from Northern Ireland to be elected into the British parliament for decades. This was one of the most significant reasons for the split between the pro and anti-treaty factions in the 1920s. Many Catholics in Northern Ireland did not want to send representatives to what they viewed as an illegitimate and imperial Parliament in London. However as the decades progressed, more MPs from Northern Ireland did compete for and occupy seats to represent the Catholic population of Northern Ireland. Hunger-striker, Bobby Sands, for example was elected as an MP while he was dying in prison. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey served as an MP from 1969 to 1974 for the Mid Ulster constituency. The youngest MP ever elected at the age of 21, Devlin made headlines by punching Reginald Maulding, then Secretary of State for the Home Department in Prime Minister Heath's government, when he made a statement to Parliament on Bloody Sunday supporting the British Army's official line that it had fired only in self-defense. Devlin was suspended from Parliament for six months. In 1981, Devlin and her husband were shot and very seriously wounded, apparently by loyalists who broke into their home. Ironically, the British Army saved their lives, albeit under suspicious circumstances. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Devlin and her two daughters remained very active in Republican circles, and Devlin has openly criticized the Good Friday Agreement. In 2003, she was barred from entering the United States even though she had traveled to the United States frequently over the past few decades.

The most visible manifestations of Britain's police presence in Northern Ireland was through its proxy the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which was overwhelmingly Protestant in composition. Once the Troubles began, Britain's presence in Northern Ireland became much more visible. First, the British Army imposed a curfew on Lower Falls in 1970, which also included a series of house searches in pursuit of IRA men and arms. Republican women recall hearing voices from helicopters ordering everybody inside their houses, the oppressive smell of tear gas, and kerchiefs soaked in water and vinegar to counteract the effects of the gas (Aretxaga 1997, 57). As a result of the curfew, women also began to brazenly violate the curfew because they demanded the right to get food and milk for their children. Second, the British government introduced the policy of internment without trial in August 1971. The British government's objective was to dismantle the IRA through sweeping arrests. Internees were held at three camps: Long Kesh, Magilligan, and the ship Maidstone in the Belfast harbor (Aretxaga 1997, 64). As discussed earlier, the policy of internment was an excellent recruiting tool for a fairly dormant IRA in the early 1970s. Women

were not interned until December 1972. Although internment ended in 1975, the British-mandated practice had a tremendous effect on increasing recruitment into the IRA's ranks. Prison letters, testimonies, and diaries attest to frequent beatings by the authorities in charge of both male and female prisoners. Along with beatings and accusations of torture, humiliating body cavity searches were also conducted on the republican prisoners. Women republican prisoners also felt particularly vulnerable at times to sexual harassment and were threatened with rape if they did not cooperate.

Finally, the British government deployed the Special Air Service (SAS), the principal special forces organization of the British Army, to Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. The SAS, which was formed in 1941 to conduct raids behind German lines in North Africa, worked with the Royal Ulster Constabulary and other intelligence agencies to ferret out IRA members. Although they were technically barred from entering the Republic of Ireland since it constituted a sovereign nation-state, there are allegations that SAS members did illegally cross the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland to forcibly bring IRA members back to Northern Ireland to be arrested. Moreover, the SAS also recruited Northern Ireland Catholic informants to gather and deliver intelligence about the IRA's leadership structure, financing, and future terrorist attacks.

Chapter Summary

Women's involvement in ethnonational separatist violence has been examined in this chapter. Although women, especially as mothers, are viewed in all societies as the embodiment of the 'nation' due to their biological role in reproducing future generations, women as perpetrators of political violence and terrorism on behalf of their nation has been less examined. In all three case studies—Sri Lanka, Spain, and Northern Ireland—women challenged the traditions and gender norms of conservative, patriarchal societies to participate in political violence. Although women were by no means 'equal' to the predominantly male leadership in the LTTE, ETA, or IRA, the women have certainly challenged the male leadership to become more inclusive of females and have even introduced feminist concerns into the decision-making process.

The role of women as suicide bombers in the LTTE, some argue, is highly problematic. Rather than viewing these women as achieving equality to men in their 'right to die' for Eelam or Tamil freedom and a homeland, some researchers and observers argue that these women are simply cannon fodder for the male leadership. Tamil women might be duped into believing that their sacrifice is of equal worth to men; however, strategically female suicide bombers (as we shall see in Chapter 6) are able to move about more freely since women are overwhelmingly perceived as less threatening to often male-dominated security forces. Furthermore, the issue of ascertaining the women of the LTTE's motivations for joining is difficult to discern. As related in Miranda Alison's first person interviews with these women, the spectrum of possible motivations may include commitment to the ideological cause of Eelam as well as fear of sexual assault and rape.

Women's involvement in ETA and the IRA has at times been mitigated by male relatives in the organizations. Again, the relational networks of these women are important to understand. Recruitment into ETA or IRA as a courier, intelligence gatherer, or bomb maker is a sensitive undertaking. Of course it makes sense that women who have grown up in families where strident Basque nationalism and Irish Republicanism were inculcated to the children are more likely to be affected by this ideological influence. Undoubtedly, the same holds true for men involved in ETA and the IRA. Women in ETA and the IRA were certainly viewed as a legitimate threat by the Spanish and British governments respectively, and suffered from at the very least coercive interrogation techniques and at the worst torture. Moreover, the IRA women in particular fought for equality within the IRA leadership structure to participate in the no wash and hunger strike protests at the prisons during the 1970s and 1980s. While initially rebuffed by the IRA male leadership due to the fear that the image of women possibly dying would in some way delegitimize the IRA's cause and be used for propaganda purposes by the British government, the male IRA leadership acquiesced and subsequently the IRA women acted in solidarity with their male counterparts.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 6

Female Suicide Bombers: Analyzing the Aberrant Woman's Paradox

A woman blowing herself up in the name of Tamil Eelam, Kurdish autonomy, Palestine, Allah, her dead husband or brother engenders a deep revulsion amongst most people. Female suicide bombers still constitute a minority of suicide bombers, but they are becoming increasingly frequent in a few conflicts. If there is moral scorn heaped upon women who engage in political violence and terrorism such as kidnappings and assassinations, there is even a great amount of disdain attributed to females who purposely end their life to take others' lives as well. While terrorism through suicide has been explicitly a man's domain in many contexts, women have been suicide bombers in the context of the LTTE,[1] PKK, Chechnya, and the Palestinian territories. Recently, the Iraq conflict has featured female suicide bombers. For example, Sajida Mubarak al-Rishawi, an Iraqi woman, tried and failed to blow herself up alongside her husband in a suicide bombing attack in Jordan on 9 November 2005. On the same day, Muriel Degauque, a Belgian who married a Muslim and converted to Islam, blew herself up in Iraq while trying to attack U.S. troops.

Suicide terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Pedazhur (2005) and Bloom (2005) both discuss the historical antecedents to modern suicide bombers by discussing the Shiite sect of the Assassins. The Assassins operated in the mountainous areas between Syria and Persia during the 11th-13th centuries and trained young men to commit murders against prominent politicos with the aim of toppling the Sunni reign in the region. These men were drawn from a Shia sect that venerated Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the prophet who was martyred at the Battle of Karbala (in modern-day Iraq) in the seventh century (Bloom 2005, 6). The Assassins did not prepare escape routes and considered death as source of pride. Assassins were placed in the service of a very high level official whereupon he garnered the trust of his superior over a number of years. Then the Assassin would plunge a dagger into his master's back at the opportune moment.

Suicide bombing in the modern-day context is quite cost-effective and lethal. Most suicide operations cost only a few thousand dollars to plan and execute. Moreover, the United States State Department has found that even though suicide attacks only constitute three per cent of the sum total of terrorist incidents in the world, they account for 48 per cent of the fatalities from terrorism (Pedazhur 2005, 12). In conjunction with its cost-effectiveness and lethality, suicide bombings

1 The average age of recruits in the LTTE's Black Tiger suicide unit has ranged between 14-16 years of age, and 30-40 per cent of the LTTE's suicide terrorism has been carried out by females (Ness 2005, 363).

generate extensive media coverage as well. The scenes of carnage, body parts, and grieving friends and family members instantly transport the viewer to the restaurant, bus, or school where the suicide bombing took place. The 'it could have been me' factor certainly takes an additional psychological toll on the viewer of these images. Suicide bombings have become so expected in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict that they do not generate as much surprise any longer. However, the suicide bombings in the London subway system in July 2005 certainly captured the West's attention. Many believe it is simply a matter of time before the United States experiences suicide bombers as well.

As we have considered in other chapters so far, the main question for this particular type of terrorism is: are the women committing these acts out of political convictions, personal shame, or a combination thereof? Under what circumstances will women commit this type of terrorist attack? It is important to note that female suicide bombers have been from secular and religious terrorist organizations. Every suicide attack by women from 1985 to 2000 was secular in political motivation; however, since 2000, Islamists have carried out more than two-thirds of such missions (Dickey 2005). Although it can be difficult to categorize a conflict, much less a suicide bomber's political motivations as either secular or religious in nature, this chapter will highlight three contexts where female suicide bombers have been utilized: the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party), the Palestinian territories, and the Chechen case.

The PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan/Kurdistan Workers' Party)

Out of the three cases discussed in this chapter, the evolution of the PKK and its demands for Kurdish autonomy might be the most unfamiliar to readers. However, since the onset of guerrilla violence in 1984 in southeastern Turkey, it is estimated that 30,000 people have died at the hands of the PKK, the Turkish security forces, and through reprisal killings. Despite the call for a unilateral cease-fire by Abdullah Öcalan, the undisputed leader of the PKK, in 1999 upon his arrest and extradition to Turkey, violence continues as of this writing. Deadly bombings in 2006, many claimed by the Kurdistan Freedom Falcons/Kurdistan Liberation Hawks which is widely assumed to be an arm of the technically defunct PKK, in conjunction with the war in Iraq have kept the issue of Kurdish demands for secession and/or autonomy within Turkey and in surrounding countries a concern for the entire world. In late September 2006, Öcalan from prison again declared another unilateral cease-fire; however, the Turkish government has ignored previous cease-fires by the group, saying it does not negotiate with terrorists. Military commanders have vowed to fight until all rebels are killed or surrender.

Macrolevel Factors

Kurds, numbering between 25-30 million live throughout the world; however, the majority of Kurds live in Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. The "Kurdish question" has been problematic for all four of these countries. Often viewed as a 'fifth column'

within the country, Kurds have been discriminated against and not accorded full citizenship rights in many countries. Saddam's infamous gassing of the Kurds in Halabja in 1988 was nothing less than a genocidal campaign; however, the Kurds in Turkey also have a long history of difficult relations with the Turkish government.

The Ottoman Empire was of course a multi-religious and multi-ethnic configuration, but Turkish ethnicity was at its core. With the empire's defeat in 1918, the victorious powers attempted to dismantle the Ottoman state with deliberate speed. Ottoman Army General Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) organized an Anatolian resistance movement mainly composed of Turks and Kurds. Following World War I, Kurds were promised an independent nation-state in the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres. However, Turkish nationalists rejected the terms of the treaty, and following the defeat of the Greek forces in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922), the Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923. Turkish Kurdistan was given to Turkey and the rest was accepted as part of the British Empire, except for Iranian Kurdistan which was at the time part of Persia, or modern-day Iran.

With the creation of an independent Turkey in 1923, the constitution of 1924 left no room for ethnic minorities. Article 88 of the 1924 Constitution decreed, "Inhabitants of Turkey shall be deemed to be Turkish irrespective of their religion and race" (Özcan 2006, 78). Atatürk's brand of top-down nationalism necessitated the denial of ethnic minorities, namely the Kurds who populated about one-fourth of the entire country. Their names, language, culture, and history was denied and manipulated. For example, the Kurdish language was now determined to be "broken Persian." "The new Turkish state, with its new, solid Turkish nationalism had invented the Turkish nation" (Özcan 2006, 83). Where they had once been ethnic heterogeneity within the Ottoman Empire, there was now above all else a secular, Turkish nation which recognized no other ethnic minorities.

Although three substantial Kurdish armed uprisings occurred in 1925, 1930, and 1937, the young Turkish republic was able to suppress all of them in relatively short order (Özcan 2006, 84). Indiscriminate massacres, massive deportations, and anything associated with the Kurdish ethnic minority was eliminated from the public sphere. Terrified parents whispered lessons in the Kurdish language to their children in an effort to transmit to future generations a significant part of their culture and heritage. Atatürk's far-reaching reforms, as well as his personality cult, lasted far beyond his death in 1938; however, political instability continued to affect Turkey with periodic, bloodless coups. The Turkish military, viewed as the guardian of Turkey's secular character, saw it fit to intervene in Turkish political affairs on three occasions in 1960, 1971, and 1980.

The coup of 1960, which resulted in the ousting of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes (1950-1960) and his subsequent execution by hanging, did usher in a period of political liberalization in Turkey. Prime Minister Menderes had instituted press censorship, including arresting offending journalists. Under the new government after the coup, civil society was permitted to organize more freely. The Kurds too benefited from this change. A few public associations led by Kurdish intellectuals arose, and journal articles were published openly addressing the so-called "Kurdish question" which had been effectively silenced for the past four decades since Turkey's founding. Although the army again intervened in 1971 due to its belief

that public agitation was becoming too radicalized, the Kurdish question was now a matter of public discourse.

Mesolevel Factors: Ideology and Praxis

The PKK's nucleus of supporters was originally a group called the "Ankara Democratic Patriotic Association of Higher Education" or Apocus, which was made up largely of students led by Abdullah Öcalan. After leaving his village, the Kurdish Öcalan studied Political Science at the University of Ankara. The study group began to focus its interest on the Kurdish population in southeast Turkey. The leftist extremists, who dominated many of the debate clubs within the University of Ankara, did not consider the liberation of Kurds separately from that of the entire country. From 1974 to 1978, Öcalan spent his time studying the theories of revolutionary activity and organizing a political party. With the official release of the "Proclamation of Independence of PKK" in 1978, the group became known as the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). The manifestos studied by researcher Ali Kemal Özcan use classical Marxist terms such as class struggle, surplus value, and labor exploitation to justify their socio-political objectives. For example, Öcalan defines in his 1978 manifesto the following objectives for the PKK: (1) a movement from a capitalist to socialist to proletarian revolution; (2) Kurdistan is an inter-state colony suppressed by the Turkish government; (3) a national liberation struggle is unavoidable for liberating the Kurdish people; (4) an independent, united, and democratic Kurdistan is the ultimate objective of the revolution; (5) the revolution will be led by a cadre of the proletariat who are disassociated from material production; and (6) the targets of the revolution are the conquerors of Kurdistan, the Turkish state, and its collaborators (Özcan 2006: 100-101).

A few interesting paradoxes are evident when examining the ideological foundations of the PKK. First, classical Marxism is tremendously troubled by nationalism. Nationalism, in effect, was one of the forces which kept the workers of the world from uniting and realizing that they had more in common via their economic status than as citizens of a certain nation. Yet, Öcalan was calling simultaneously for an ethno-national revolution within the framework of a proletarian revolution. Second, the Kurds are not a united homogenous group. They are many tribes of Kurds who speak various dialects of the language. Öcalan assumed that these tribal differences could be mitigated and that all Kurds would unite behind his vision. Third, Öcalan utilized a Marxist framework to inspire a very religious Muslim society. The Kurds, predominantly Sunni Muslim, of course are not homogenous in their piety either; however, the Kurds are viewed as more of a traditional people in Turkey than in the western part of the country which is geographically closer to Europe. For Marx, religion was the opiate of the masses; however, Öcalan neglected to recognize the importance of their faith for many of the Kurds he hoped to rally behind his ideas. On the other hand, Öcalan's grievances are much in the same vain as the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Catholics in Northern Ireland. Öcalan, relying on much of the history already discussed in previous paragraphs, framed the Kurds as a minority under attack and suffering repression. Therefore, the PKK is often characterized as a mainly secular, Marxist terrorist organization with separatist aspirations for the

Kurdish people. The ideological foundations of the PKK, however, would adapt to important external changes throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

In the initial phase of organizing from 1978-1984, Öcalan liquidated many rival Kurdish groups, similar to the tactics of the LTTE in Sri Lanka. In fact, Ami Pedazhur (2005) argues the leadership styles of Prabhakaran of the LTTE and Öcalan of the PKK were almost identical (p. 71). Neither man tolerated resistance or disagreement, and both developed a 'cult of personality' around him. During the initial phase, the PKK tried to gain support of the population and attacked the machinery of the government through ambushes, sabotage, riots, protests, and demonstrations. Violent force was used by the PKK against those Kurds who were suspected of collaborating with the Turkish authorities, and a turf war was fought amongst Kurdish organizations for the loyalty of the Kurdish population within Turkey. The PKK financed its operations through illegal means, including drug trafficking into Europe, where a substantial Kurdish diaspora lives and provides a source of funding, to the imposition of the 'revolutionary tax' on business owners and professionals. Failure to pay the revolutionary tax to the PKK could result in damage to one's business assets and in the extreme kidnapping, torture, and even death. The PKK was organized in a hierarchical fashion with a central committee practicing a form of democratic centralism. Öcalan, the inspirational leader and educator who would give long lectures which were recorded on audiotapes and distributed throughout Kurdistan as well as within Europe, was the apex of the decision-making apparatus. On the eve of the 1980 military coup in Turkey, Öcalan escaped from Turkey as did many others from pro-Kurdish political groups (Özcan 2006, 195).

During the initial phase period of 1978-1984, forms of resistance by PKK prisoners in Turkish prisons were gaining some international recognition. For example, in May 1982 four members of the PKK set fire to themselves and burned to death hand-in-hand to protest against brutal Turkish torture methods. Some months later at the same prison in the Kurdish stronghold of Diyarbakir in southeastern Turkey, a group of prominent PKK members went on a hunger strike which culminated in four deaths. The first two were members of the PKK's central committee and had been two of the seven initial participants at Öcalan's initial organizational meeting in 1974.

Starting in August 1984, the PKK largely based in and supported by Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley, launched conventional attacks and bombings against Turkish governmental installations. Initially, the Turkish state downplayed the attacks; however, it became quickly apparent that the Turkish state faced a well-financed, organized, and fanatically committed threat. Öcalan did declare a unilateral and unconditional cease-fire in 1993, which stated that the PKK did not wish to separate from Turkey, in the presence of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan leader and now Iraqi President Jalal Talabani; however, the Turkish state did not respond (Özcan 2006, 205). With the collapse of the Soviet Union, however, in 1991, it was readily apparent that the Marxist-Leninist rhetoric needed to be updated considerably. At the 1995 Fifth Congress of the PKK, a new and massive restructuring of the organization and its policies was significant. One of the most important resolutions adopted was to abandon the traditional Cold War symbols of the hammer and sickle, which were dropped from the PKK's party flag and emblem. The PKK delegates voted

to reject the concept of Soviet socialism and other dogmatic policies. Moreover, the PKK Congress agreed to increase its use of diplomacy and political activities to complement the armed struggle. Despite these relatively positive developments, however, suicide bombings commenced in June 1996. According to Pedazhur (2005), it was Öcalan's decision to unleash suicide bombers, namely females.

Microlevel Factors: Female Suicide Bombers

Of the 15 suicide attackers, eleven were young women (Bloom 2005, 102). The ages of the female perpetrators ranged from 17 to 27. None of them possessed professional skills, and some of them were school dropouts. They generally came from crowded and poor families (Ergil 2000, 50). Young female PKK members have been recruited as young as the age of 10 where they were trained to be guerrilla fighters and raised away from their parents. The Free Women's Union of Kurdistan served as the principal military arm of the organization for mounting suicide actions (Pedazhur 2005, 94).

On 29 June 1996, Zeynep Kinaci blew herself up and killed ten Turkish soldiers as they were singing the Turkish national anthem (Özcan 2006, 175). She was a 24 year old married woman with a university degree in social sciences and worked as an X-ray technician. She began to work professionally for the party with her husband two years before her terrorist attack. Joining the guerrilla forces only a year prior to her suicide bombing, she recorded three messages in the forms of letters: "To the Party Leadership, To the Kurdistan Women Freedom Fighters, and To the Patriotic People of Kurdistan and Revolutionary Public Opinion." She wrote,

> I shout to the whole world. Hear me, open your eyes. We are the children of a people that has had their country taken away and has been scattered to the four corners of the world. We want to live in freedom in our own land like human beings. Blood, tears, and tyranny must no longer be the destiny of our people. We long for peace, fraternity, love, humanity, nature, and life more than anyone. We do not want to cause war, to die or to kill. But there is no other way of gaining our freedom. It is the imperialist powers and their lackey, the Turkish state, which are responsible for the war (Özcan 2006, 176).

In 1996 Leyla Kaplan engaged in a suicide bombing at the entrance of the building of the Adana Police Rapid Deployment Force Directorate, killing three policemen, wounding eight officers, one police technician, and three civilian bystanders (Ergil 2000, 50). According to Ergil's analysis, Kaplan did not volunteer for the mission but was forced to become a human bomb when another female PKK member was executed in front of Kaplan when she refused to carry out the suicide attack.[2]

According to Ergil's analysis of the female suicide bombers, the group pressure exhibited within the PKK makes it impossible to speak of an individual motivation for engaging in suicide bombings or self-immolations. The peak of suicide terrorism was the period between Öcalan's arrest in Kenya in 1998 and his imprisonment in Turkey and his trial, which ended in a verdict of capital punishment in June 1999. This sentence was later changed to life in prison for two main reasons. First, the

2 Ergil did not provide a citation for this allegation in the footnotes of his article.

Turkish government did not want to make a martyr of Öcalan by executing him and second, Turkey's decades-long quest to join the European Union as a full member was surely a factor since the EU does not permit the death penalty. According to Pedazhur (2005), Öcalan decided to unleash suicide bombers as a tactic. In a December 1998 interview Öcalan said, "Those who explode bombs wrapped around themselves in a manner to harm innocent civilians will explode them in crowds that support this fascist government in opposition to the invasion of our land. There will be hundreds of explosions. Turkey has to know this… But I may not be able to stop them tomorrow; it is not my responsibility to do so anyway" (Ergil 2006, 45). Immediately after Öcalan's arrest,[3] PKK guerrilla commanders, including Öcalan's brother Osman Öcalan issued threats to the Turkish government such as, "the youth of Kurdistan must prove that they are Apo's fedayeen"[4] (Ergil 2006, 47). During Öcalan's trial, two female "live bombs" (Bahar Ercik and Umut Gulya) as well as one male were arrested before they could carry out their missions, but 15 suicide missions did take place from June 1996 until July 1999. During the trial, Öcalan admitted the armed struggle was the wrong strategy, and he promised to order the PKK militia to cease hostilities against the Turkish armed forces. In conjunction with suicide bombings, several Kurdish men and women set themselves on fire to protest Öcalan's arrest and trial. They included an 11 year old school girl from East Kurdistan (Iran) and a 56 year old housewife from Istanbul (Özcan 2006, 13). People setting themselves on fire sometimes shouted, "Long Live Our Leader Apo" (Ozcan 2006, 174).

In addressing the question of why 11 out of the 15 'successful' suicide bombers were women, Ergil offers a standard set of reasons. In all three cases examined in this chapter, female suicide bombers have been deployed in traditional, conservative, and often highly religious societies. Similar to Barbara Victor's analysis of Palestinian female suicide bombers, Ergil does not believe that most of these women are committing these terrorist attacks out of their own volition; rather, they are simply cannon fodder in the armed struggle. For example, Ergil argues more women than men suicide bombers were deployed for the following reasons: (1) they can be kept under control easier than men; (2) they are less capable of contributing to the cause on the battlefield than men but are equally committed to the cause; (3) they can conceal their bombs by feigning pregnancy; (4) women who have lost their relatives or loved ones want to avenge the loss from a more visceral emotional reaction as opposed to *more logical men* (my emphasis); (5) PKK female terrorists are not able to return to

3 Öcalan's odyssey into the custody of the Turkish government was the subject of many conspiracy theories. Eventually, after an appearance in Rome, Italy, Öcalan made his way to Kenya. He thought he had received clearance from the Kenyan authorities to go to the airport and fly to the Netherlands, but the car he was traveling on the evening of 15 February 1999, disappeared from the convoy. Öcalan was then bound, gagged, drugged, and placed on a jet back to Turkey from Nairobi (Ozcan 2006, 15). Kurdish activists around the world viewed this series of events as an international conspiracy. Subsequently, Israel's Mossad, the CIA, and Greek intelligence agents were accused of taking part in this Öcalan's abduction back to Turkey.

4 *Fedayeen* is Arabic for one who is ready to sacrifice his life. Apo means "uncle" in Kurdish and was the name given to Abdullah Öcalan.

their families and assume a traditional female role because they have violated social norms; and (6) PKK women became a burden to the male PKK guerrilla fighters so deploying them as suicide bombers became a method of thinning the ranks (Ergil 2000, 50). The last reason cited by Ergil seems ludicrous, considering 11 female suicide bombers would hardly be sufficient to thin the ranks.

Turkish Governmental Response

The Turkish government has been determined to capture and kill PKK leaders and operatives as well as convincing the European Union to list the PKK as a terrorist organization. After the first PKK attacks in 1984, a decision was made by the Turkish government to organize and arm Kurdish tribes known to be close to the state. The government utilized traditional military tactics to counter the PKK as well as non-traditional, and many argue illegal tactics. Initially, the Turkish government viewed the PKK as a nuisance and unorganized group of bandits, but by 1992 the government was more robust in its military response. In March 1995, around 35,000 Turkish soldiers accompanied by air and artillery support crossed the Iraqi border and began to operate in the Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq[5] with the aim of halting PKK operations and establishing stability along the border (Pedazhur 2005, 90). Under Prime Minister Turgut Özal, temporary 'village guards' were created in areas where a state of emergency was enforced. Turkey's creation of the village guard system exacerbated the bloodshed in an effort to divide the Kurdish population. The PKK attacked the 'traitorous' village guards and vice versa. Throughout the mid to late 1980s, the PKK attacked many Kurdish villages in the southeastern part of the country for being 'state collaborators'. By the mid-1990s, Turkey had approximately 70,000 village guards who were paid an attractive salary and provided with a relatively high standard of living.

The Turkish government was condemned by human rights organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International for violating international humanitarian law by engaging in mass arrests, extrajudicial killings, torture, and harassment by the security forces (Bloom 2005, 106). However, the PKK has been equally as ruthless in its tactics. In June 1987, the PKK slaughtered the entire population of Pinarcik, a Kurdish village unsympathetic to its cause in order to coerce the villages into submission. In 1998, after Turkey convinced Syria to expel Öcalan, where he had enjoyed safe haven in Damascus since the 1980s, Greece and Italy provided Öcalan with refuge. At this time, Öcalan was traveling on a Greek-Cypriot passport. Even though Interpol had issued an arrest warrant for Öcalan, the Italian government refused to honor the notice. With the arrest of Öcalan and PKK's second in command, Semdin Sakik, in March 1998 the Turkish government attempted to win 'hearts and minds' by touting a new $100 million economic development program designed to combat the Kurdish insurgency in the region (Bloom 2005,

5 Recall that Northern Iraq was now under the no-fly zone enforced by the United States and Great Britain. Turkey's violation of the border between the two countries has been a point of contention between Turkey and the United States. Of course, Turkey has been adamant in its stance against the creation of an independent Kurdistan within in northern Iraq.

110). Moreover, the Turkish government in an effort to dilute the hold of the PKK over many of Turkey's Kurds allowed an Islamist group called Hizballah (not the organization in Lebanon) to operate relatively freely. The EU designated the PKK as a terrorist organization in May 2002, a month after the PKK changed its name to the Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (KADEK). In April 2004, the EU designated as a terrorist organization the Kurdistan Society Congress (Kongra-Gel) and later that year, Dutch security forces shut down a PKK training camp in the Netherlands where 29 individuals were arrested who were preparing to commit terrorist attacks. In 2006, a wave of bombings in tourist areas has killed dozens. Even though suicide bombings have not been utilized again, the potential for their reappearance is certainly possible.

The Palestinian Case

With the advent of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in the late 1960s, many terrorism experts claim the age of modern global terrorism was established. Airplane hijackings, the slaying of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972, the daring rescue at Entebbe in 1976, the Intifadas, and of course the numerous Arab-Israeli military confrontations over the decades of the 20th century have made the Israeli-Palestinian issue fraught with high emotions. "Peace in the Middle East" is the proverbial "holy grail' of international relations, as numerous U.S. presidents have attempted to broker a lasting peace between these two peoples. However, women have not figured prominently in this area, albeit with a few exceptions such as Israel Prime Minister Golda Mier (1969-1974), PFLP terrorist Leila Khaled, and Secretary of State Madeline Albright who played a key role in the Camp David II negotiations in 2000. Yet, the phenomenon of the female Palestinian suicide bomber made headlines around the world in January 2002 with the detonation of the first *shahida* Wafa Idris. During 2002-2004, it appeared a string of female suicide bombings and thwarted attempts was a harbinger of a turning point in the second Intifada, which began in 2000. Moreover, on 7 November 2006 Mervet Masoud, an 18 year old student at the Islamic University in Gaza City, killed herself and wounded one soldier. She released a video about her martyrdom, saying she was carrying out the bombing as revenge for an attack on a Gaza beach in June 2006 that killed several Palestinians.

The following pages will examine the historical context of this complicated conflict and analyze the role of women in the Palestinian liberation movement as well as provide, when possible, personal background information about these women.

Macrolevel Factors

The British had governed the mandate of Palestine since the conclusion of World War I with a great deal of difficulty. The British were attacked by both the Jewish and Arab population. Two small Jewish terrorist organizations, the Irgun Zvai Le'umi (National Military Organization) and the Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Freedom Fighters for Israel known to Jews by its Hebrew acronym Lehi and to the British as the Stern

Gang (Hoffman 1998, 48) had been targeting the British and Arab populations to achieve their political objective. Then in July 1946, Irgun bombed Jerusalem's King David Hotel, which served as the command center for British rule in Palestine. The explosion killed ninety-one individuals and wounded 45 other, including men and women, Arab, Jews, and British (Hoffman 1998, 51). Shortly thereafter, in this war of attrition future Prime Minister and Irgun member, Menachem Begin, achieved the Zionist goal. The British decided to rid themselves of this 'albatross' and turned over the issue of Palestine to the newly created United Nations. The organization tried unsuccessfully to suggest a partition plan in 1947, which the Arab population in Palestine rejected. The state of Israel was declared on 14 May 1948, one day before the expiration of the Palestinian mandate.

After the 1948-49 War of Independence, the Israeli state continued to grow. Meanwhile, thousands of Palestinians fled to neighboring Jordan. The Suez Canal Crisis of 1956 and the Six-Day War in 1967 were other major turning points in the Arab/Israeli conflict. The 1967 War was significant for many reasons. First, the Israeli state tripled its territorial holdings at the conclusion of the conflict by now occupying the Gaza Strip (from Egypt), the Sinai Peninsula (from Egypt), the West Bank (from Jordan), and the Golan Heights (from Syria). Second, the utter defeat of the Arab armies by the superior Israeli Defense Force made the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) the focal point for the Palestinian struggle against the Israelis. The PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat, rather than the Arab countries, would now lead the resistance. Multiple Palestinian organizations, some Marxist in nature, emerged and terrorism became instrumental to the tactics of some of the organizations. As stated earlier, the late 1960s and early 1970s brought the emergence of the Palestinian issue to international attention through the hijackings.

Another war occurred in 1973 which brought about the OPEC embargo of oil, precipitating the oil shocks. In the late 1970s, a bright spot on the horizon did appear. Egypt, one of Israel's staunchest adversaries, and Israel signed the Camp David Accords under President Carter's watch. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin pledged to recognize each other's borders, and Israel withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula. Although Sadat was assassinated by radical Islamists in October 1981 for his 'betrayal', Egypt and Israel have never been at war with each other since then. In the early 1980s, Israel invaded southern Lebanon to eliminate the PLO leadership, which had been expelled from Jordan. As Lebanon descended into internecine civil war, other countries intervened, namely Syria. The Israelis maintained a military presence in southern Lebanon until 2000, only to re-engage with Hezbollah in July 2006.

The most significant event in the 1980s was the outbreak of the first Intifada in 1987. Although the reasons for the outbreak of the Intifada (Arabic for uprising) are beyond the scope of this chapter, the 'war of stones' decidedly turned much of the international public opinion against the Israelis. Much of the Palestinian violence was low-tech; dozens of Palestinian teenagers would confront patrols of Israeli soldiers, showering them with rocks. However, at times this tactic gave way to Molotov cocktails, hand grenades, and attacks with guns and explosives. Many Israeli civilians and soldiers were killed this way. The IDF, in contrast, possessed the latest weaponry and defense technologies. For much of the Arab world, they

perceived it as a "David vs. Goliath" contest. In April 1988, a leader of the PLO, Abu Jihad, was assassinated in Tunisia. During the resurgence of rioting that followed, about 16 Palestinians were killed. Over the next two years, the United Nations General Assembly passed resolutions condemning Israel.

Despite the loss of life during the Intifada, the early 1990s was a hopeful time. After the end of the first Gulf War in 1991, the Madrid Peace Conference led to the establishment of direct negotiations between the PLO and the Israeli government. In 1993, the breakthrough of the Oslo Accords gave hope throughout the world. Although many important final status issues such as the Palestinian right of return, Jerusalem, and the Jewish settlements were left for future negotiations, the PLO was granted the right to govern in certain areas under Israeli occupation. In return, the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist as a sovereign Jewish state. The hope of Oslo, however, was effectively extinguished by the spate of suicide bombings which began in the mid-1990s, mostly carried out by Hamas,[6] and the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Rabin in 1995. As the 1990s neared to an end, President Clinton made one last ditch effort to bring about a lasting peace through the Camp David II summit. Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat, who was elected in 1996, and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak descended upon the mountain retreat in Maryland for an all-out diplomatic effort. President Clinton personally intervened in many of the sessions; however, in the end, no final deal was reached. Although some argue Arafat walked away from the best offer he was ever going to receive from the Israelis, namely over 95 per cent of the West Bank and Gaza, he demurred and Clinton, like all of his predecessors, was unable to achieve "Peace in the Middle East."

After the failure of Camp David II, the always fragile coalition government in Israel was unstable once again. Even though Barak had only been prime minister since 1999, the timing of new elections was imminent. Then in September 2000, Likud Party Chairman and Israeli war veteran, Ariel Sharon and several hundred police officers serving as escorts, made a controversial visit to the Temple Mount[7] complex in Jerusalem. While we may never know the motivation behind Sharon's visit, the events afterward became known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada. Others have claimed that Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority had pre-planned the Intifada since Arafat's return from Camp David in July 2000. Despite the recriminations from both sides, the result of this second uprising has been staggering death tolls

---

6 Hamas is an acronym, roughly translated into English as Islamic Resistance Movement. Founded in 1987, Hamas was the Gaza Strip branch of the Pan-Arab Sunni Muslim Brotherhood, which had been founded in Egypt in the 1920s. Hamas is opposed to the existence of Israel and denounced the 1993 Oslo Accords as a betrayal of God's will. Hamas's goal is the creation of an Islamist Palestine in all of territory of modern-day Israel. Two of Hamas's most important leaders, Sheik Ahmed Yassin and Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi were assassinated by the Israeli government in 2004.

7 The Temple Mount is one of the most contested religious sites in the world. It was the site of the first and second Jewish Temple in Jerusalem and according to Judaism is to be the site of the third and final Temple to be rebuilt. It is also the site of two major Muslim religious shrines, the Dome of the Rock, believed to be the spot from which Muhammad ascended through the heavens to God, and Al-Asqa Mosque.

on both sides of the conflict. Moreover, the iconic scenes of a 12 year old boy's father using his body to shelter his son during the shooting between IDF troops and Palestinian militants and the brutal lynching of two IDF soldiers again riled outrage in the Arab world and beyond. In February 2001, Ariel Sharon won the elections and assumed the office of Prime Minister. Sharon refused to negotiate with Arafat, who was increasingly becoming marginalized by Hamas. Arafat's PLO was incredibly corrupt and bloated with a top-heavy bureaucracy, whereas Hamas provided desperately needed social services to the Palestinian population.

After September 11, 2001, the United States stood even more firmly with Israel in its fight against global terrorism. Even though the PLO did not approve of the 9.11 attacks and offered its sympathy to the American people, President Bush refused to engage Arafat, unlike President Clinton. In an address to the United Nations in 2002, President Bush explicitly called for the establishment of an Israeli and Palestinian state living in peace with secure borders; however, horrific suicide bombings, mostly committed by Hamas, increased the Israeli death toll in 2002-2003. In response, the Israelis vowed to hunt down and eliminate militants hiding in refugee camps. In 2003, under pressure from the international community, Arafat appointed Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as the Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority, and the Quartet (the United States, the European Union, the United Nations, and Russia) unveiled the Road Map to Peace which called for confidence-building measures and the actualization of the decades-long 'two state solution' plan.

In 2004, Prime Minister Sharon, the architect of the Jewish settlements, announced the unilateral disengagement plan from the Gaza and certain areas of the West Bank. In Gaza approximately 8,000 Jews lived in highly guarded settlements surrounded by over one million Palestinians. Sharon viewed the situation as no longer tenable and even used the word 'occupation' in some of his speeches. Sharon embarked on the political gamble of his life. His fragile coalition government threatened to fall. Others argued that only Sharon, a man who had been a participant in every major Israeli military offensive, could be the one to bring the Israeli public along with his idea of disengagement. In November 2004, another major event occurred. Yasser Arafat, the leader of the PLO since the 1960s, died in a Paris hospital. The man who had addressed the United Nations in 1974 with his infamous speech saying, "Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand" was finally gone from the scene. Some observers of the Arab/Israeli conflict hoped Arafat's passing would provide stimulation for a new round of peace talks. Arafat's embattled Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, who threatened to resign numerous times, was now in charge. In January 2005, Palestinian Presidential elections were held and Abbas won easily. The equally embattled Sharon was forced to form a national unity government in early 2005 due to defections from his party, including former Prime Minister Netanyahu. However, in August 2005, the forcible expulsion of Jews from Gaza was carried out, with minimal levels of violence In late 2005, Sharon again sent shock waves throughout Israel and the world when he left Likud and formed a new centrist party called Kadima with Israeli Labour politician Shimon Peres. Elections were to take place in March 2006, and the Israeli populace would now have yet another party to choose

from in the already crowded political scene. However, in December 2005, Sharon suffered a debilitating stroke which placed him in the hospital.

In January 2006, Palestinian legislative elections were held after delays, and Hamas overwhelmingly won a clear majority of the seats. The Hamas victory shocked much of the world; many called into question President Bush's plan for democratization of the Middle East as the necessary antidote to terrorism. How could a terrorist organization, as classified by the United States government, win democratic elections? Many observers argued that Hamas was simply the best alternative to the Fatah, the majority faction of the PLO, due to its systemic corruption and inability to provide essential social services to the Palestinian population. Hamas also fielded female candidates in the elections and has attracted the loyalty of some Palestinian women due to its assistance programs. One of these women, Mariam Farhat, is known as the 'mother of all martyrs' since she has lost three militant sons in the conflict (Fisher). Two sons were active in the military wing of Hamas and were killed by Israelis; another son burst into a Jewish settlement in 2003 and shot dead five people before being shot himself.

The Hamas leadership then selected Ismail Haniya, a close associate of the assassinated Sheik Yassin, as its Prime Minister while Mahmoud Abbas remained the Palestinian President. In March 2006 the Israeli elections took place and the Kadima party won enough seats to be the major broker in the new Israeli coalition. Ehud Olmert, who had been acting as the Prime Minister since Sharon's stroke, assumed the Prime Ministership on his own and reached out to Labour as his main coalition party. In June-July 2006, tensions in the area flared again when Hamas and Hezbollah captured a few Israeli soldiers. Israel launched military operations in Gaza, which it had evacuated less than a year earlier, and detained some Hamas parliamentarians.

In July 2006, Israel launched a military offensive against Hezbollah's stronghold in southern Lebanon. Despite calls by much of the international community for a cease-fire and the shuttle diplomacy of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, the conflict continued until a United Nations Security Council resolution was agreed upon in August 2006. With hundreds of civilians dead on both sides, significant reconstruction costs for Lebanon, and a fragile coalition government hanging on by a thread in Lebanon, the situation does not look hopeful. Fighting between Hamas and Fatah security services dominated the headlines in the spring of 2007. As of this writing in the summer of 2007, Hamas has now completely taken over the Gaza area and Fatah has vacated its offices to the West Bank. International support for Palestinian President Abbas has increased dramatically since this turn of events, including high-level meetings with American and Israeli officials and the release of international aid which was withheld during the year-long Hamas/Fatah coalition government.

Microlevel Factors: Palestinian Women

Palestinian women, as well as Jewish women, have certainly not been passive observers in the ongoing conflict in Palestine/Israel over the course of the 20th century.[8] The first Palestinian woman to gain international recognition and condemnation, in some quarters, was definitely not a suicide bomber. Her name was Leila Khaled and in 1969 she grabbed the world's attention by hijacking an airplane, evacuating the passengers, and then blowing it up. At four years old, her family fled from Palestine in 1948, the year of Israel's statehood, and traveled to southern Lebanon to live with relatives. While in Lebanon, she saw her father as a broken man who was unable to work and support his family due to health problems. The family survived on food rations and from assistance provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (MacDonald 1991, 98). Leila and her siblings joined other Palestinian children in demonstrating on the streets of Tyre, Lebanon on Palestinian holidays. Leila's mother at first approved of her daughters' participation in the demonstrations, but as they grew older she was fearful their reputations as marriageable women might be damaged and tried to stop them. Leila's parents argued about their daughters' activism. Leila's father said, "If they want their homeland, they should fight for it" (MacDonald 1991, 98). So in a patriarchal society where it would be expected that the father would do everything in his power to prevent his daughters from 'shaming' the family, Leila's father encouraged their activism at a young age. Also, Leila's brothers were active in the Arab National Movement, and encouraged her participation at demonstrations.

Leila studied and was a good student but the funds to support her continued education were not available in a large refugee family. After attending the American University in Beirut, she moved to Kuwait in 1963 where she earned a living teaching English. In the mid-1960s, she joined the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which was illegal in Kuwait, and started recruiting members into the movement. Khaled was attracted to the PFLP's ideology because while calling for the reestablishment of Palestine, it also supported the creation of a socialist system. In her autobiography, *My People Shall Live* (1973), Khaled constantly denounced the imperialists in the world, namely the United States and Israel, in her view. Moreover, she greatly admired revolutionaries such as Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh. Finally, Khaled could be characterized as a feminist, although she never used the term in her autobiography. She asks, "How could we liberate Palestine and the Arab homeland, if we ourselves were not liberated? How could we advocate equality and keep over half, the female half, of the human race in bondage" (p. 51).

After the quick defeat of the Arab countries by Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War and the first PFLP airline hijacking in 1968, she asked the PFLP leadership to send her for military training at one of the bases in Jordan. At the camps, various Palestinian

8 For more articles on Palestinian women's activism, see Frances Hasso (1998), "The Women's Front: Nationalism, Feminism, and Modernity in Palestine" and Eileen MacDonald (1991), especially chapter 3 on "The Women of the West Bank." For information on Jewish women, see Martin van Creveld (2004), "Armed but Not Dangerous: Women in the Israeli Military."

factions were represented as well as European terrorist groups such as the Red Army Faction. As she became physically and mentally stronger and more committed to liberating Palestine through violence, Leila's first terrorist attack was in the planning stages. Within a few months, her name would be known throughout the world.

On August 29, 1969, Khaled and a male Arab accomplice hijacked a TWA plane en route to Tel Aviv, Israel from Los Angeles, California. The plane needed to stop in both Rome, Italy and Athens, Greece to pick up more passengers and for refueling. Khaled had the technical expertise to take over the controls of the airplane during flight, and her accomplice was an explosives expert who would blow up the aircraft once it had landed. The plan was supposed to create a huge political impact because General Yitzak Rabin, the future Israeli Prime Minister who was assassinated by a Jewish extremist in 1995, was supposed to be on board. At the time, Rabin was the Israeli Ambassador to the United States. The hijackers were to fly the plane to Syria where Rabin would be put on trial at a revolutionary court. However, Rabin had changed flight plans at the last minute (MacDonald 1991, 105).

As she sat in the airport lounge waiting for the plane to arrive, Khaled noticed a little girl playing happily with her sister. She told MacDonald, "For the first time I realized I would be endangering her life. If the plane blew up during our hijacking, or if was shot down by Israeli anti-aircraft fire, then those innocent children would die" (p. 104). Like the female Italian Red Brigades' maternal affective code (as discussed in Chapter 2), the Palestinian nationalist cause became the surrogate child of Khaled's, worthy of the ultimate sacrifice if necessary. "Then I remembered all the countless thousands of Palestinian children in refugee camps. They were depending on me to tell the world about them. When I remembered their faces, I was strengthened" (MacDonald 1991, 104). Khaled did go on to have two children of her own rather late in life.

Referring to themselves as the Che Guevara Commando Unit and armed with grenades and hand guns, the duo successfully hijacked the plane without incident. She utilized the revolutionary name, Shadiah Abu Ghazalah, a Palestinian Arab woman from Nablus and member of the PFLP who died in an explosion while making bombs for the revolution in 1968, as her moniker throughout the hijacking ordeal. Khaled ordered all the control towers to address the airplane as "Popular Front, Free Arab Palestine" throughout the hijacking, but also addressed the frantic passengers on the intercom system. She assured them that no harm would come to them, but that they intended to blow up the plane once it landed and all the passengers had disembarked. After ordering the American pilot to travel over Israeli air space so she could see her 'beautiful Palestine' and being shadowed by Israeli fighter jets until they traveled into Lebanese air space, Khaled and her accomplice, Salim, ordered the pilot to fly on to Damascus, Syria. Once the plane had safely landed, all the passengers and crew immediately left the plane, and then explosives were placed on it by Salim. The Palestinian cause was now broadcast across the world in a fiery explosion. However, Salim and Khaled were detained under house arrest by Syrian authorities for over one month. Eventually, they were released.

After her successful 1969 hijacking, Leila wanted another mission. She was feted at Middle Eastern embassies and her picture was emblazed on posters and other paraphernalia. She became a sex symbol for her cause and revolutionaries worldwide.

Between 1969 and her next hijacking in September 1970, Khaled underwent plastic surgery for fear that she would be detected due to her celebrity/notoriety. After a few painful procedures she was ready for her next mission. In September 1970, Khaled and a male Nicaraguan comrade attempted to hijack an Israeli El Al flight departing from Amsterdam. Armed with hand grenades and guns, they failed. However, her accomplice was shot dead by Israeli sky marshals, who spared her life. The plane was then diverted to Heathrow Airport in London. She was now in the custody of the British police. Despite her failed hijacking, three other hijackings on the same day had been successful. Two of the aircraft were flown to Dawson's Field in Jordan where the lives of the passengers were bartered in exchange for the release of Palestinians held in Israeli jails. Once Khaled was captured, the PFLP leadership said a British passenger plane should be hijacked and flown to Dawson's Field as well. The deal for the release of those passengers was Khaled's freedom. Almost on cue, a British plane was hijacked and three hundred frightened passengers were brought to Dawson's Field three days later. In the meantime, Khaled spent three weeks in British custody, where she experienced non-violent interrogations. Against Israeli wishes, the British government capitulated and released Khaled in exchange for the passengers. Jordan's King Hussein was furious which led to the killing and expulsion of many Palestinians, who had lived there since the 1948-49 war. The Israeli Mossad tried to kill Khaled in Tyre, Lebanon in 1976 but mistakenly killed her sister. She continued to work for the PFLP through organizing women. In one interview in 2002, Khaled maintained that she was not a terrorist but a freedom fighter. Khaled said,

> We hijacked planes because the whole world was deaf when we were screaming from our tents, and nobody heard our suffering. Until the beginning of the revolution in 1967, Palestinians were only dealt with as people needing humanitarian aid, not as people with a cause. We had to use tactics to attract international attention. And afterward, the world asked 'who are the Palestinians? Why are they doing this? How could a woman do such a thing?' So it worked, just posing the question (Moon 2002).

In interviews after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, Khaled differentiated herself from those terrorists. She said, "That [9/11] was an act of terror and did not serve a humanitarian cause. What we did was a means of struggle. We said why we were doing the operation. Those who killed themselves and others in New York had no cause" (Moon 2002).

Decades have passed since the iconic photograph seen all around the world, and now Palestinian women are no longer hijacking airplanes but rather blowing themselves up as suicide bombers. Wafa Idris became the first female suicide bomber in January 2002. Like Khaled, she became a symbol of Palestine, but at what price and what were her motivations? Were they as 'pure' as Khaled's, or was there some machinations by men to utilize this woman's body in 'their' fight? As we can see from the case study of Leila Khaled, Palestinian women have been participating in political violence and terrorism in the hopes of achieving Palestinian statehood since the late 1960s.

The next section will review a few of the cases of female Palestinian suicide bombers. Since the bombers have been claimed by multiple organizations to

date, there will not be one section specifically written on ideology. Rather, I will interweave the stories of these women in the context of ideological justifications for their 'martyrdom operations'. A note of caution: readers will be disappointed if they are searching for a 'theory of female suicide bombing.' Each woman's case is unique to a certain extent. The major questions we will examine in this section are: (1) who were these women and what may have been their motivations? (2) why were women not deployed as suicide bombers until 2002 when women have participated in terrorism since at least the late 1960s on behalf of Palestine? and (3) how has the Palestinian society and the larger international community reacted to this development? Although there have been less than ten 'successful' women, there have been countless others arrested by the Israeli Defense Force before they could become a *shahida* (female martyr). There is no formula for uncovering the next female suicide bomber. Rather, I argue that like all the other case studies explored in this book, it is a combination of macrolevel, mesolevel, and microlevel factors which compels a woman to become a suicide bomber. Moreover, consistent with the collective action/social movement theory articulated in Chapter 1, most women who engage in suicide bombing have been recruited through a personal network.

The Shahidas

Palestinian women voluntarily engaging in terrorism are described in media accounts and in works by Barbara Victor (2003), Mia Bloom (2005) and Ami Pedazhur (2005) as having a large amount of personal baggage. They are portrayed as divorced, barren, influenced by brothers, uncles, and other family members. Or, they are grief-stricken over the death of a relative or a friend. They fulfill the ultimate maternal-sacrificial code in that they want to give their own life on behalf of others' pain, grief, or suffering. They are rarely portrayed as committing a suicide attack due to political motivations. However, the same holds true for many male suicide bombers. When reviewing accounts of *shahids*, they too are often motivated by personal loss, humiliation of a family member, or even monetary gains. "A review of the records and accounts of over 180 Palestinian suicide bombers (the vast majority of them men) confirmed that close to half of them and a larger number during the years of the Al-Aqsa intifada embarked on their suicide missions shortly after they had lost a person very close to them" (Pedazhur 2005, 147). Victor (2003) in her interviews with Palestinian psychologists writes how a culture of death has permeated Palestinian society so that young children when asked what they want to grow up to be exclaim eagerly martyrs. Bloom (2005) holds that terrorist groups use suicide bombings when other terrorist or military tactics fail, and they are in competition with other terrorist groups for financial or popular support. According to this line of reason, we can understand the tactical use of Palestinian suicide bombers because they are hopelessly outmatched by Israel's conventional military superiority, and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, which is affiliated with Arafat's Fatah faction, was losing popularity and support vis-à-vis Hamas. Hence, the need for Al-Aqsa to take it up another level by being the first to

deploy a female suicide bomber.[9] Moreover, Bloom argues that suicide bombing is generally found in the second stage of conflicts, hence, the reason why there were no suicide bombings in the beginning of the first Intifada in the late l980s. However, the tactic of suicide bombing must have a supportive population which is receptive to the targeting of civilians in suicide attacks. This does hold to be the case, Bloom argues, in Israel/Palestine, but not in cases like ETA or the IRA.

Wafa Idris With the detonation of her suicide belt in January 2002, Wafa Idris's name became known throughout the world as the first female Palestinian suicide bomber. Egypt's weekly *Al-Sha'ab* published an editorial a few days later exclaiming, "It's a Woman!" The editorial stated, "It is a woman who teaches you today a lesson in heroism, who teaches you the meaning of jihad, and the way to die a martyr's death…It is a woman who has shocked the enemy with her thin, meager, and weak body. It is a woman who blew herself up, and with her exploded all the myths about woman's weakness, submissiveness, and enslavement" (Cunningham 2003, 183). Wafa Idris's suicide bombing was a wake-up call to much of the world, even though the LTTE had been effectively utilizing female suicide bombers since the mid-1980s and the Lebanese civil war also saw a few female suicide bombers too. Who was this woman and what might have been her ideological and personal motivations? How was her terrorist attack framed by the news media, and is Wafa Idris following in the same tradition as Leila Khaled—women fighting on behalf of Palestine?

A day before Idris blew herself up outside a shoe store on Jaffa Road in Jerusalem and killed herself and one elderly Israeli man, Palestinian President Arafat delivered what Barbara Victor calls the "Army of Roses" speech. On January 27, 2002, Arafat spoke to more than 1,000 women at his Ramallah compound telling them, "You are the hope of Palestine. You will liberate your husbands, fathers, and sons from oppression. You will sacrifice the way you women, have always sacrificed for your family" (Victor 2003, 20). The next day, the smartly dressed Idris in "her Western style coat, doe-brown eyes, long curly hair, perfect makeup, warm smile, and beautifully manicured nails" (Victor 2003, 21) took her own life, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claimed responsibility for the first *shahida*. A saleswoman in the shoe store where Idris detonated her bomb described Wafa as, "not from this earth…she was like a zombie, like she was drugged" (Bennet 2002). Instantly, posters appeared the morning of Idris's martyrdom; she was wearing a green headband with the worlds "Allah is the answer", carrying a Kalashnikov rifle and the back drop was an Islamic flag with the words "Allah Akbar" (Victor 2003, 28). Who was this woman?

Idris was born in a refugee camp in 1975; her family had fled Palestine in 1948 during the Naqba. She was around 12 years of age during the first Intifada and her mother reported Wafa was deeply affected by a friend who lost an eye during the stone throwing against the Israeli soldiers (Victor 2003, 40). She was married at the age of 16 to her first cousin, Ahmed, and delivered a prematurely stillborn infant at the age of 23. She was told she would never be able to carry a child to term and her cousin

9 See also Eitan Alimi's article "Contextualizing Political Terrorism: A Collective Action Perspective for Understanding the Tanzim" (2006) for a theoretical explanation of the use of terrorism within the Palestinian context after the first Intifada.

subsequently divorced her. In a patriarchal society, where women's value and worth is often measured by the offspring they bear, this was certainly not out of norm. As a divorced woman, Wafa moved back to the small house with her mother and extended family. She had a brother in an Israeli prison and did not have a father to support her. Victor argues that Wafa viewed herself as a financial burden on the family and was deeply depressed when her ex-husband married another woman who quickly gave birth to two children. Wafa wanted to return to her ex-husband as his second wife, but the new wife was against the proposal. Wafa then began volunteering for the Red Crescent Society. She arrived on the scene of carnage, witnessing first-hand the human toll the clashes with the Israelis had on fellow Palestinians. "Friends said she was haunted by terrible things she had seen, but still wondered if she chose to die because her marriage had broken up" (Patkin 2004, 85).

Wafa's eldest brother was a leader of the Fatah faction of Arafat. Some accounts describe Wafa as being manipulated by Palestinian militants whereas other accounts describe her deep distress over the suffering of the Palestinian people. Israeli police believe she intended to plant the bomb and escape. The bomb weighed 22 pounds, double the amount of explosive used in a suicide attack in August 2001 which killed 15 at a restaurant in Jerusalem.

Darine Abu Aisha Approximately one month after Wafa's suicide attack, another one occurred. In late February 2002, Darine Abu Aisha, a twenty-year old English literature student from Al-Najah University in Nablus, blew herself up and wounded four others at an Israeli checkpoint near Jerusalem. Aisha came from a relatively privileged background in comparison to Idris. She was the youngest daughter of a large family and refused many marriage proposals because she wanted to pursue her studies; she became a leader at the university and a feminist (Victor 2003, 102-103). Aisha even wrote an article for a literary competition on what it meant to be a liberated Muslim woman. So what was Aisha's tipping point?

According to Victor's interviews with Aisha's family, it was her humiliation at an Israeli check point. Aisha was accompanied that day by her cousin and good friend, Rashid. As the crowd gathered at the checkpoint while the Israeli soldiers checked the documentation papers, a woman with a small baby started screaming that she needed to get her child to a hospital right away because it was running such a high fever. The crowd agreed to let the woman and her child proceed to the front of the queue. Aisha intervened by utilizing her English skills to plead the mother's case to the Israeli soldiers. One of the soldiers approached Darine and said they would let the frantic mother pass through with her infant if Darine's companion, her cousin Rashid, kissed her on the mouth. Darine told the soldiers she could not comply with their request whereupon one of the Israeli soldiers allegedly ripped Darine's *hijab* off her head. The two cousins kissed as the baby stopped breathing. After the tragic event, Rashid promptly came to ask for Darine's hand in marriage but she refused to her parents' dismay. Rashid assured Darine he would find another solution to her problem, since she was now publicly disgraced and unmarriageable material in the eyes of the community. He introduced her to Hamas leaders at the university Darine attended and the minimal training took place leading to Darine's suicide attack. In her martyr videotape she said, "Let Sharon the coward know that every Palestinian

woman will give birth to an army of martyrs, and her role will not only be confined to weeping over a son, brother or husband instead, she will become a martyr herself." She killed herself and wounded four Israelis in the attack.

Ayat Akhras Within a month's time, the third woman had committed a suicide attack. Ayat Akhras, 18 years old, was the youngest *shahida*. Ayat was not born into a poverty-stricken household. While her parents had been raised in a tent camp in the Gaza Strip after their families fled from Arab villages near Tel Aviv at the end of the 1967 Six-Day War, her father made a decent living working for an Israeli construction company in Israel proper. During the first intifada, the Dehaishe refugee camp where she lived with her ten other siblings and parents, became a hotbed of militancy. Local youths clashed with IDF soldiers in the streets. Ayat's oldest sibling was jailed twice for throwing stones. But even surrounded by the violence, Ayat was a 'typical teenager' with posters of pop singers adorning her bedroom walls. She was a good student who planned on attending university to study journalism. Moreover, she was engaged and planned to be married in July 2002.

But by the time of the eruption of the second intifada in September 2000, the violence became personal. She spent many nights watching television reports from Al-Jazeera and Al Manar, Hezbollah's television station. Her brother was shot and wounded by Israeli troops, and three of her cousins, all members of Hamas, were killed in Gaza (Hammer 2002). Then problems started to arise regarding her father's employment. Many of the residents in her village did not approve of her father's well-paying job with the Israelis (Victor 2003). His privileged position allowed him to leave the camp even during the Israeli-imposed curfews. The community put pressure on Ayat's father to quit his job or suffer the consequences. Insulting graffiti began to appear on the walls of the household. Ayat and some of her siblings pleaded with their father to quit his job, but he refused. One of Ayat's neighbors, a leader of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade in Bethlehem, named Jamil Qassas was particularly incensed about Mohammed al-Akhras's refusal to leave his job. Qassas had lost a brother during the first intifada. Ayat happened to be visiting Qassas's sister when Israeli soldiers fired shots through a window and hit another brother. A hysterical Ayat, according to Qassas, then accompanied the bleeding brother to the hospital. The attempt to get Qassas's brother to the hospital in time was unsuccessful for he died in the arms of Qassas. At the funeral, Ayat told Qassas that this experience had changed everything for her and opened her eyes to the evils of living under occupation. In the meantime, the residents began to block off Mohammed's comings and goings from his own home, so the family was not able to go to the market. There was talk that her father was going to be lynched and their home destroyed by their neighbors (Victor 2003, 208). Ayat approached a leader of Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, and in her martyrdom video assailed Arab leaders for "doing nothing while Palestinian women are fighting to end Israeli occupation" (Victor 2003, 209). Months before her wedding day in late March 2002, she detonated a bomb inside a supermarket in the Kyriat Hayovel area of Jerusalem, killing two Israelis and injuring 28 others. Ayat's attack received extraordinary media coverage because she also killed an Israeli girl around the same age, Rachel Levy. Many news accounts provided extensive background and physical details of Ayat and Rachel Levy. One story read,

> Ayat and Rachel never knew each other, but they grew up less than four miles apart. One spent her life locked within the grim confines of the Dehaishe refugee camp outside Bethlehem, a densely packed slum whose 12,000 residents lived in poverty and frustration. The other dwelled in the shadow of a sleek shopping mall filled with cinemas, cafes, and boutiques…Ayat was deeply politicized by the rage, gunfire, and violent death and fervently anti-Israeli messages that surrounded her. Rachel did her best to shut out the violence and pretend that Israel was a normal country. In another time and another place, they could have been schoolmates, even friends. But the intifada cast them in the role of adversaries and ultimately executioner and victim (Hammer 2002).

President Bush even weighed in by observing, "When an 18 year old Palestinian girl is induced to blow herself up and in the process kills a 17 year old Israeli girl, the future itself is dying" (Hammer 2002). Ayat's parents and siblings expressed deep distress over Ayat's suicide attack. Her fiancé said, "If she had just told me what she was planning, I would have stopped her" (Hammer 2002). While those who had threatened Ayat's father only days earlier came now to offer their congratulations to the family, her father said, "May God forgive her for what she has done" (Hammer 2002). However, Ayat's mother blamed Ariel Sharon's rise to power for her daughter's radicalism and said chillingly of another daughter, "If peace doesn't come and Salaam (her daughter) wants to choose her path, then I will let her go" (Hammer 2002).

Andaleeb Takafka On April 12, 2002, Andaleeb Takafka, a 20-year-old woman from Bethlehem, detonated a belt full of explosives at a Jerusalem bus stop, killing six Israelis, and injuring dozens. She disguised her explosives by faking a pregnancy. In an interview prior to her suicide mission, Andaleeb Takafka said, "When you want to carry out such an attack, whether you are a man or a woman, you don't think about the explosive belt or about your body being ripped into pieces. We are suffering. We are dying while we are still alive." Following Takafka's attack, rumors started spreading that she had been romantically involved with a Fatah activist and had become pregnant by him (Pedazhur 2005, 140).

Hiba Daraghmeh On May 19, 2002, 19 year old Hiba Daraghmeh detonated a belt filled with explosives, killing herself and three Israelis and injuring dozens outside the Amakim Shopping Mall in Afula in northern Israel. The shy 19-year-old student of English literature never spoke to men and avoided drinking coffee or tea at the cafeteria of Al Quds Open University in her home town of Tubas in the West Bank. All of her friends were women. Even her cousin, Murad Daraghmeh, 20, also a student at Al Quds, said "I never saw her face. I never talked to her. I never shook hands with her." The first time the world saw her young face unveiled was in an Islamic Jihad poster released after her death. According to Victor's account, Hiba had been sexually raped by a mentally retarded uncle.

Hanadi Tayseer Jaradat On October 4, 2003, Hanadi Tayseer Jaradat, a 29 year old attorney from Jenin, detonated a bomb in a restaurant in Haifa, Israel killing herself, 19 Israelis and injuring 50 others. Hanadi Tayseer Jaradat wrapped her waist with explosives and fought her way past a security guard at a restaurant. Hanadi Tayseer

Jaradat was a single woman whose younger brother and older cousin had been killed by Israeli forces in the raid on Jenin in June of 2003. Her family said she did not tell anyone where she was going and they assumed she was on her way to the law office in Jenin where she worked. Islamic Jihad claimed her as its martyr.

Reem Salih al-Rayasha On the morning of January 14, 2004, Reem Salih al-Rayasha of Gaza, a 22 year old mother of two children, detonated a bomb at the Erez border check point between Israel and the Gaza Strip killing four Israeli soldiers. As the first female Hamas suicide bomber, she set a new mark. It was rumored that she had problems in her marriage and according to some sources was sent on the mission by her husband and lover in order to help her avoid the social sanctions imposed on unfaithful women in such a conservative society (Pedazhur 2005, 141).

Other Shahidas On September 22, 2004, 18 year old Zeinab Abu Salem carried out a suicide bombing mission near a hitch-hiking post in Jerusalem, killing two Israeli border police and wounding 17 others. After a two year lull in a successful female suicide bomber, Mervat Masoud (18 years old) killed herself and wounded one Israeli soldier on November 6, 2006. Masoud was a member of the Al Quds Brigade, the military arm of Islamic Jihad, and claimed her as its shahida. Masoud was a student at the Islamic University in Gaza City. In her martyrdom video, she stated she did the suicide bombing as revenge for an attack on Gaza beach in June 2006 that killed several Palestinians, five of them from one family. The Israeli military denies it was responsible for the family's death.

On November 23, 2006 a 64 year old Palestinian grandmother, Fatima Omar Mahmud al-Najar, conducted a suicide bombing, killing herself and injuring Israeli soldiers operating inside Gaza (Erlanger). The soldiers threw a stun grenade toward the woman, who was acting in a suspicious manner according to Israeli authorities. Fatima was the mother of nine children and scores of grandchildren. Hamas claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing, releasing a martyr video showing Fatima with a bright green Hamas bandanna and holding an M-16 automatic rifle. Explaining Fatima's actions, her eldest daughter said that one of Fatima's grandsons had been killed by Israelis, another was in a wheelchair with an amputated leg, and Fatima's house had been destroyed.

We of course can never know the motivations of any of these attacks. Perhaps these women were already motivated to commit suicide and particular circumstances, coupled with access to a recruiting network, allowed these women to take their lives and innocent others wrapped in the pretense of a political motivation. But as Patkin (2004) correctly observes, rather than exploring ideological motivations, reporters struggled to uncover a domestic explanation for these suicide bombers' actions (p. 85).

Claudia Brunner (2005) notes that western authors tend to look for hints in the biographical details or social circumstances of these women, trying to create a rational argument in order to provide observers with some type of comprehensive explanation. The western media accounts of female Palestinian suicide bombers, according to Brunner, rarely ever put the political dimension first of the occupation. On the other hand, publications Brunner surveyed from the Arab world utilized

more of a poetic storytelling motif and tried less to create an individual rationality explanation but rather placed the community over the individual. Arab publications would refer to the women as the 'daughter of Palestine' or 'Palestine's bride.'

Mia Bloom (2005) and Barbara Victor (2003) provide excellent analyses of the suicide bomber phenomenon, and both deserve tremendous credit for their interview skills and meticulous research; however, they fall into this same pattern as the journalists. Both authors argue that female suicide bombers are not a sign of gender equality. Rather, they are often raped, sexually abused, and taken advantage of in traditional patriarchal societies. "The traditional patriarchy has a well-scripted set of rules in which women sacrifice themselves, the patriarchal ideal of motherhood is one of self-denial and self-effacement. Although the woman is portrayed as supportive, this is accomplished when she gives herself and her sense of self. The motivation to become a martyr is a twisted fulfillment of patriarchal ideals" (Bloom 2005, 165).

Barbara Victor finds Leila Khaled working at the PFLP headquarters in Amman, Jordan in May 2002 and asks Khaled's opinion on the female shahidas. Khaled, who still believes in the value of armed struggle, questioned the equality of women as suicide bombers. Khaled said,

> Today there is a big religious influence in our society, and that is the reason why there are so many suicide bombers. When the religious leaders say that women who make these actions are finally equal to men, I have a problem. Everyone is equal in death—rich, poor, Arab, Jew, Christian, we are all equal. I would rather see women equal to men in life (Victor 2003, 63-64).

The problem with the commentary provided by Victor and Bloom is not what I interpret to be their genuine concern for these women as well as the grief of their victims. They certainly do not portray them as deranged monsters hell-bent on killing as many as possible. Rather, they encourage the reader to feel sorry for these women—again, they fall into the same trap that they deplore in patriarchal societies. These women do not have agency; rather they are manipulated by men who recruit these women who have shamed their families or are not fulfilling the female role in Palestinian society in some way. Bloom, Khaled, and Victor do not view the arrival of female suicide bombers as an indication of the equality of men in patriarchal societies; rather, women are simply the cannon fodder for men's exploits. A quote from Deborah Galvin, although written well before the advent of female Palestinian suicide bombers, seems to capture this viewpoint,

> Female terrorism has no autonomy. It is part of a male engineered, male dominated activity and even the most ardent feminist must recognize both the fact and the remote likelihood of it changing. Terrorism is all about power. The male terrorist struggling for power is not about to share it with a female, though he welcomes her aid and actively seeks to co-opt it. The thinking female terrorist must take terrorism on these terms or leave it (Galvin 1983, 3).

Bloom, Galvin, Khaled, and Victor all seem to aspire to an ideal of liberal feminism—women should be equal to men in all facets of life; while simultaneously intimating, though not outright arguing, that women in a different context and with

more life options in a non-patriarchal society would choose not to blow themselves up. Moreover, why must the search for 'personal motivations' be divorced from political motivations? It seems again that the authors replicate the dichotomization of the private and public spheres.

Since the organizations which have claimed responsibility for the successful shahidas vary from Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade to Hamas, it is not possible in this case to give a general characterization of the terrorist group's ideology as it relates to the women's participation as suicide bombers. It is important to note, however, as Bloom (2005) does that Palestinian women are not in leadership positions in any of the organizations which claimed responsibility for their martyrdom operations. Unlike the cases profiled in the chapters on left-wing political violence and ethno-national/separatist conflict, Palestinian women are not the ideologues or decision-makers in either secular or Islamist organizations. There is no Palestinian Ulrike Meinhof or Bernandine Dohrn. The cause of Palestinian statehood and the perceived humiliation of living under Israeli military occupation, however, are consistent justifications provided by these organizations for their acts of terrorism.

How serious has the Israeli government taken female suicide bombers? Female suicide bombers and female terrorists in general have taken advantage of their biological differences for decades. Women are able to fake pregnancy and thus hide explosives, guns, and other items needed to execute terrorist attacks. Women arouse less suspicion than men because security forces traditionally view them as less threatening. Women are able to get physically closer to men, with sometimes deadly consequences as evidenced by Dhanu who blew herself up next to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991. And finally in many traditional societies, it is less acceptable to search women than men. This has been a major advantage to Palestinian, Chechen, and Tamil women. Now, however, the Israeli security forces are equally suspicious of Palestinian women and realize that a suicide bomber 'profile', if there is even one, is not applicable only to men.

Israeli Governmental Response

Ideally, the Israeli government would be able to disrupt all suicide operations before they occur. However, this is certainly not likely. Originally, the Israeli government believed that female Palestinian suicide bombers had very little training; however, in depth studies have discovered that these women are recruited and do receive considerable training in explosives and how to dress like an Israeli to get through check points (Zedalis 2004, 10). Moreover, some religious authorities have sanctioned the use of women as suicide bombers which makes the task of discrediting this tactic even more difficult. With some children in the Gaza strip emulating martyrdom operations in childhood games such as conducting mock funerals of suicide bombers, the community support for suicide operations is one of the most significant obstacles to overcome in delegitimizing this tactic. Also, when mothers like Wafa Idris's report to the media how proud they are of their daughter, this public 'canonization' through posters and videotapes makes it even more difficult to discredit women as suicide bombers.

The now abandoned Israeli tactic of bulldozing the homes of Palestinian suicide bombers definitely appeared to backfire against the government. There was widespread international condemnation of this type of collective punishment. Moreover, monetary incentives for suicide bombers may not even be much of a factor. It was widely reported that the former dictator of Saddam Hussein, who was executed in December 2006, sent suicide bombers' families $25,000. Furthermore, improving the grinding poverty in the Gaza strip seems unlikely considering the current near civil war taking place between Hamas and Fatah. In addition, it has not been statistically proven that there is a clear socioeconomic correlation between poverty and suicide bombers, in general (Zedalis 2004, 8).

While the Israeli Mossad and Shin Bet are definitely viewed as two of the best-trained intelligence services in the world, it is still impossible for them to capture all prospective female suicide bombers. Infiltration into terrorist organizations and developing informants are two of the best avenues the Israeli government can pursue. Increased scrutiny of Palestinian women as Israeli checkpoints is another obvious security precaution. Female Israeli border guards are given the main responsibility in ensuring that Palestinian women are not crossing into Israel strapped with explosives; yet, this is certainly not a full-proof security measure either.

One popular clip on YouTube focuses on a young, Palestinian woman who was seeking medical treatment at an Israeli hospital for horrible burns she suffered. Supposedly, she had grown close to the hospital staff and even her family had sent a letter of heartfelt appreciation to the hospital staff. However, this young woman was still left with severe burn scars. The YouTube video shows her being forced to disrobe at a Palestinian checkpoint, desperately trying to detonate herself and yelling towards the sky. She was carrying 20 pounds of explosives on her body. Again, the short clip of video says she lamented the fact that she could never be married because she was so disfigured and was suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.

In the end, the media often searches in vain for personal reasons to explain why these women participate in suicide operations. It is assumed that male suicide bombers are swayed by religious or nationalist ideologies; however, it was found in a study of nine male suicide bombers from the Gaza strip that all the men had experienced personal humiliation and physical violence under Israeli occupation and/or witnessed a relative experience such abuses (Naaman 2007, 15). In the end, if the Israeli government searches only for personal reasons to explain especially female Palestinian suicide bombers, their effort will be in vain. There is no single profile of a suicide bomber, male or female. "A comprehensive approach to the Palestinian female suicide bombers cannot reduce or even prioritize gender oppression over other (national, economic) circumstances but rather needs to be accounted for in the complex web of power and social relations in Palestinian society and in the particular predicament of that society" (Naaman 2007, 945).

Chechnya

Russia has certainly had its share of women engaged in political violence as best exemplified by the 19th century female anarchists. However, women's participation

in violence has not been limited to past centuries. During World War I, some Russian women took part in combat even though the Czarist government had no consistent policy on female combatants (Goldstein 2001, 71). One woman in particular, Maria Botchkarava, was the leader of the Battalion of Death. She was allowed by Alexander Kerensky, leader of the Provisional Government after the February 1917 revolution, to gather several hundred women to fight against the Germans. "The battalion was formed in extraordinary circumstances in response to a breakdown of morale and discipline after three horrible years of war and the fall of the Czarist government. By her own account, Botchkareva conceived of the battalion as a way to shame the men into fighting" (Goldstein 2001, 73). During World War II, faced with a manpower shortage, the Soviet Union drafted into the military childless women not employed in war-related work. At the peak, about eight per cent of the total Soviet forces were women. Most were medical workers, but a few were combatants. And then like so many other cases, after the war was over, the Soviet Union returned to all-male combat units.

Today, women in Chechnya are continuing the tradition of fighting, but of course the Russian Federation views these Chechen women as terrorists or 'black widows' and certainly not worthy of comparison to the Russian anarchists or women who fought in the world wars. This section will provide a brief historical overview of the Chechen situation, profile a few of the women involved in Chechen terrorism, and again critically examine the personal vs. political motivations false dichotomization as was exemplified in the Palestinian case.

Macrolevel Factors

Chechnya is a region in the Northern Caucasus which has constantly fought against foreign rule, beginning with the Ottoman Turks in the 1400s. Eventually the Chechens converted to Islam and tensions began to die down with the Turks; however, conflicts with their Christian neighbors ensued. In order to secure communications with Georgia and other regions of the Transcaucasia, the Russian Empire began spreading its influence into the Caucasus mountains. The current resistance to Russian rule began during the late 18th century as a result of Russian expansion into territories formerly under the dominion of Turkey and Persia. Chechen rebellion intensified whenever the Russian state faced a period of internal uncertainty, such as during the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 and Russian Civil war. Under Soviet Rule, Chechnya was combined with Ingushetia to form the autonomous republic of Chechen-Ingushetia in the late 1930s.

The Chechens rose up against Soviet rule during the 1940s, resulting in the deportation of the Chechen population to Siberia. Josef Stalin and others argued this was necessary in order to stop the Chechens from providing assistance to the Germans during World War II. Incidents of covert German airdrops into Chechnya and interceptions of radio exchanges between Germans and Chechen rebels were frequent. The Chechens were allowed to return to their homeland after 1956 during Khrushchev's de-Stalinization plan. The 'Russification' policies towards Chechens continued after 1956, with Russian language proficiency required in many aspects of life and for advancement in the Soviet system.

With the impending collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, a predictable independence movement formed, known as the Chechen National Congress.

> Anti-Communist Chechens loved President Yeltsin. Dzokhar Dudayev, the Chechen-born former Soviet Air Forces general who had returned home earlier in the year to lead the National Congress of the Chechen People, vehemently opposed the coup plotters, called on all Chechens to support Yeltsin, organized demonstrations and a general strike in Chechnya to protest the coup attempt, and again called for the dissolution of the local community party structure that supported the coup. After all, Yeltsin had been telling the Soviet republics on his visits to grab as much sovereignty as they could swallow" (Murphy 2004, 9).

So what went wrong? This movement for Chechen self-determination was opposed by Boris Yeltin's Russian Federation for four main reasons. First, Yeltsin held that Chechnya had not been an independent entity within the Soviet Union as had the Baltic, Central Asian, and other Caucasian States. Chechnya was part of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic and did not have a right under the Soviet constitution to secede. Second, other ethnic groups inside Russia, such as the Tartars, would join the Chechens and secede from the Russian Federation if they were granted that right, setting off a contagion effect. And third, Chechnya was of significant geostrategic importance vis-à-vis the oil-infrastructure of the country, due to its proximity to the Caspian Sea. Finally, Chechnya was the only federal republic not to sign a bilateral agreement with the Russian Federation outlining the guidelines of its prescribed autonomy from Moscow and tax privileges. Chechnya, along with twenty other territories, was named national republics of the Russian Federation because they are considered the homeland of a major nationality (Evangelista 2003, 316). Both Chechnya and Tartarstan refused to sign the Federative Treaty, which formed the basis between the center and the regions.

General Dudayev took office in November 1991 in an election in violation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union. President Dudayev's first act was to declare Chechnya independent of the Russian Federation. President Yeltsin responded to this declaration by declaring the act of secession illegal, appointing a pro-Moscow Chechen government, and imposing a one month state of emergency on Chechnya (Murphy 2004, 13). Nonetheless, neither Yeltsin nor the Chechen government attempted to carry out any serious negotiations, thus allowing the situation to deteriorate into a full-scale conflict. As a result, the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic split in two in June 1992. After Chechnya announced its initial declaration of sovereignty in 1991, Ingushetia joined the Russian Federation. Chechnya declared full independence in 1993. From 1991 to 1994, as many as 300,000 people of non-Chechen ethnicity, mostly Russians, fled the republic. As a result, the Chechen industry began failing after Russian engineers and workers were expelled from the Chechen Republic.

During the decades of the Soviet Union, traditional Islam was organized around Muslim 'spiritual directorates'—which have existed since the 18th century (Gorenburg 2006). While many Muslims in the Soviet Union became Sovietized and turned away from Islamic practices and beliefs, the geography of the North Caucasus permitted an exception to this general trend. The mountainous terrain of the North

Caucasus permitted the continuation of Islamic practices. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, a resurgent Islam was permitted to flourish. Mosque construction increased dramatically in many areas of the Russian Federation. A tremendous need of clerics was apparent, and Arab-run foundations were sent to run these new mosques. Many of these clerics, although expelled by local leaders in the mid-1990s, came from the Salafi[10] tradition.

In August 1994, an opposition faction launched an armed campaign to topple the government of Dzhokhar Dudayev's government, which was strongly pro-secessionist. Moscow supplied the rebel forces with military equipment, and Russian aircraft began to bomb Chechnya's capital Grozny. In December 1994, Russian ground troops invaded Chechnya.

Boris Yeltsin's expectations of a quick military campaign were mistaken. A demoralized Russian army was a shadow of the former formidable Soviet Red Army. Plus, Yeltsin sent in ill-trained conscripts to fight in Chechnya instead of highly trained professional Russian soldiers. Horrible atrocities were committed on both sides. In June 1995, Chechen fighters seized a hospital in the Russian city of Budennovsk where they took more than 1,000 people hostage. The crisis ended when Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin negotiated the release of the hostages in return for the safe passage of the terrorists (Evangelista 2003). The Russians were accused of extra-judicial killings, disappearances, rape, and torture. When the Russians attacked Grozny during the first weeks of January 1995 about 25,000 civilians died under a week-long air-raid and artillery fire into the sealed-off city. The Chechens fought the Russians utilizing classical guerrilla style tactics. Humiliating defeats, growing casualties, and international condemnation of Russia's heavy-handed tactics made the war more unpopular in Russia. Chechnya was a lawless, chaotic area. Kidnapping of foreign nationals, including humanitarian workers, was rampant. Although Dudayev was killed by Russian security forces in April 1996, a retired Soviet Army colonel, Aslan Maskhadov, united the warlords and launched a major military offensive to reclaim Grozy. As the June 1996 presidential elections neared, Yeltsin's government sought a way out of the conflict. At the same time, however, Yeltsin realized that maintaining Chechnya as part of the Russian Federation was monumentally important for geopolitical reasons.

> Sixty percent of Russia's Caspian oil shelf is located in [neighboring] Dagestan. If Chechnya had free access to Dagestan, then Chechnya's oil industry would become sufficiently independent, and Chechnya could separate itself from the Russian economic system. A unified Chechnya-Dagestan would bring Chechnya economic viability because it would have access to the Caspian Sea (Murphy 2004, 86).

In August 1996, three days before Yeltsin was to be inaugurated for his second term as president, the Chechens launched a new attack on Grozny. More than

---

10 In the West, Salafi Islam is commonly referred to as Wahhabism. It is fundamentalist in the sense that it rejects all modifications to Islamic practice after the time of the Prophet and the Golden Age of Islam. Not all Salafis necessarily embrace violence as a way of restoring what they consider to be proper Islamic practices.

1,500 Chechen fighters, led by Shamil Basayev,[11] launched another attack against Russian posts and bases despite the Russian's overwhelming manpower. A truce was negotiated between Russia and Aslan Maskhadov after Yeltsin won the heavily criticized presidential elections. In the interim between 1996 and 1999, numerous terrorist attacks occurred, mostly consisting of bomb explosions against Russian targets. Moreover, Chechnya became a classic failed state, with a variety of illicit activities taking place in the territory (Abdullaev 2004, 333). Maskhadov was elected President in 1997, and the warlords united in a council called the Majlis-ul Shura (People's Council).

Many observers worried about the "Islamization" of the Chechen campaign as Maskhadov pledged to introduce sharia law into Chechnya. Jordanian-born Amir Khattab,[12] also known as the Black Arab and the Lion of Chechnya, had fought against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and was reported to be a mentor to Basayev as well as Al-Qaeda's man in Chechnya (Abdullaev 2004, 333). In 1998, Wahhabism was banned and Maskhadov blamed it for splitting Chechen society and bringing the republic close to civil war (Murphy 2004, 42). Khattab was ordered to leave the country by Maskhadov, however, to no avail. By the spring of 1999, Chechnya had two governments—one led by officially by Aslan Maskhadov and an alternate Islamic government headed by a more powerful Shamil Basayev.

In August 1999, Shamil Basayev and Khattab led military incursions into neighboring Dagestan to help local Islamists under attack from Russian federal forces. Khattab's goal was to create a new imamate in the North Caucasus that would stretch from the Caspian to the Black Sea, which would be governed by Wahhabi ideology (Murphy 2004, 91). Basayev and Khattab were not welcomed as liberators by the vast majority of Dagestanis. "Some residents even asked Russian authorities to give them guns so they could defend themselves" (Murphy 2004, 101). As a result of this incursion into Dagestan and a spate of apartment bombings[13] in Moscow which killed hundreds, in late September 1999 the Russian military began bombing targets within Chechnya and ground troops followed soon after. Despite

11 "Basayev sees himself as a Chechen Che Guevara carrying on the work of the most famous Chechen national hero of all, Imam Shamil, who between 1830 and 1859 led the mountain people of the North Caucasus in a bloody holy war against the Tsarist Russian Empire. Imam Shamil also created the first unified state (imamate) in the history of the Caucasus" (Murphy 2004, 11). Basayev served as Prime Minister of Chechnya for various periods of time. He was a rival to leaders such as Dudayev and eventually Aslan Maskhadov. In June 1995, bombs dropped on Basayev's uncle's house killed eleven members of his family, including his wife and child.

12 Khattab first trained for jihad in Pakistan in a camp run by Doctor Abdullah Azzam, the spiritual guide of Osama bin Laden and head of the Azzam organization until his assassination in 1989. At the conclusion of the Soviet-Afghan war, Khattab and others like him became leaders and participants in the struggle of Islamic populations in places like Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir, Kosovo, and Tajikistan (Murphy 2004, 35).

13 There remains a great deal of controversy as to which entity was responsible for the apartment bombings. Paul Murphy (2004) believes it was indisputably the work of Chechen terrorists; whereas Matthew Evangelista (2003) argues there is a lack of conclusive evidence to link the bombings to Chechens.

Maskhadov's disdain for his one-time ally Basayev, Chechen President Maskhadov declared a *gazavat* (holy war) to confront the approaching Russian army. Russia's new Prime Minister Vladimir Putin announced that Russian troops were launching a limited war to take control of Chechnya's northern plain and establish a buffer zone against further Chechen aggression. Russian tanks rolled back into Chechnya for a second time in October 1999. Putin, appointed by Yeltsin as acting Prime Minister in late 1999, was directed by Yeltsin to gain control over the restive province. Upon being elected President of the Russian Federation in March 2000, President Putin continued to pursue the war in Chechnya aggressively. Putin established direct rule of Chechnya in May 2000 and appointed Akhmad Kadyrov, who in the mid-1990s fought against the Russian forces, as interim head of the government.

The September 11, 2001 attacks against the United States also lessened criticism from the United States against Putin's prosecution of the war. Even though human rights organizations have issued scores of scathing reports condemning the Russian government as well as the terrorist tactics of the Chechen fighters, little international pressure can realistically be brought to bear on Russia (Evangelista 2003). The Russian government scored a major victory when Khattab was killed via a poisoned letter, probably laced with a botulism toxin, in March 2002 (Murphy 2004, 166). In March 2003 a new Chechen constitution passed through a largely irregular referendum process, which was boycotted by many Chechens, granted the republic a significant degree of autonomy, but still tied it to the Russian Federation. In October 2003, seriously flawed presidential elections were held, and the Kremlin-backed candidate Kadyrov easily won. After multiple failed assassination attempts against Kadyrov, his enemies were finally successful in May 2004. Kadyrov, along with at least a dozen others, was killed inside a Grozny football stadium during the celebration of Russian Victory Day, commemorating World War II. After another interim leader and more suspect elections, the pro-Moscow militia leader Ramzan Kadyrov, son of the slain Ahmed Kadyrov, has been functioning as the Prime Minister of Chechnya since December 2005.

The war-torn republic continued to muddle through and then news of a major event reverberated throughout the world in July 2006. Days before President Putin hosted the 2006 G-8 Summit in St. Petersburg, Shmail Basayev, mastermind of the 2002 Moscow theater siege and 2004 Beslan school massacre (discussed below), was killed in Ingushetia, a republic bordering Chechnya. According to Chechen sources, Basayev was riding in one of the cars escorting a truck filled with explosives in preparation for an attack when the truck hit a pothole and exploded, instantly killing Basayev. Chechen officials maintained it was an accident; however, Russian officials stated that this explosion was the result of a planned special operation.

After a decade of intermittent warfare, the toll is tremendous. According to estimates by the Russian Committees of the Soldiers' Mothers, Russia has lost about 25,000 servicemen in Chechnya since the fighting began in 1994. The death tolls for Chechen civilians and rebels remain unknown. Russia has been less than forthcoming with information to human rights groups. However, the estimated Chechen death toll is 100,000 with tens of thousands refugees and internally displaced persons (Abdullaev 2004, 332). In addition to the significant loss of life on both sides of the conflict, female Chechen terrorists, dubbed in the Russia media, as 'black widows'

have received a great deal of attention. The next section will discuss a few of the cases where these women have participated in terrorist attacks in the context of an extremely patriarchal society.

Microlevel Factors: "Black Widows"

In the case of Chechnya, women were not active combatants in the conflict initially. Rather, they performed traditional female tasks such as supplying medical aid, food and water to male combatants, carrying weapons and ammunition across enemy territory, and maintained morale during battle (Bloom 2005, 154). This important but relatively passive role changed when Chechen women became active participants in the conflict during the 2002 Moscow theater siege.

As early as March 2000, Russia had accused Basayev of training women for suicide bombing missions (Murphy 2004, 122). On June 7, 2000 a 19 year old Chechen woman, named Khava Barayev, and her best friend Luiza (Kheda) Magomadova drove a stolen truck loaded with explosives into the commandant's headquarters. This attack marked the first suicide bombing in Chechnya by women. The Chechens claimed 25 Russian policemen dead while Russia said only two had died. In her videotaped ceremony, Barayev goaded men by stating, "A large number of women are involved in jihad now, and I hope that all men will go for jihad too. If you go for jihad, it does not necessarily mean you are going to die; you will only die at your appointed time. So why don't we choose the best way to die—martyrdom, the highest, most eminent way" (Murphy 2004, 123).

On June 11, 2000, a young Muslim woman, Hawa Barayev, drove into a building housing Russian Special Forces in Alkhan Kala, killing two soldiers. She was connected to the Chechen rebels who defended her actions on their website. Hawa's last words were: "I know what I am doing, paradise has a price, and I hope this will be the price for Paradise." For the attack, a man accompanied the young suicide bomber (Pedazhur 2005, 112). A month after Barayev's suicide, Chechen rebels issued an unsigned fatwa sanctioning female suicide bombers which stated, "The young woman who was martyred is one of the few women whose name will be recorded in history. She has set a marvelous example by her sacrifice…She has done what few men have done" (Ness 2005, 361).

In November 2001, 16 year-old Luiza Gazuyeva blew up herself and the despised Russian district military commandant, General Geidar Gadzhiyev. Three other people were wounded. Her husband, believed to be a Chechen fighter, was taken in one of the frequent cleansing operations in the city and was never heard from again. Gazuyeva tried to find out her husband's fate, but received no information. Gazuyeva walked up to the General on the street and asked, "Do you remember me?" The General responded, "Get out of the way, I'm not going to talk to you" (Murphy 2004, 125). And with those words, she detonated the explosives hidden underneath her clothing. The General died from his wounds days later. In February 2002, a fifteen year old girl named Zarema Inarkayeva tried to deliver a bomb to a Grozny police station, but it failed to go off. The girl said she had been kidnapped and told her family would be killed if she failed to cooperate.

The spate of suicide bombings, committed by both men and women in 2000 and 2001, however, would pale in comparison to the terrorist attack which captured the world's attention in October 2002. A June 2002 military conference cemented an alliance between Maskhadov and Basayev; Maskhadov had clearly shifted ideologically toward Basayev and an extremist outlook (Murphy 2004, 172). The Russian government braced for a new onslaught of terrorist attacks and fighting. The "October Surprise" did not disappoint. Preparations for a spectacular hostage taking had been in the works for months. The original target was the Russian Parliament; however, once the field commander who Basayev had picked to lead the siege was killed in combat in Chechnya, alternative sites were selected (Murphy 2004, 179). Basayev selected 23 year-old field commander Movsar Barayev[14] to lead the operation. The terrorist team arrived in Moscow via different modes of transportation, and some of the women who participated in the attack even used their real passports and moved freely about the city before the attack. Using the alias Khava Erbiyeva, 42 year-old Yassira Vataliyeva rented three apartments for relatives coming from Dagestan for medical treatment. Vataliyeva was a veteran female fighter serving under Basayev.

The Moscow Theater Siege As Moscow theater patrons innocently enjoyed a sold-out play on October 23, 2002 they soon became hostages of Chechen terrorists. Moreover, close to twenty women wrapped in black and armed with rifles and detonators, were part of the terrorist assault team in the theater. The men and women disembarked from three vehicles and charged through the front entrance of the theater. Into the second act of the play, the theater patrons at first thought the terrorists were part of the play; however, once shots were fired, the reality of the situation became readily apparent. Male hostages were separated from female hostages and Russians were separated from foreigners (Murphy 2004, 180). Executions of some of the hostages began quickly that evening. Muslims and Georgians were told they could leave. Some of the cast was able to escape by climbing out of a restroom window. Al-Jazeera broadcast a pre-recorded videotape of the terrorists' demands. The videotape stated,

> Every nation has the right to their fate. Russia has taken away this right from the Chechens and today we want to reclaim these rights, which Allah has given us, in the same way he has given it to other nations. Allah has given us the right of freedom and the right to choose our destiny. And the Russian occupiers have flooded our land with our children's blood. And we have longed for a just solution. People are unaware of the innocent who are dying in Chechnya: the sheikhs, the women, the children and the weak ones. And therefore, we have chosen this approach. This approach is for the freedom of the Chechen people and there is no difference in where we die, and therefore we have decided to die here, in Moscow. And we will take with us the lives of hundreds of sinners. If we die, others will come and follow us—our brothers and sisters who are willing to sacrifice their lives, in Allah's way, to liberate their nation. Our nationalists have died but people have

14 Despite his young age, Barayev had been trained by Khattab in explosives and sabotage techniques (Murphy 2004, 181). He was active in his uncle's kidnapping business and video footage shows him beheading a Chechen woman accused of being a spy for Russia.

> said that they, the nationalists, are terrorists and criminals. But the truth is Russia is the true criminal (Wikipedia).

The hostage crisis lasted for over two days. On the third day, Russian special forces used a gaseous sedative, which incapacitated all of the terrorists but also caused the deaths of over 100 hostages. Despite Russia's turn to democracy in the early 1990s, the government remained reticent to share with the public what type of gas was utilized. Many of the hostages died from the effects of the gas, while some doctors publicly berated the Russian government for not taking the necessary precautions to have antidotes on hand to administer once the gas was released. While the siege was underway, the Russian government closed one television station, censored the coverage of another television station and a radio station, and publicly rebuked a newspaper for its coverage. Shamil Basayev posted a statement on his website claiming responsibility for the incident, resigning all official positions within the Chechen government, and apologizing to Chechen President Maskhadov for not informing him of the planned raid. The Russian government claims that wiretapped phone conversations prove that Maskhadov knew of the plans in advance, which he denied. There were talks with Russian State Duma deputies, and a doctor was let into the theater to treat the hostages. The now deceased Russian journalist Anna Politkovskaya[15] entered the building and pleaded with the leaders of the siege to allow the teenagers and children to be released. The leader, Barayev, said no retorting, "Our children are hungry, so let yours also go hungry"; Politkovskaya was told she could come back with enough water and juice for several hundred hostages (Murphy 2004, 187).

Conditions within the theater continued to deteriorate rapidly. A few hostages were able to escape. The Russian hostage rescue operation began early in the morning of October 26, 2002 which was Barayev's imposed deadline to Putin to end the war and begin withdrawing Russian troops from Chechnya. A grenade exploded inside the theater, and a gas was used to induce sleep so the terrorists did not have time to detonate their bombs. Russian snipers took out terrorists standing before the windows, and other terrorists were engaged in close-quarter combat in the corridors (Murphy 2004, 189). The rescue operation took no more than fifteen minutes. Some claim that as many of ten of the terrorists escaped; however, the grim reality was 130 hostages died, most within hours or days later from failure to get the appropriate medical treatment after being exposed to the gas.

All of the terrorists were killed before they could detonate their bombs.[16] "Still photos of the women with bombs attached to their torsos were the most dramatic. One former hostage said the women terrorists spoke to them rather nicely and behaved as normal women" (Nivat 2005, 414). According to reports, however, the male and female terrorists had different roles. "The men took care of the explosives

15 She was a U.S.-born Russian journalist and human rights activist well-known for her criticism of the Chechen conflict and Russian President Putin. She was shot to death in the elevator of her apartment building on 7 October 2006.

16 Shamil Basayev argued that many of the bombs were non-functioning because they had been sabotaged by an FSB agent who penetrated the terrorist operation (Murphy 2004. 189-190).

and intimidation of the hostages, while the women distributed medical supplies, blankets, water, chewing gum, and chocolates. Though at times, the women allegedly toyed threateningly with their two-kilo bomb belts" (Bloom 2005, 154). Moreover, from the passports discovered on the terrorists' bodies, the names revealed that the attack was very much a 'family affair.' Sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, husbands and wives, and best friends participated in the orchestrated attack (Murphy 2004, 182). Ages of the hostage takers ranged from 16 to 43, and four teenage girls participated. Movsar Barayev said that his 'aunt' commanded the female terrorists.

One woman who took part in the Moscow theater siege was Kaira (Pedazhur 2005, 146). She was 22 years old at the time and grew up in a conservative Muslim family; however, she was not anti-Western and had a great love of American and European history. Kaira had fallen in love and gotten married during the second phase of the Chechen war. Shortly after their wedding, her husband joined the ranks of the Chechen rebels and was killed in action. Then, the Russian army discovered she had been married to a rebel. The forces stormed her house and took away her teenage brother. Not long after this forced abduction, the family found his mutilated body which showed clear signs of torture. Over the next few months, Kaira also lost a cousin and her family's house was destroyed in a Russian artillery attack.

Fatima Ganiyeva, age 27, and her younger sister, 16 year-old Khadichat were amongst the female terrorists. Both were sisters of Rustam Ganiyev, one of Basyev's field commanders, whom the Russian press reported sold his sisters into certain death for $1000 each (Murphy 2004, 182). Sixteen year old Aiman Kurbanova was killed along with her 38 year old sister. Both of these women's husbands were among the male terrorists. Another woman, Aishat Bakuyeva, 26 and a successful pharmacist, came to Moscow after losing all of her family, except for her mother, in the war. Four of her brothers had been killed in three years. She sold her business in Grozny, packed a suitcase, and told friends she was moving to Moscow to begin a new life. Her paperwork for registration in Moscow was successfully completed two months before the siege.

> All of the Chechen women in the theater were vocal about their desire to die. "It would be a present for me if I died for Allah now", one told a hostage. Another confirmed that she didn't want to die, but said, "I am ready to do it for Allah". A third said, "It doesn't matter if I die here or there [in Chechnya]… my husband and children have been killed, so I have nothing to live for. We will all die", they told hostages (Murphy 2004, 184).

Attempting to definitively state the motivations for each of the women involved in the 2002 terrorist attack is impossible, however, a clear sense of loss, hopelessness, desire for retribution, and fatalism seem to pervade the lives of the Chechen women who participated in the attack. Before the Moscow theater siege, there had been a few incidents of women suicide bombers; however, after 2002, they became much more frequent.

Suicide Attacks After the 2002 Moscow theater siege, suicide attacks occurred frequently. In May 2003, Larisa Musaleyeva detonated an explosives belt during a religious festival in Ilishkhan-Yrt. Her brother, a well-known Chechen rebel, committed suicide six months earlier when bodyguards of Chechen President

Kadyrov, who was viewed as Moscow's lackey by some Chechens, tried to catch and arrest him. When she heard Kadryov was going to be present at the festival, she tried to assassinate him in this suicide attack. She vowed to take revenge. Dressed like journalists, Musaleyeva and one or two other women, approached a security cordon as Kadyrov was talking to VIP guests. "Let us through, we watch to catch Kadyrov's final words", a woman shouted as Kadyrov's personal bodyguards intercepted them about ten feet from their target (Murphy 2004, 209). Then, the 31 year old Musalayeva detonated a nail bomb around her waist. Kadyrov escaped unharmed but 26 others were killed including another "black widow", Zulai Abdurzakova. Four of Kadryov's bodyguards were killed from the suicide bombing.

Also in May 2003 near the settlement of Znamenskye in Chechnya, two female suicide-bombers blew up a truck loaded with explosives near the administration building. Close to 60 people died. In June 2003, a young woman named Lidiya Khaldykhoroyeva targeted a bus carrying helicopter pilots flying combat missions into Chechnya. For two days, she stalked her targets. When the bus made its last scheduled stop to take on more passengers, she too asked for admittance on to the bus and then proceeded to detonate her bomb once the bus driver refused (Murphy 2004, 209).

In July 2003, two female suicide-bombers, Zulikhan Yelikhadzhiyeva and Zinaida Alieyeva, blew up themselves killing 14 people and wounding 60 others at an open-air rock-festival in Moscow. The two suicide bombers activated their explosives within a fifteen minute interval, one next to the ticket office and the other at a nearby market (Pedazhur 2005, 112). The two suicide bombers had come to Moscow on a flight from Ingushetia in mid-May 2003 and rented an apartment together (Murphy 2004, 222). Police had searched their apartment and verified their passports. Everything seemed to be in order, so they were released. Supposedly, Zulikhan, age 19, fell in love with her step-brother and ran off with him to Dagestan. In a departing letter, Zulikhan begged her step-brother to die as a shahid with her so they could be in Paradise forever. The second bomber, Zinaida Aliyeva, is said to have lived in the mountains with her fighter husband and became pregnant; however, she was made to abort the baby on orders from her commander's husband (Murphy 2004, 224).

By 2003, the Russian public and press were in distress over the issue of "black widows", women who had often lost a husband or other close loved one during the Chechen wars. They were attacking hard and soft targets and were very successful in ensuring a high degree of fatalities in their attacks. Most of the women were portrayed as hardened Islamists, gladly dying for Allah; however, the arrest of a failed suicide bomber forced observers to question this assessment of religious extremism or even Chechen nationalism as necessarily the main motivation for their terrorist attacks.

In July 2003 Zarema Muzhukhoyeva, a 23 year old Chechen woman, intending to blew herself up in the center of Moscow, was arrested at a café in Moscow before she detonated the bomb. Zarema had pressed the detonator multiple times, but the bomb failed to go off. A Russian police officer died while trying to neutralize the explosive device. Since Zarema was captured alive, more information has been published about her than the other female Chechen terrorists. According to interviews

with the police, her motivation was not Chechen nationalism nor Islam, but rather personal problems. Zarema attended school from the age of seven to fifteen until she became pregnant, and was then married. Four years before her failed bombing attempt, her husband was killed in a business dispute (Pedazhur 2005, 121). Shortly after her husband's death, who was twenty years her senior, his family took away her child and prevented her from seeing the child. She stole her grandmother's jewels and sold them in order to have money to support her daughter once she fled to Moscow. When she tried to board a plane with the child, they took Zarema's daughter away, physically assaulted her, and left her at the airport. She then joined Shamil Basayev's faction of the Chechen rebel movement and reportedly slept with one of the commanders. She was told her family would receive $1,000 for carrying out a mission. According to Zarema's account, she was then locked in an apartment with other women who were assigned to suicide missions. They were kept under constant surveillance by Basayev's men and given a great deal of propaganda.

Since her arrest, Zarema helped Russian authorities find explosives in Moscow, Ingushetia, and Chechnya and provided information leading to the arrest of 13 of Basayev's people (Murphy 2004, 227). Based on information provided by Zarema, Russian authorities raided a house where half a dozen suicide belts were discovered. Despite a robust defense which argued Zarema did not go through with the suicide bombing on moral grounds, the jury found her guilty on all counts; she was charged with terrorism, murder, criminal conspiracy, and unlawful possession of explosives. Zarema was sentenced to twenty years in prison.

On July 27 2003, in Grozy a female suicide-bomber, Iman Khachukayeva, blew up herself at the entrance to a security forces base. A passer-by was lightly wounded. On December 5, 2003, two women blew themselves up metres away from the Kremlin, killing five and injuring 12. A few days later, two women were seen jumping from a train blast in south Russia which killed 44 and wounded over 100 others. On December 9, 2003, an unidentified female suicide bomber exploded a belt with explosives near the Nationale Hotel in Moscow. Her likely target was the Russian State Duma. Explosives where hidden in a shoulder bag. Six people died, and over a dozen were wounded.

In August 24, 2004, Amanat Nagayeva and Satsista Dzhbirkhanova blew themselves up on airplanes, killing 90 people (Bloom 2005, 130). The two female Chechen terrorists bribed airport officials to purchase a ticket without the proper identification. A week later, another woman blew herself up outside a Moscow subway, killing ten people.

The Beslan Massacre Then in September 2004, a terrorist attack occurred that made parents everywhere stop in their tracks and take notice. As parents in many parts of the world were sending their children back to school in the waning months of summer, Chechen terrorists struck against a school in Beslan, located in North Ossetia, which is part of the Russian Federation. September 1st marked the start of the school year in Russia. Traditionally, children, accompanied by parents and other relatives, put on their finest dress and attend ceremonies hosted by their school. Commonly, the first-year students give a flower to those entering their final year, and are then taken to class by the older children. Presumably the attackers chose this

particular day for maximum impact, knowing they could involve a greater number of children, their parents, and school administrators.

Early in the morning, approximately 32 terrorists, including at least two women, (maybe four, it seems there are contradictory accounts) seized the school after an exchange of gunfire with police, in which five officers and one attacker were killed. The terrorists seized the school building, taking more than 1,300 hostages and herding them in the gymnasium. The gymnasium was rigged with explosives set to detonate upon the leader's orders. The Russian government initially downplayed the numbers, stating there were only 354 hostages, which reportedly angered the attackers. During the initial chaos about 50 people managed to flee to safety and alert authorities. One terrorist stripped the hostages of all valuables and any means of outside communication. According to a young boy who testified at the trial of the lone terrorist captured alive, Nur-Pashi Kulayev, one of the female terrorists threatened the hostages that if she found a single phone on anyone, that person and three more people near him or her would be killed. Immediately after having gathered all the hostages in the gym, the attackers set about killing around twenty of the adult male hostages, reportedly the strongest in the group. The attackers forced other hostages to throw their bodies out of the building and set some children to wash the blood off the floor. The conditions over the next two days steadily deteriorated. In the sweltering heat, children were forced to drink their own urine to stay hydrated. They were reports that some female adolescents were raped by the male terrorists. Some mothers with nursing babies were released, but medical supplies were non-existent. A repeat of the 2002 Moscow theater siege was not going to happen this time. Putin's government pledged not to storm the school with speical forces. Negotiations did take place to try and secure the hostages release with no avail. Shamil Basayev was responsible for orchestrating the terrorist attack. This letter, dated August 30th and signed by Basayev, was sent out by a female hostage on the second day of the siege.

> From Allah's servant Shamil Basayev to President Putin, Vladimir Putin, it wasn't you who started this war. But you can finish it if you have enough courage and determination of de Gaulle. We offer you a sensible peace based on mutual benefit by the principle — independence in exchange for security. In case of troops withdrawal and acknowledgement of independence of Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, we are obliged not to make any political, military or economic treaties with anyone against Russia, not to accommodate foreign military bases on our territory even temporarily, not to support and not to finance groups or organizations carrying out a military struggle against RF, to be present in the united ruble zone, to enter CIS. Besides, we can sign a treaty even though a neutral state status is more acceptable to us. We can also guarantee a renunciation of armed struggle against RF by all Muslims of Russia for at least 10 to 15 years under condition of freedom of faith. We are not related to the apartment bombings in Moscow and Volgodonsk, but we can take responsibility for this in an acceptable way. The Chechen people are leading a nation-liberating struggle for its freedom and independence, for its self-protection rather than for destruction or humiliation of Russia. We offer you peace, but the choice is yours. Allahu Akbar.

After two full days of the siege, chaos ensued. Since the siege had begun, men from the community had surrounded the school with their own private firearms. The Russian special forces did not establish effective security around the school. Explosions erupted and firing began from all directions. At his trial the lone surviving terrorist Kulayev testified that the leader, a man named Polkovnik, shot a militant and detonated two female suicide bombers because they objected to harming the children.

According to some sources the two female members of the terrorist group—Roza Nagayeva, the younger sister of Amanat who blew herself up on one of the two airplanes only a week earlier and Mariam Taburova—started disagreeing with the commanders of the siege. Some of the male hostage takers agreed with them and supposedly their leader killed them and detonated the explosives they had planted around the room. This noise is what caused the family members and Russian assault forces to storm the building, leading to the massive loss of life (Nivat 2005, 415).

As the Russian forces assaulted the school, the terrorists began firing indiscriminately at all of the fleeing hostages, and the building caught on fire and the roof collapsed. Medical personnel tried to rescue as many fleeing from the school as possible. The death toll was in fact much worse than the Moscow theater siege. Close to 350 people died, and over half of them were children. In internal investigations, the Russian government claimed it could not have handled the situation any differently. Parliamentary inquiries have continued for two years since the siege. The Beslan Mothers Committee has demanded answers from the reticent Putin administration. They question how over 30 militants could have evaded military checkpoints. Some believe that the explosives were planted in the school a month before the attack when repairs to the school were being made. In May 2006, in a courtroom packed with grieving parents, Nur-Pashi Kulayev, was sentenced to life in prison. The judge presiding over his case said he deserved the death penalty, but that was not possible due to a moratorium on it.

If this account is in fact true, this then leaves us with a paradox. Why would these two women participate in the terrorist attack, unless they did not do so voluntarily, and then start defying their leader by showing a 'feminine trait' and argue on behalf of the innocent children? Understanding the motivation of why Chechen women participate in terrorist attacks, including suicide bombings, is extremely difficult. Interestingly, however, we again have a case where women in a very traditional, patriarchal society are participating at all levels of political violence against Russia. At least three broad motivating factors can be examined. First, senior mujahedeen commander, Abu al-Waleed, says that Chechen women are getting even for the loss of their children, brothers, husbands, and uncles (Murphy 2004, 210). In other words, these Chechen women are driven mainly by emotion and personal connections to lost family members. Second, perhaps some of these women have in some way been humiliated or brought dishonor to their families—a similar factor that Barbara Victor discusses in her book on female Palestinian suicide bombers. There have been substantial allegations of Chechen women being raped by Russian soldiers as well as by Chechen men. Third, Chechen women may be motivated by money and providing for their destitute families. The Majlis ul-Shura in Chechnya will pay an award of $1,000.00 or more to families of martyrs, whether male or female. This

monetary incentive, coupled with the first two motivating factors, may constitute a tipping point for some Chechen women.

Russian Governmental Response

The Russian government's response has oscillated between a scorched earth policy and spasms of negotiation. As mentioned earlier, organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have issued damning reports regarding the Russian government's prosecution of the war in Chechnya. The European Union has also condemned the situation, arguing Russia has violated various European conventions and perhaps even the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide; however, no inquiry has been undertaken by the United Nations Security Council due to Russia's veto power as a permanent member.

In the international realm, President Putin linked the war in Chechnya to the U.S.'s war against Al-Qaeda. Russia launched a diplomatic offensive to persuade Washington to designate several Chechen structures as terrorist groups. While U.S.-Russian bilateral relations have certainly soured since the heady days in 2001 when President Bush remarked, "I was able to get a sense of his [Vladimir Putin's] soul, a man deeply committed to his country and the best interests of his country", the U.S. did respond to this request by declaring three Chechen groups foreign terrorist organizations.[17] Any assets these organizations have in the United States are now frozen, and U.S. citizens and organizations are prohibited from making contributions to these groups. Moreover, security around nuclear power sites has been increased, given Basayev's declaration in 2003 to unleash radiological weapons upon Moscow.

In February 2004, Chechen leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiev was assassinated in Doha, Qatar via a car bomb explosion while returning home from Friday prayers. Russia had sought Yandarbiev's extradition for his alleged masterminding of several attacks in Russia, including the 2002 theater hostage crisis. Two Russians were detained by the Qatari government for this perhaps "preemptive" strike at Chechen terrorism abroad.

Russia has capitalized on the 'links' between Al-Qaeda and the Chechen operation. For example, it is reported that some of the hijackers of 9.11.2001 had served time training and fighting in Chechnya (Murphy 2004, 216). Moreover, Chechens were found in Al-Qaeda units in Afghanistan in 2001, and in Pakistan in 2002 (Murphy 2004, 217). "The evidence indicates that it was Al-Qaeda that embraced the Chechen cause, and not the Chechen rebels that have embraced Al-Qaeda" (Abdullaev 2004, 336).

According to estimates by the Russian Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, Russia has lost about 25,000 servicemen in Chechnya since December 1994, and Russian human rights groups contend that nearly 100,000 Chechens were killed during the first Chechen war alone (Abdullaev 2004, 332). The level of brutality exhibited by

17 These groups included: Basayev's Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs, the Special Purposes Islamic Regiment, and the Islamic International Brigade (Murphy 2004, 203).

both sides of the conflict is staggering. Chechen terrorists have kidnapped, executed and tortured hostages, including Russian soldiers and foreigners in Chechnya, and encouraged the transshipment of weapons, drugs, and a human slave trade through the republic (Abdullaev 2004, 334). The Chechen civilian population has suffered an immeasurable degree of pain at the hands of Russian soldiers as well as violent Chechen separatists—some bent on establishing an emirate with neighboring Dagestan while others are satisfied with imposing austere sharia law and courts throughout the republic. Russian soldiers routinely searched house to house, often looting homes and abusing villagers. Some Chechens have been sent to so-called filtration camps, with evidence of extrajudicial killings, torture, and disappearances (Evangelista 2003, 313).

The region is now controlled by Prime Minister Ramzan Kadyrov, son of the assassinated Ahmed Kadyrov. He runs his own private army and has banned alcohol, and requires women to wear headscarves (Gorenburg 2006). Even with Basayev and Maskhadov now dead, the status of Chechnya remains unresolved as of this writing. Moreover, violent Islamist movements appear to be on the rise in the rest of the North Caucasus. While President Putin blames this phenomenon on foreign influences in the region, some observers believe that President Putin's policies have contributed to the spread of Islamic radicalism in the region (Gorenburg 2006). Moreover, widespread corruption and massive poverty throughout the region are contributing to the popularity of radical Islam. Finally, violent attacks against 'dark-skinned' or non-Slavic looking people have been committed by gangs of Russian skinheads in urban Russia.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that there is no single causal explanation for understanding the motivation of female suicide bombers in three different contexts. Some of these women undoubtedly suffered from personal loss and severe trauma in their lives, while other women came from relatively stable family backgrounds and middle-class socioeconomic backgrounds. Women suicide bombers are still a relatively rare phenomenon, but definitely evoke more attention from the media and in general, a repulsive reaction, from the general public. In Iraq as of May 2007, there have been seven documented female suicide bombings, including one bomber who killed 16 Iraqi police recruits. Moreover, there is concern that Al-Qaeda, in whatever organizational manifestation it operates currently, will start training and deploying a unit of female suicide bombers. Speculation abounds that suicide bombers will eventually strike the United States, as they have in London in July 2005, and that women suicide bombers would be the perfect human bomb. What is ultimately clear, however, is that we need to evaluate each suicide bomber on a case-by-case basis; the Russian, Turkish, and Israeli governments must certainly recognize there is no uniform profile. While the war in Chechnya, does seem to be in abatement, the Kurdish question is still unresolved in southeast Turkey, and the pullout from the Gaza strip by the Israeli government in the summer of 2005 has not produced a Palestinian state, let alone a diplomatic resolution to the intractable dispute.

It is important to note, however, that a number of women are committed to a peaceful resolution to all these conflicts. Organizations such as the Women in Black argue that the bloodshed has continued too long in the Palestinian territories and Israel and grieve collectively as mothers. In Russia, the Union of the Committees' of Soldiers Mothers of Russia have pressed both the governments of Russia and Chechnya to be held accountable for numerous human rights atrocities committed by both sides, and have been recognized internationally for their efforts. Finally, Kurdish women have addressed the European Union regarding the status of their situation in Turkey, especially in light of the eternally pending question of Turkish accession to the European Union in the future. However other women, albeit a minority, have chosen a different path of extreme political violence. The number of women who have chosen this path voluntarily or under duress or coercion is difficult to ascertain, but it is clear that the palatable fear female suicide bombers evoke often overshadows the collective work of women who choose non-violent political methods over death.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 7

Concluding Thoughts on Women and Political Violence

Women have been involved in acts of political violence and terrorism for centuries; however, it has often been assumed that women are involved in these acts due to emotional and therefore less rational or strategic reasons than men. These case studies have tried to demonstrate, by addressing women's involvement in various types of political violence and terrorism, that women's agency, while often called into question, should be examined on a case-by-case basis. By examining macrolevel, mesolevel, and microlevel factors a more complete picture has emerged of women's involvement in left-wing, right-wing, national liberation, ethnonational, and suicide bombing political violence and terrorism. A unified 'theory' of women's participation in political violence was not the aim of this book; rather, I endeavored to provide the reader with a snapshot of some of these women (via their own words) and through other studies completed over the decades.

The 'theory' which seems to provide the most leverage in understanding women's involvement in political violence, and I contend for men too, is the collective action theory discussed in Chapter 1. Most of the women involved in the various types of political violence and terrorism explored in this book were recruited or became active through personal relational networks. These networks could include universities (as in the case of left-wing political violence discussed in Chapter 2), illegal political party organizations (as in the case of national liberation violence discussed in Chapter 4), or through family networks (as in the case of some of the right-wing political violence discussed in Chapter 3 and ethnonational cases profiled in Chapter 5).

The various theories of feminism explored in Chapter 1 also provide some analytical insights into why women became involved in political violence. Understandably, some women have espoused a militant feminism tied in with nationalism or even xenophobia in the case or right-wing political violence. Liberal feminism seemed to animate some of the ideological justification of left-wing political violence in the case of the Weather Underground, but this was certainly not the driving motivation. Feminist concerns for even left-wing political violence was somewhat an afterthought. However, the three cases explored in Chapter 2 do provide strong evidence of the critical roles that women played in the leadership and execution of acts of political violence and terrorism in the case of the Italian Red Brigades, American Weather Underground, and German Red Army Faction. While Weather Underground spokesperson Bernardine Dorhn has became a law professor, other women engaged in left-wing political violence are still serving prison terms

or committed suicide in prison while awaiting trial, as in the case of the Red Army Faction's Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin.

In the case of right-wing political violence explored in Chapter 3, we saw the most interesting paradox arise. Right-wing ideologies in general hold that the public/private dichotomization is crucial for the harmonious existence of nuclear families and societies at large. Consistent with this line of reasoning, women should embrace traditionally feminine roles such as caretaking and procreation, while men should be engaged in the public sphere. However, women in the KKK and even modern-day white supremacist groups, while maintaining these traditional beliefs, have effectively challenged the patriarchal assumptions of the organizations and predominantly male leadership. Some of these women have started separate women's organizations, while others have demanded a seat at the leadership table.

In Chapter 4, I examined women in national liberation movements. In all three of these cases, Kenya, Algeria, and Vietnam, women were operating in traditional, conservative societies. While the Mau Mau did not have an explicitly feminist agenda, women were certainly instrumental in the functioning and sustainability of the Mau Mau movement. Moreover, Kikuyu women were most definitely viewed as a threat by the British colonial authorities and subjected to extreme cruelty in the Pipeline camps. Although few Kikuyu women were actual combatants for Mau Mau, they certainly played key support roles and were active in the oathing ceremonies for Mau Mau. Algerian women in the National Liberation Front (FLN) served as bomb and weapons couriers, intelligence gatherers, and propaganda distributers. Very rarely did they serve in the combat field; however, again, the story Djamila Boupacha's torture serves as a stark example of the French government's belief that the Algerian women must be broken as well as the men to cripple the FLN. Finally, women in Vietnam have been engaged in political violence for millennium, if we are to believe the story of the Trung sisters' fight against the Chinese. The Indochina Communist Party of the 1930s was probably the most explicit in its calls for gender equality when compared with the Mau Mau in Kenya or the FLN in Algeria. Vietnamese women fought against both the French and the Americans for their liberation. Again, they were interrogated and tortured by the French as well as the government of South Vietnam during the "American War." In all three of these cases, women's involvement in political violence was again often elicited through personal networks, often familial relationships.

In Chapter 5, women's involvement in ethnonational political violence was explored. The LTTE of Sri Lanka has certainly utilized ethnic female Tamils in its quest for outright secession. Women have become an elite and feared unit of suicide bombers; however, scholars like Miranda Alison have tried to uncover these women's motivations in joining the LTTE. It is important to bear in mind that undoubtedly some of these women have suffered sexual abuse and violence and many of the youngest LTTE recruits, both male and female, have been forcibly abducted and threatened into serving in the LTTE's ranks. The Basque ETA have utilized women in much the same way as the IRA has in Northern Ireland, mainly as intelligence gatherers, keepers of safe houses, and decoys for terrorist operations. However, in the case of the women's involvement in Irish Republicanism, we can see a deep struggle within the IRA as to whether women would be allowed to participate in the

same acts of political protest, including hunger strikes and the no-wash protests, as the IRA men. While women were venerated in Northern Ireland for their embodiment as "Mother Ireland", there was fear amongst the male IRA leadership that the female IRA prisoners did not have the same fortitude to engage in these protests and that the British government could utilize the women's participation to turn a strongly conservative Irish public against the women's involvement. In both the case of ETA and Irish Republicanism, personal networks are again important in the recruitment of women into a world of political violence. Often, other family members were involved in the movement simultaneously.

In Chapter 6, we explored the phenomenon of women as suicide bombers in the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the Chechen-Russian conflict. As noted in Chapter 5, however, the LTTE has been utilizing female suicide bombers since the late 1980s/early 1990s. In the case of the PKK, there was a relatively short spate of female suicide bombers which has definitely subsided since the late 1990s; however, the question of Kurdish autonomy in Turkey is still unsettled. Female Palestinian suicide bombers have probably received the most attention internationally and certainly in the United States. Female suicide bombers first appeared in January 2002, and there was a rash of lethal suicide bombings committed by women on behalf of Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. Finally, in the Chechen case women have been involved in the fight against Russia as both suicide bombers and participants in the 2002 Moscow theater siege and 2004 Beslan school massacre. Again, in all three of these case studies we have traditional, conservative societies. Journalists and academics question whether these women are simply serving as cannon fodder in these largely male-led organizations and guerrilla wars against the governments of Turkey, Israel, and Russia, or whether this is a morbid sign of true gender equality. As noted in the chapter, what is certainly true is that personal, emotional motivations are often ascribed to the female suicide bombers in all three contexts such as they have been raped, shamed their family in some respect, or have lost loved ones including husbands and children in the conflict. Therefore, they have nothing to live for any longer. Political motivations such as Kurdish nationalism, the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories for decades, or the Russian government's brutal history vis-à-vis Chechnya are often given short shrift in the quest of searching for an elusive definitive explanation as to why these women take their own lives and so many innocent others. What is clear, however, is that there is no single profile of female suicide bombers, just as there is not with their male counterparts. Although they may be younger as opposed to older, they come from all types of socioeconomic backgrounds, secular versus religious milieus, and various educational attainment levels.

While exploring the role women have played in political violence and terrorism may have been disconcerting for the reader, I hope it has been a valuable journey. Women's roles in radical Islamist movements are an area which certainly deserves more scholarly attention. Again, an interesting parallel arises with the right-wing political violence explored in Chapter 3. Women's roles in radical Islamist movements is certainly circumscribed to the private sphere; however, we have witnessed female suicide bombers in the case of Iraq, and a woman was arrested for providing support in the case of the recent failed London and Glasgow car bombing

attacks in July 2007. Whatever trajectory women's participation in political violence and terrorism may take in the 21st century, it is important that we recognize the agency of these women, even though we make be appalled by the violence they support and perpetrate. To argue that women's involvement in the large cross-section of political violence and terrorism I have presented in this book is due to a man's involvement or because the woman is drawn to the cause, whatever it may be, due to purely emotional reasons will certainly make our scholarly analysis as well as the general public's understanding less robust and complete in the end.

Bibliography

Abdullaev, Nabi. (October 2004), 'Chechnya Ten Years Later', *Current History*, 332-336.

Addressing the Causes of Terrorism. (2006), The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism, Vol. 1.

Alexander, Yonah and Dennis A. Pluchinsky. (1992), *Europe's Red Terrorists: The Fighting Communist Organizations* (London: Frank Cass).

Alimi, Eitan. (2006), 'Contextualizing Political Terrorism: A Collective Action Perspective for Understanding the Tanzim', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29:3, 263-283.

Alison, Miranda. (2003), 'Cogs in the Wheel? Women in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam', *Civil Wars* 6:4, 37-54.

Alison, Miranda. (2004), 'Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security', *Security Dialogue* 35:4, 447-463.

Alpert, Jane. (1981), *Growing Up Underground* (New York: Carol Publishing Company).

Amrane-Minne and Daniele Djamila. (1999), 'Women and Politics in Algeria from the War of Independence to Our Day', *Research in African Literatures* 30, 3: 62-70.

Amrane, Djamila. (1999), 'Femmes dans la guerre d'Algérie. Entretien avec Fatma Baïchi', *Femmes du Magreb*.

Apter, David, ed. (1997), *The Legitimization of Violence* (New York: New York University Press).

Arendt, Hannah. (1969), *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc).

Aretxaga, Begoña. (1997), *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Arthur, Paul. (1997), 'Reading Violence: Ireland', 234-291, in David Apter (ed.) *The Legitimization of Violence* (New York: New York University Press).

Bacchetta, Paola and Margaret Power (eds.) (2002), *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives To Extremists Around the World* (New York: Routledge).

Balasingham, Adele. (2001), *The Will to Freedom: An Inside View of Tamil Resistance* (England: Fairmax Publishing).

Beasley, Chris. (1999), *What is Feminism?* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications).

Becker, Jillian. (1977), *Hitler's Children: The Story of the Baader-Meinhoff Terrorist Gang* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company).

Bennet, James. (31 October 2002), 'Arab Woman's Path to Unlikely Martyrdom', Accessed from The New York Times at www.nytimes.com on 28 November 2006.

Bergman, Arlene Eisen. (1975), *Women of Vietnam* (California: People's Press).
Bernstein, Nina, Andrea Elliott and William Rashbaum. (8 April 2005), 'Girl Called Would-be Bomber Was Drawn to Islam', *The New York Times*, pp. B1-B7.
Blanche, Ed. (January 2006), 'Sisterhood of Stealth', *The Middle East*, 18-21.
Blazak, Randy. (2004), 'Getting It: The Role of Women in Male Desistance from Hate Groups', 161-179, in Abby Ferber (ed.), *Home-Grown Hate: Gender and Organized Racism* (New York: Routledge).
Blee, Kathleen. (1996), 'Becoming a Racist: Women in Contemporary Ku Klux Klan and Neo-Nazi Groups', *Gender and Society* 10:6, 688-702.
Blee, Kathleen. (1997), 'Mothers in the Race-Hate Movements', 247-257, in Jetter, Alexis, Annelise Orleck and Diana Taylor (eds.), *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (London: University Press of New England).
Blee, Kathleen. (2002a), 'The Gendered Organization of Hate: Women in the U.S. KKK', 101-114, in Bacchetta, Paola and Margaret Power (eds.), *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives To Extremists Around the World* (New York: Routledge).
Blee, Kathleen. (2002b), *Inside Organized Racism: Women of the Hate Movement* (California: University of California Press).
Blee, Kathleen. (2005), 'Women and Organized Racial Terrorism in the United States', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28:5, 421-433.
Bloom, Mia. (November/December 2005), 'Mother. Daughter. Sister. Bomber', *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, 54-62.
Bloom, Mia. (2005), *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press).
Boniece, Sally. (2003), 'The Spiridonova Case, 1906: Terror, Myth, and Martyrdom', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4:3, 571-606.
Boston, William and Roger Thurow. (11 January 2001). 'Past v. Present: A Woman's Journey from German Terrorist to Repentant Survivor', *Wall Street Journal.*
Braudy, Susan. (2003), *Family Circle: The Boudins and the Aristocracy of the Left* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).
Braungart, Richard and Margaret Braungart. (1992), 'From Protest to Terrorism: The Case of the SDS and the Weathermen', in *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations*, edited by Donna della Porta, 45-78 (Connecticut: JAI Press, Inc.).
Briggs, Jimmie. (2005), *Innocents Lost: When Child Soldiers Go to War* (New York: Basic Books).
Broido, Vera. (1977), *Apostles into Terrorists: Women and the Revolutionary Movement in the Russia of Alexander II* (New York: Viking Press).
Brunner, Claudia. (2005), 'Female Suicide Bombers-Male Suicide Bombing: Looking for Gender in Reporting the Suicide Bombings of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *Global Society* 19:1, 29-48.
Brynjar, Lia and Skjolberg, Katja. (2005), 'Causes of Terrorism: An Expanded and Updated Review of the Literature', *Norwegian Defense Research Establishment*, Available at http://rapporter.ffi.no/rapporter/2004/04307.pdf.

Burnett, Victoria. (9 June 2007). 'Spain Arrests an ETA Leader in a Government Crackdown.' Accessed from The New York Times' website at www.nytimes.com on 9 June 2007.

Clark, Robert. (1986), 'Patterns of ETA Violence, 1968-1980', 123-142, in Peter Merkl (ed.), *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Corcoran, Mary. (2006), *Out of Order: The Political Imprisonment of Women in Northern Ireland, 1972-1998* (Oregon: Willan Publishing).

Cowan, Rosie. (13 March 2003). 'I Have No Regrets.' *The Guardian*. Accessed online at www.guardian.co.uk on 12 November 2006.

Crenshaw Hutchinson, Martha. (1978), *Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954-1962* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press).

Crenshaw, Martha. (1981), 'The Causes of Terrorism', *Comparative Politics* 13:4, 379-399.

Crenshaw, Martha. (1990), 'The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice', in *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, edited by Walter Reich, 7-24 (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Press Center).

Crenshaw, Martha. (2000), 'The Psychology of Terrorism: An agenda for the 21st Century', *Political Psychology* 21:2, 405-420.

Cunningham, Karla. (2003), 'Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26:3, 171-195.

Cunningham, Karla. (2007). 'Countering Female Terrorism.' *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30:2, 113-129.

de Beauvoir, Simone and Gisele Halimi. (1962), *Djamila Boupacha*: *The Story of a Young Algerian Girl which Shocked Liberal French Opinion.* Translated from French by Peter Green (New York: The Macmillian Company).

de Cataldo Neuburger, Luisella and Tiziana Valentini. (1996), *Women and Terrorism*. (New York: St. Martin's Press).

Decker, Jeffrey. (1990), 'Terrorism Unveiled: Frantz Fanon and the Women of Algiers', *Cultural Critique* 17:4, 177-195.

de Courcy, Anne. (2003), *Diana Mosley: Mitford Beauty, British Fascist, Hitler's Angel* (New York: William Morrow).

della Porta, Donna. (1992), *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations*, Volume 4 (Connecticut: JAI Press, Inc.).

de Mel, Nelouffer. (2004), 'Body Politics: Recognizing the Female Suicide Bomber in Sri Lanka', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 11:1, 75-93.

Denefeld, Rene. (1997), *Kill the Body, the Head Will Fall: A Closer Look at Women, Violence, and Aggression* (New York: Warner Books).

Dickey, Christopher. (12 December 2005). "Women of Al-Qaeda." *Newsweek*, 146, 26-36.

Dinh, Nguyen Thi and Mai Van Elliot. (1976), *No Other Road to Take: Memoir of Mrs. Nguyen Thi Dinh* (New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program).

Drake, Richard. (1999), 'Italy in the 1960s: A Legacy of Terrorism and Liberation', *South Central Review* 16:4, 62-76.

Durham, Martin. (1998), *Women and Fascism* (New York: Routledge).

Eckstein, Harry. (1965), 'On the Etiology of Internal Wars', *History and Theory* 4: 2, 133-163.

Eisen, Arlene. (1984), *Women and Revolution in Vietnam* (London: Zed Books).

Elkins, Caroline. (2005), *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt and Company).

Elshtain, Jean Bethke. (1987), *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, Inc).

Enders, Victoria. (2002), 'And We Ate Up the World: Memories of the Sección Femenina', 85-97, in Bacchetta, Paola and Margaret Power (eds.) (2002), *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives To Extremists Around the World* (New York: Routledge).

English, Richard. (2003), *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press).

Ergil, Dogu. (2000), 'Suicide Terrorism in Turkey', *Civil Wars* 3:1, 37-54.

Erlanger, Steven. (24 November 2006), 'Grandmother Blows Self Up in Gaza Suicide Blast', Retrieved online from www.nytimes.com on 24 November 2006.

Evangelista, Matthew. (October 2003), 'Chechnya's Russia Problem', *Current History*, 313-319.

Evans, Martin. (1997), *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War (1954-1962)* (New York: Berg).

Fair, Christine C. (2004), *Urban Battle Fields of South Asia: Lessons Learned from Sri Lanka, India, and Pakistan* (RAND: California).

Fangen, Katrine. (1997), 'Separate or Equal? The Emergence of an All-Female Group in Norway's Rightist Underground', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9: 3, 122-164.

Fattah, Hassan. (14 November 2005), 'Jordan Arrests Iraqi Woman in Hotel Blasts', *The New York Times*, pp. A1-A10.

Ferber, Abby (ed). (2004). *Home-Grown Hate: Gender and Organized Racism* (New York: Routledge).

Finkel, Steven E., Muller, Edward N., Opp, Karl-Dieter. (1989), 'Personal Influence, Collective Rationality, and Mass Political Action', *American Political Science Review* 83:3, 885-903.

Fisher, Ian. (3 February 2006), 'Women, Secret Hamas Strength, Win Votes at Polls and New Role', The *New York Times,* Retrieved online at www.nytimes.com on 3 February 2006.

Frank, Lucinda and Thomas Powers. (September 14, 1970), 'Story of Diana: The Making of a Terrorist', UPI Wire. Accessed online at http://www.upi.com on 18 July 2006.

Galvin, Deborah. (1983), 'The Female Terrorist: A Socio-Psychological Perspective', *Behavioral Sciences & The Law* 1:2, 19-32.

Gambetta, Diego (ed.) (2005), *Making Sense of Suicide Missions* (London: Oxford University Press).

Ganor, Boaz. (2006), 'Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?' Institute for Counter-Terrorism. Accessed online at www.ict.org on 27 June 2006.

Gentry, Caron. (2004), 'The Relationship between New Social Movement Theory and Terrorism Studies: The Role of Leadership, Membership, Ideology, and Gender', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18:2, 274-293.

Goldman, Emma. (1969), *Anarchism* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press).

Goldstein, Joshua. (2001), *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Gottlieb, Julie. (2002), 'Female Fanatics: Women's Sphere in the British Union of Fascists', 29-41, in Bacchetta, Paola and Margaret Power (eds.), *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives To Extremists Around the World* (New York: Routledge).

Gottlieb, Julie. (2004), 'Women and British Fascism Revisited: Gender, the Far-Right, and Resistance', *Journal of Women's History* 16:3, 108-123.

Gorenburg, Dmitry. (October 2006), 'Russia Confronts Radical Islam', *Current History*, 334-340.

Grace, Paul. (1974), *Vietnamese Women in Society and Revolution: The French Colonial Period* (Cambridge: Vietnam Resource Center).

Graham, Scott. (1998), *Violent Delights* (London: Blake Publishing).

Groskop, Viv. (6 September 2004), 'Chechnya's Deadly Black Widows', *New Statesman* 133:4704, 32-33.

Guelke, Adrian. (1986), 'Loyalist and Republican Perceptions of the Northern Ireland Conflict: The UDA and the Provisional IRA', 91-122, in Peter Merkl (ed.) *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Gurr, Ted. (1968), 'Psychological Factors in Civil Violence', *World Politics* 20:2, 245-278.

Haddad, Simon. (2004), 'A Comparative Study of Lebanese and Palestinian Perceptions of Suicide Bombings: The Role of Militant Islam and Socio-Economic Status', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 45:5, 337-363.

Hammer, Joshua. (15 April 2002), 'How Two Lives Met in Death', *Newsweek* 139:15, 18-25.

Harvey, Elizabeth. (2004), 'Visions of the Volk: German Women and the Far Right From Kaisenreich to Third Reich', *Journal of Women's History* 16:3, 152-167.

Hasso, Frances. (1998), 'The Women's Front: Nationalism, Feminism, and Modernity in Palestine', *Gender and Society* 12:4, 441-465.

Hayslip, Le Ly and Jay Wurts. (1989), *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places* (New York: Plume).

Hellmann, Rajanayagam, D. (1994), *The Tamil Tigers: Armed Struggle for Identity* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag).

Herrmann, Gina. (2003), 'Voices of the Vanquished: Leftist Women and the Spanish Civil War', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 4:1, 11-29.

Hoffman, Bruce. (1998), *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Hoffman, Bruce. (2001), 'Change and Continuity in Terrorism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 24:5, 417-428.

Hoffman, Bruce. (2006), *Inside Terrorism, Updated Version* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Hopgood, Stephen. (2005), 'Tamil Tigers, 1987-2002', 43-76. In Diego Gambetta (ed.) *Making Sense of Suicide Missions* (London: Oxford University Press).

Hudson, Rex. (September 1999). 'The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?' Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.

Hutchinson, Martha Crenshaw. (1978), *Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1952-1962* (California: Hoover Institution Press).

Jamieson, Alison. (2000), 'Mafioso and Terrorists: Italian Women in Violent Organizations', *SAIS Review* 20:2, 51-64.

Jeansonne, Glen. (1996), *Women of the Right: The Mothers' Movement and World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Jetter, Alexis, Annelise Orleck and Diana Taylor (eds.), (1997). *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (London: University Press of New England).

Jones, David. (1997), *Women Warriors: A History* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books).

Joshi, Vandana. (2003), *Gender and Power in the Third Reich: Female Denouncers and the Gestapo (1933-1945)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian).

Kampwirth, Karen. (2002), *Women and Guerilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, and Cuba* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press).

Keene, Judith. (2002), 'Foreign Women in Spain for General Franco during the Spanish Civil War', 183-194, in Bacchetta, Paola and Margaret Power (eds.), *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives To Extremists Around the World* (New York: Routledge).

Khaled, Leila. (1975), *My People Shall Live* (Toronto: NC Press).

Klosko, George, Edward N. Muller, and Karl-Dieter Opp. (1987), 'Rebellious Collective Action Revisited', *American Political Science Review* 81:2, 557-564.

Koonz, Claudia. (1997), 'Motherhood and Politics of the Far Right', 229-246, in Jetter, Alexis, Annelise Orleck and Diana Taylor (eds.), *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (London: University Press of New England).

Krueger, Alan and Jitka Maleckova. (2003), 'Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17:4, 119-144.

Lazreg, Marnia. (1994), *The Eloquence of Silence* (New York: Routledge).

Lester, David, Bijou Yang and Mark Lindsay. (2004), 'Suicide Bombers: Are Psychological Profiles Possible?', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 27:4, 283-295.

Laqueur, Walter, (ed.) (2004), *Voices of Terror* (New York: Reed Press).

Lazreg, Marnia. (1994). *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question* (New York: Routledge).

MacDonald, Eileen. (1991), *Shoot the Women First* (New York: Random House).

Meade, Robert. (1990), *The Red Brigades: The Story of Italian Terrorism* (New York: St. Martin's Press).

Merkl, Peter (ed.) (1986), *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Merkl, Peter. (1986), 'Rollerball or Neo-Nazi Violence', 229-255, in Peter Merkl (ed.), *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Moghaddam, Fathali M. (2005), 'The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration', *American Psychologist* 60: 2, 161-169.

Moon, Timur. (October 2002), 'Hijacked by Destiny', Interview accessed on www.al-jazeerah.info on 24 November 2006.

Moore, Will H. (1995), 'Rational Rebels: Overcoming the Free-Rider Problem', *Political Research Quarterly* 48: 2, 417-454.

Morgan, Robin. (2001), *The Demon Lover: The Roots of Terrorism* (London: Piatkus).

Moser, Caroline and Fiona Clark (eds.) (2001), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (New York: Zed Books).

Moss, David. (1997), 'Politics, Violence, and Writing: The Rituals of Armed Struggle in Italy', 83-127. In David Apter (ed.) *The Legitimization of Violence,* (New York: New York University Press).

Muller, Edward and Opp, Karl-Dieter. (1986), 'Rational Choice and Rebellious Collective Action', *American Political Science Review* 80: 2, 471-488.

Murphy, Paul. (2005), *The Wolves of Islam: Russia and the Faces of Chechen Terror* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books).

Naaman, Dorit. (2007), 'Brides of Palestine/Angels of Death: Media, Gender, and Performance in the Case of Palestinian Female Suicide Bombers', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 32:1, 933-955.

Nacos, Brigitte. (2005), 'The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28:5, 435-451.

Nashat, Guity and Judith Tucker. (1999), *Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Restoring Women to History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

Neidhart, Friedhelm. (1992), 'Left-Wing and Right-Wing Terrorist Groups: A Comparison for the German Case', 215-237, in *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations*, Volume 4 (Connecticut: JAI Press, Inc.).

Ness, Cindy D. (2005), 'In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28:5, 353-373.

Nivat, Anne. (2005), 'The Black Widows: Chechen Women Join the Fight for Independence and Allah', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28:5, 413-419.

Oberschall, Anthony. (2004), 'Explaining Terrorism: The Contribution of Collective Action Theory', *Sociological Theory* 22:1, 26-37.

Olson, Mancur Jr. (1965), *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).

Özcan, Ali Kemal. (2006), *Turkey's Kurds: A Theoretical Analysis of the PKK and Abdullah Öcalan* (New York: Routledge).

Pape, Robert. (2005). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House).

Passerini, Luisa. (1992), 'Lacerations in the Memory: Women in the Italian Underground Organizations', 161-212, in *Social Movements and Violence:*

Participation in Underground Organizations, Volume 4 (Connecticut: JAI Press, Inc.).

Patkin, Terri Toles. (2004), 'Explosive Baggage: Female Palestinian Suicide Bombers and the Rhetoric of Emotion', *Women and Language* 27: 2, 79-89.

Pedazhur, Ami. (2005), *Suicide Terrorism* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Pedazhur, Ami and Leonard Weinberg. (2001), 'Modern European Democracy and Its Enemies: The Threat of the Extreme Right', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 2:1, 52-72.

Perry, Barbara. (2004), 'White Genocide: White Supremacists and the Politics of Reproduction', 75-95, in Ferber, Abby (ed.), *Home-Grown Hate: Gender and Organized Racism* (New York: Routledge).

Post, Jerrold M. (1990), 'Terrorist Psycho-Logic: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Psychological Forces', in *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, edited by Walter Reich, 25-40 (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Press Center).

Power, Margaret and Paola Bacchetta (eds.) (2003), *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives to Extremists Around the World* (New York: Routledge).

Powers, Thomas. (1971), *Diana: The Making of a Terrorist* (New York: Houghton Mifflin).

Presley, Cora Ann. (1988), 'The Mau Mau Rebellion, Kikuyu Women, and Social Change', *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 22:3, 502-527.

Presley, Cora Ann. (1992), *Kikuyu Women, the Mau Mau Rebellion, and Social Change in Kenya* (San Francisco: Westview Press).

Quillen, Chris. (2002), 'A Historical Analysis of Mass Casualty Bombers', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 25:5, 279-292.

Raufer, Xavier. (1993), 'The Red Brigades: Farewell to Arms', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 16:4, 315-326.

Reinares, Fernando. (2004), 'Who are the Terrorists? Analyzing Changes in Sociological Profile Among Members of ETA', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27:4, 465-488.

Richmond, Kathleen. (2003), *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (New York: Routledge).

Rubin, Harriet. (October 2001), 'Terrorism, Trauma, and the Search for Redemption', Accessed online at http://www.fastcompany.com on 20 December 2006.

Saul, Jennifer Mather. (2003), *Feminism: Issues & Arguments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Schalk, Peter. (1994), 'Women Fighters of the Liberation Tigers in Iliam: The Martial Feminism of Atel Palac', *South Asia Research* 14:2, 1-22.

Schmid, Alex. (2004), 'Frameworks for Conceptualizing Terrorism', *Terrorism & Political Violence* 16:2, 197-221.

Seferdjeli, Ryme. (2004), 'French Reforms and Muslim Women's Emancipation During The Algerian War', *The Journal of North African Studies* 9:4, 19-61.

Sengupta, Somini. (9 June 2007). 'Court Blocks Sri Lanka's Effort to Expel Tamils From Capital.' Accessed from The New York Times' website at www.nytimes.com on 9 June 2007.

Sidel, Mark and Duong Thi Thoa (Le Thi). (1998), 'Changing My Life: How I Came to the Vietnamese Revolution', *Signs* 23:4, 107-1029.

Skaine, Rosemarie. (2006), *Female Suicide Bombers* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company).

Slyomovics, Susan. (1995), 'Hassiba Ben Boulai: If You Could See our Algeria: Women and Public Space in Algeria', *Middle East Report* 192, 8-13.

Steel, Jayne. (1998), 'Vampira: Representations of the Irish Female Terrorist', *Irish Studies Review* 6:3, 273-284.

Stern, Jessica. (2003), *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.).

Stern, Susan. (1975), *With the Weathermen: The Personal Journey of a Revolutionary Woman* (New York: Doubleday).

Talbot, John. (1980), *The War Without a Name: France in Algeria 1954-1962* (New York: Knopf).

Talbot, Rhiannon. (2000), 'Myths in the Representation of Women Terrorists', *Beire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies* 35:3, 165-186.

Tallion, Ruth. (1999), *When History Was Made: The Women of 1916* (New York: Beyond Pale Publications).

Tambiah, Yasmin. (2005), 'Turncoat Bodies: Sexuality and Sex Work Under Militarization in Sri Lanka', *Gender & Society* 19:2, 243-261.

Taylor, Sandra. (1999), *Vietnamese Women at War* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas).

Tétreault, Mary Ann (1994), 'Women and Revolution in Vietnam', 111-136, in Mary Ann Tétreault (ed.), *Women and Revolution in Africa, Asia, and the New World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press).

Tilly, Charles. (2003), *The Politics of Collective Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Tsfati, Yariv and Gabriel Weimann. (2002), 'Terrorism on the Internet', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 25:1, 317-332.

Turk, Austin. (2004), 'Sociology of Terrorism', *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:1, 271-286.

Turley, William S. (1972), 'Women in the Communist Revolution in Vietnam', *Asian Survey* 12:9, 793-805.

Turner, Karen Gottschang. (1998), *Even the Women Must Fight: Memories of War from North Vietnam* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc).

Van Creveld, Martin. (2000), 'Armed But Not Dangerous: Women in the Israeli Military', *War in History* 7:1, 82-98.

Varon, Jeremy. (2004), *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (California: University of California Press).

Victor, Barbara. (2003), *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers* (New York: Rodale Books).

Victoroff, Jeff. (2005), 'The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:1, 3-42.

Waldman, Amy. (14 January 2003), 'Masters of Suicide Bombing: Tamil Guerrillas of Sri Lanka', The *New York Times*, Accessed online at www.nytimes.com on 24 November 2006.

Ward, Margaret. (1983), *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism* (United Kingdom: Pluto Press).

Weaver, Bradden. (1997), 'Violence as Memory and Desire: Neo-Nazism in Contemporary Germany", 128-158, in David Apter (ed.) *The Legitimization of Violence* (New York: New York University Press).

Weinberg, Leonard and William Lee Eubank. (1987), *The Rise and Fall of Italian Terrorism* (Colorado: Westview).

Weinberg, Leonard and William Lee Eubank. (1988), 'Neo-Fascists and Far Left Terrorists in Italy: Some Biographical Observations', *British Journal of Political Science* 18:4, 531-549.

Wieviorka, Michel. (1997), 'ETA and Basque Political Violence', 292-349, in David Apter (ed.) *The Legitimization of Violence* (New York: New York University Press).

Wilkinson, Paul. (1995), 'Violence and Terror and the Extreme Right', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7:4, 82-93.

Woodworth, Paddy. (2001), *Dirty War, Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL, and Spanish Democracy* (Dublin: Cork University Press).

Zakaria, Fareed. (25 August 2003), 'Suicide Bombers Can Be Stopped', *Newsweek*, 142:8, 57.

Zarate, Unzueto Ortiz. (2004), 'ETA: Terror in Spain', in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *Voices of Terror: Manifestoes, Writings, and Manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas, and Other Terrorists from Around the World and through the Ages* (New York: Reed Press).

Zedalis, Debra. (2004), *Female Suicide Bombers* (Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, USA).

Zwerman, Gilda. (1994), 'Mothering on the lam: Politics, gender fantasies, and maternal thinking in women associated with terrorism', *Feminist Review* 47:1, 33-57.

Index

Note: numbers in brackets preceded by n refer to footnotes.

Abbas, Ferhat 104
Abbas, Mahmoud 182, 183
Abdullaev, Nabi 209
abortion 44(*n*13), 45
Action Directe 68
Adams, Gerry 157-158
affective code 31, 32, 43, 141, 185
Afghanistan 3
Africa, colonization of 94-95
African-Americans 72
  demonisation of 83, 84
age factors 59
Ainsworth, Kathy 71
Aisha, Darine Abu 189-190
Akhras, Ayat 190-191
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade 187-188, 190, 194, 215
al-Mujahid 108, 109
al-Najar, Fatima Omar Mahmud 192
Al-Qaeda 27, 142-143, 209, 210
al-Rayasha, Reem Salih 192
al-Rishawi, Sajida Mubarak 171
Albrecht, Susanne 68, 69
Albright, Madeline 4, 179
Algerian revolution 103-117
  ALN in 108
  Battle of Algiers 108, 115
  El Halia massacre 106
  and European settlers (*pieds noir*) 104, 106, 115, 116, 117
  Evian Accord (1962) 114, 116-117
  FLN in *see* FLN
  French brutality in 109, 111-114, 115
  Milk Bar bombing (1956) 108, 109
  OAS activities 115, 117
  Sétif massacre (1945) 104, 109
  and World War II 104, 109
Algerian Women, National Union of 110
Algiers, Battle of (Pontecorvo) 103, 107, 108
Alieyeva, Zinaida 205
Alimi, E.Y. 13
Alison, Miranda 139, 140, 168, 214
Alpert, Jane 42, 45-49, 69
Amazon model 21, 23
America First Committee 85
American Indian Movement 54(*n*16)
Amrane, Djamila 108, 110
anarchists 2, 195
Anderson, Anne 52
Anglican Church 102
Angola 58
Ann Arbor campus 38-39
anti-communism 75, 76, 77, 85, 86
anti-feminism 71, 72
anti-Semitism 72, 76, 78, 82, 85, 87
Apter, David 1
Arafat, Yassir 180, 181, 182, 188, 189
Arendt, Hannah 5
Aretxaga, Begoña 166
armed forces, women in 3, 196
Aryan Baby Drive 90
Aryan Brotherhood 90
Aryan supremacy *see* white supremacy
Assassins 171
Atatürk, Kemel 173
Atlantic Charter (1941) 93
Autonomism 33, 33(*n*7)
Ayres, Bill 49, 50

Baader, Andreas 57, 58, 59, 64-66, 68
  and Meinhof 60-61, 62, 63
Bacchetta, Paola 71
Baïchi, Fatma 110-111
Balzarani, Barbara 36, 37
Barayev, Hawa 201
Barayev, Khava 201
Barayev, Movsar 202
Baring, Evelyn 100, 101
Barz, Ingeborg 62
Basayev, Shamil 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 206, 207, 209
Battalion of Death 196
Beasley, Chris 15, 19
Becker, J. 56, 61, 63, 64, 68
Begin, Menachem 180

Belgium 57, 68
Berlin 56, 57
Beslan massacre (2004) 200, 206-209
Biagi, Marco 37-38
Biddle, Francis 88
Black Help organization 62
Black Liberation Army 49
Black Like Me (Griffin) 50
Black Panthers 40(*n*10), 41, 42
black rights 41-42
Black Sash 17(*n*5)
Black Tigers 138, 140, 142
'black widows' 196, 200-201
Blackshirts *see* BUF
Blair, Tony 158, 159
Blanco, Carrero 146
Blanco, Miguel Angel 150-151
Blee, Kathleen 82, 84-85, 88-89
Bloody Sunday 155
Bloom, Mia 140-141, 142, 171, 187-188, 193-194, 204
bomb-making 44, 52-53, 62(*n*20), 65, 90, 133, 165
Bosnian Serb women 16
Boston, William 66
Botchkarava, Maria 196
Boudin, Kathy 49, 54
Bouhired, Djamila 109
Boupacha, Djamila 111-114, 115, 214
Braghetti, Anna Laura 36, 37
brainwashing 71
Brandt, Willy 68
Braun, Eva 90
Braungart, M./Braungart, R. 22, 41, 49
Bread & Roses 44
Brighton bombing (1984) 157
Britain 19, 215-216
  as colonial power 93, 105
    see also Mau Mau rebellion
  Conservative Party in 75
  fascism in 73, 75-82
  immigrants in 80
  and Palestine 179-180
  in WWII 78-80, 81-82
British Fascisti (BF) 75-76
Brown, John 43
Brunner, Claudia 192-193
Brussels 57, 68
Buback, Siegfried 65
Buddenberg, Judge Wolfgang 62
Buddhism 135
BUF (British Union of Fascists) 75-82
  in elections 77
  government response to 81-82
  historical background 75-76
  ideology/praxis of 76
  size of/support for 76
  women in 76-81, 82
    see also Mosley, Diana
  and women's rights 77
  women's role in 77
Buhrayd, Jamil 109
Burchett, Bessie 87
Bush, George W. 182, 183, 209

Cagol, Margherita "Mara" 27, 34-36
California National Legion of Mothers 86
Camp David talks 180, 181
Canada 46(*n*14), 165
capitalism 19-20, 57-58, 62(*n*20)
Castle, Barbara 102
Catholic Church/Catholicism 28, 73, 145, 160
  demonisation of 84
  discrimination against 154
  see also IRA
Chase, Erica 90
Chase Manhatten bombing (1969) 43, 47
Chechnya 17, 25, 110, 195-211
  Beslan massacre (2004) 200, 206-209
  brutality in 209-210
  casualties of war in 200, 209
  historical context 196-201
  Islam in 197-198, 199, 201, 204, 205
  language issue in 196
  Moscow theater siege (2002) 200, 202-204, 215
  Russian response to 198, 209-210
  women's involvement in 201-209
    motivations of 204, 206, 208-209
    recruitment 204
    roles of 203-204
    as suicide bombers 171, 172, 201-202, 204-206
Chicago 40, 41, 42, 43, 49, 51-52, 58
"Chicago 8" 40, 40(*n*10), 42
Chicago, University of 86
child soldiers 141
children 3, 4, 77, 99, 162, 194, 206-209
China 58
Christian Identity 83, 84
church organizations 14

Churchill, Winston 79, 81, 82, 93
CIA 39, 54, 56, 131, 177(*n*3)
circumcision 96, 98
civil disobedience 72
civil rights movement 38, 39-40, 41-42
  extreme Right response to 84
  government response to 54(*n*16)
Clark, Robert 147-148
class issues 38, 42
Clinton, Bill 54, 158, 181, 182
coercion 6-7
COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) 54
Collective Action theory 13-14, 21, 27, 59, 213
Cologne 66
colonialism 93-94
  liberation wars *see* Algerian revolution; Mau Mau; Vietnam
COLP (Organized Communists for Proletarian Revolution) 35
Committee Against Torture 66-67
Con Dao prison 131
concentration camps 16
Confucianism 121, 123, 131
Conservative Party 75, 77
conspiracy theories 76, 84, 85, 86
Conway, Sir Hnry 98
Cooper, H.H.A. 21
Corcoran, Mary 162
corporatism 73
Crenshaw Hutchinson, Martha 106
Crenshaw, Martha 5, 8, 9-10
criminal women 3-4
Cuba 46, 50-51, 58
cultural imperialism 108
Cumann na mBan 133, 160-161
Cunningham, Karla 107-108, 188
Curcio, Renato 27, 34-35
Curtis, Catherine 86-87, 88

Dagestan 199, 205, 210
Daley, Richard 40
Daniels, Jessie 82-83
D'Antona, Massimo 28
Daraghmeh, Hiba 191
Daughters of Ireland (*Inghinidhe na hEireann*) 133, 160
Daughters of the Revolution 86, 87
Days of Rage 42-43, 51-52, 53
de Beauvoir, Simone 111, 113, 114, 115
de Cataldo Neuburger, Luisella 29, 31, 35, 37
de Courcy, Anne 79, 80, 81
de Gaulle, Charles 40, 107, 109, 116
Debray, Regis 58
Decker, Jeffrey 108
Degauque, Muriel 171
della Porta, Donna 13, 14, 32, 43
democracy 10, 38, 39
demonstrations 9, 13, 17(*n*5), 31, 44, 45, 46, 56-57
Devlin, Bernadette 167
Dialectic of Sex (Firestone) 47-48
Diem, Ngo Dinh 119, 120, 125
Dien Bien Phu , Battle of (1954) 105, 117
difference feminism 15, 16-18, 140, 149
  and fascism 72, 77
Dilling, Elizabeth 85-86, 88
divorce 73, 188-189
Dohrn, Bernadine 41, 44, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 213
Doyle, Mary 157, 162
Drake, Richard 29
Drif, Zohrah 109-110
drugs 42, 46, 47, 51, 52, 175
Drumm, Máire 164
Dublin 153-154, 161
Dudayev, Gen Dzokhar 197
Dutschke, Rudi 57

East African Association 95
East African Protectorate 95
Easter Rising (1916) 153-154, 160-161
economic factors 12, 19-20, 84
  Great Depression 73, 76, 85
education 50, 119, 122
Egypt 180
El Halia massacre 106
elections 13, 15, 102-103, 119
Elkins, Caroline 96, 98, 99, 100, 101
Elshtain, Jean Bethke 3, 18
emotional reasons for violence 35-36, 47, 61, 64
ENA (Etoile Nord-Africaine) 104
English, Richard 154, 156, 157-158, 163, 164
Enniskillen 157, 158
Ensslin, Gudrun 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 64-66, 68
  and Baader 64-65
  and Meinhof 60-61, 62, 63

Ergil, Dogu 176-177
Erskine, Gen Sir George 101
ETA 25, 133, 142-152, 165, 188
  assassinations 146-147
  Basque language issue 144-145, 147
  brutality in 147, 148
  government response to 149-152
    ceasefires/peace process 150, 151-152
    GAL campaign/dirty war 149-151
  historical background 143-144
  ideology/praxis 144-147
  terror campaign 147
  women's involvement in 143, 147-149, 151, 168-169, 214
    and family ties 148, 152
  'Y-Groups' 150
ethnonational seperatism 1, 2, 133, 147
Eubank, William Lee 27, 30
European Union 137, 178, 179, 209, 211
Evangalista, Matthew 110, 199(*n*13)
Evans, Linda 54

Fagen, Katherine 89
Fair, Christine 136
Falangists 74-75
family 85, 148, 162, 163, 169, 178, 188-189, 190
  impact of revolution on 128-131
  networks/ties 32
  recruitment of 82, 84, 205
  role of women in 71, 72, 73
  tradition 22
Fanon, Frantz 5, 106, 107, 114, 156
Faranda, Ariana 35
Farhat, Mariam 183
Farrell, Mairead 157, 162, 164-167
fascism 16, 56-57, 60, 69, 73, 76-77
  see also BUF; Spanish Civil War
Fatah 183, 187-188, 189, 195
fatwa 201
FBI 47, 49, 53-54, 87, 88
Felton, Leo 90
female circumcision 96, 98
femininity, notions of 3-4, 5, 12-13, 16, 18, 20-21, 138, 149
feminism 3, 5, 213-214
  difference *see* difference feminism
  liberal 15, 16, 140, 193-194, 213
  Marxist 15, 19-20
  and political violence 14-21
  postmodern 15, 20-21
  radical *see* radical feminism
  and right-wing groups 71-72, 89, 91
  theoretical approaches in 14-15
'ferocious few' 3
Finkel, Stephen E. 7
Firestone, Shulamith 47-48
Fletcher, Eileen 102
FLN (National Liberation Front) 96, 105-117
  al Mujahid 108, 109
  government response to 105-106, 115-117
  and GPRA 107
  historical background 104-105
  ideology/praxis of 105-107
  and Jeanson network 115
  motivations for violence 109-110, 114
  non-cooperation campaign 106
  political action by 106
  recruitment to 108-109, 114
  women's roles in 25, 94, 107-114, 132, 214
FLQ (Front de Liberation de Quebec) 46
Fountainhead (Rand) 45
France 40, 61, 81, 149
  as colonial power 105
    see also Algerian revolution; *and see under* Vietnam
  terrorist groups in 68
Franco, Gen Francisco 73, 75, 143, 146, 149
Frankfurt 57, 58, 61, 65, 68
free-rider theory 6-8
Freedom Riders 45
Freud, Sigmund 3
friendship and recruitment 32
frustration-aggression response 11

Gallinari, Prospero 36, 37
Galvin, Deborah 4, 193-194
Gandhi, Indira 16, 136
Gandhi, Rajiv 136, 137, 140, 194
Ganor, Boaz 1-2
Gaza 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 190, 192, 195, 210
gender issues 42(*n*11)
  leadership of groups 35
  reasons for participation 36, 37, 47-48
General Motors bombing (1969) 43, 47
Geneva Conventions 2
German Autumn (1977) 65-66, 67

German Women's Front 89
German-American Bund 86, 87
Germany 50, 64
East (GDR) 57, 67
Nazi 16, 66, 73, 77, 78, 85-86, 143, 154
neo-Nazism in 89
reunification of (1990) 69
SDS in 57
terrorism in *see* Red Army Faction
universities in 59, 60
US bases in 62, 68
West 4, 9, 14, 24, 29, 54
Gilbert, David 49
Gilligan, Carol 16-17
Giulia, Barbara 33
Goebbels, Joseph 78
Gold Star Mothers 18
Goldstein, Joshua 3, 19, 20, 21(*n*7), 196
Gonne, Maud 160
Gonzáles, Felipe 150, 151
Gottlieb, Julie 76, 77
Graglia, Barbara 35
Graham, Scott 164-166
Grass, Gunter 64
Great Depression 73, 76, 85
Green Party 57(*n*18)
Greenwood, Christine 90
Griffin, John Howard 50
groups, theory of 8-10, 12
Growing Up Underground (Alpert) 45-49
Grozny 198-199, 200
Guatemala 50, 58
guerrillas 2, 13, 14
Maoist 20
Guevara, Che 41, 184
Gurr, Ted 5, 9, 11, 12

habeas corpus 82
Hadj, Messali 104
Hague Regulations 2
Haig, Alexander 68
Halimi (Algerian attourney) 112-113, 114
Hamas 181, 182, 183, 195
women in 183, 192, 194
Hamburg 66
Hammer, Joshua 191
Harvey, Elizabeth 89
Hayden, Casey 39
Hayden, Tom 39, 40(*n*10)
Hayslip, Le Ly 128-130
Heath, Edward 155
Heidelberg bombing (1972) 62
Hezbollah 180, 183
hijackings 46, 66, 179, 184, 185
Hitler, Adolf 60, 64, 76, 78, 82, 86
Ho Chi Minh 118, 119, 120, 124, 126, 184
Ho Chi Minh trail 127
Ho Thi Bi 121
Hoffman, Abbie 40(*n*10)
Hoffman, Bruce 2
Hola Massacre (1959) 102
Holocaust 81
homophobia 72, 83
Horne, Alistair 114
housekeeper model 21, 23
Huber, Wolfgang 62(*n*20)
human nature 5-6
human rights abuses 141
Hume, John 157-158
Humphrey, Hubert 40
hunger strikes 13, 63, 133, 156-157, 162-163, 175
Hussein, Saddam 173, 195

idealism 4
identity 82, 83
ideological factors 10, 13, 22
Idris, Wafa 179, 186, 188-189, 194
I.G. Farben bombing (1972) 62
immigration 80, 83-84, 89, 104
Inarkayeva, Zarema 201
India 136, 138
Indochina wars 93, 96, 105, 118
women's role in 25, 94
see also Vietnam War
Indonesia 96
Ingalls, Laura 86-87
Inghinidhe na hEireann 133, 160
Ingushetia 196, 197, 200
intelligence gathering 108, 121, 138
International Brigade 73
international law 2
Internet 83, 89-90
internment 78-79, 81-82, 167-168
Intifada 4, 17(*n*5)
IRA 25, 133, 152-168, 188
Brighton bombing (1984) 157
government response to 167-168
historical background 153-155
hunger strikes 156-157
by women 157, 162-163
ideology/praxis of 156-159

language issue in 156
no-wash protest 156, 162, 169
Omagh bombing (1998) 159
peace process 157-159
Provisional (PIRA) 133, 155, 156, 163
Real 16, 158, 159
recruitment to 167-168, 169
and Sinn Fein 154, 157-158
socialism/Marxism in 156, 161
and US 152, 153, 158, 167
women's involvement in 159-169, 214-215
and families/children 162
in leadership roles 165
as sexual bait 162
and sexual norms 159, 166-167, 168
women's organizations 160-161
Iran 4, 172, 173, 177
Iran, Shah of 4
demonstration against 56-57, 64
Iraq 3, 172, 178, 215
Ireland 80, 153-154, 160-161
see also IRA; Northern Ireland
Irgun Zvai Le'umi 179-180
Irish Republicanism *see* IRA
Irish-Americans 152, 153
Isabel I 74
Islamic Jihad 192
Islamism 27, 205, 209-210, 215
Israel 4, 68, 179-181
armed forces (IDF) 180, 182
elections in 182-183
and Palestine *see* Palestine
women's peace groups in 17(*n*5)
Italy 14, 24, 27-38, 143
Communist Party (PCI) 28, 30
Disassociation Law 33
economy of 29
fascism in 29-30, 30(*n*4), 69, 73, 76, 77
government response to terrorism in 36-38
New Left in 30-31
Piazza Fontana bombing (1969) 29, 30
political violence in 27-28
postwar normalization 28
repentance laws 37
universities in 29
women terrorists in 27, 30
women's movement in 28-29
see also Red Brigades
Jamieson, Alison 30
Japan 93, 118
Jaradat, Hanadi Tayseer 191-192
Jeanson network 115
Jeansonne, Glen 85, 86, 87, 88
Jenkins, Roy 163
Jensen, Will 110
Jewish terrorist targets 68
Jews 76
demonisation of 76, 84, 85, 90
Holocaust 81
Joan of Arc 3
Jordan 58, 61-62, 171, 180, 186
Joshi, Vandana 89
June 2nd Movement 63
justice/care thinking 17

Kadyrov, Akhmad 200, 204-205
Kaira (Chechen rebel) 204
Kairi, Rebecca Njeri 98
Kampwirth, Karen 14, 22
Kaplan, Leyla 176
Keene, Judith 73
Kennedy, John F. 50
Kennedy, Robert F. 40
Kenya 176, 177(*n*3)
elections in 102-103
Kiambu region 95
pre-colonial structure of 95
White Highlands in 95
see also Mau Mau rebellion
Kenyan African Union (KAU) 96, 97, 102-103
Kenyatta, Johnstone (Jomo) 96, 97, 100-101, 102-103
Khachukayeva, Iman 206
Khaldykhoroyeva, Lidiya 205
Khaled, Leila 179, 184-186, 193-194
Khattab, Amir 193-194, 199, 200, 202(*n*14)
Kiamti 99
Kibaki, Mwai 103
kidnapping 63
Kikuyu Central Association 95, 96
Kikuyu people *see* Mau Mau rebellion
Kim Lai 127
Kinaci, Zeynep 176
King, Martin Luther 39, 45, 46, 54(*n*16)
Kinkel Initiative (1992) 69
KKK (Ku Klux Klan) 25, 54(*n*16), 71, 82-85
family recruitment into 82, 84

propaganda by 82-83
women's involvement in 83-85, 214
Klosko, George 5, 6, 7
Knights' Party 71
Kohlberg, Lawrence 17
Konkret (magazine) 57, 60, 61, 64
Koonz, Claudia 89
Krabbe, Hanna-Elise 63
Ku Klux Kiddies/Junior KKK 84
Ku Klux Klan *see* KKK
Kulayev, Nur-Pashi 207, 208
Kurds 25, 172-173, 174, 210, 211
see also PKK
Kuwait 184

Labour Party 77
ladies Land League 159-160
land issues 95, 97-98, 153
language issues 20, 134-135, 144-145, 147, 156, 173, 196
Laos 118, 127
Laqueur, Walter 5
Laroussi, Zineb 112, 113, 114
Latin America, guerrillas in 14
Le Thi 121-122
Lebanon 180, 183, 184
left-wing groups 1, 2, 19-20, 22, 24, 27-69, 213
relational networks of 14, 59
staying power of 59
see also Red Army Faction; Red Brigades ; Weathermen
Lend-lease Program 87
lesbians 3
liberal feminism 15, 16, 140, 193-194, 213
Lindbergh, Anne Morrow 90
Linton-Orman, Rotha 75
Lochte, Herr 4, 62
'long-haired warriors' 126-131
Lorenz, Peter 63
Lotta Continua 30
LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) 23, 25, 107
assassinations 137
government response 136-137, 141-142
guerrilla operations 135
and Hindu mythology 138
historical background 134-137
ideology/praxis 137-139
language issue 134-135
recruitment to 141, 171(*n*1)
terror campaign 136, 137, 142
women suicide bombers 134, 136, 137, 138-139, 168, 171(*n*1), 215
Women's Front 138
women's participation in 134, 137-141, 214

McCarthy, Eugene 40
MacDonald, Eileen 3, 4, 33, 54-55, 62, 65, 148-149, 162, 185
Macharia, Helen 99
Madres de la Plaza de Mayo 17(*n*5)
Madrid 75
Madrid bombing (2004) 142-143
Maier-Witt, Silke 66-68
Major, John 158
Malati 141
male suicide bombers 4, 171
male supremacy 44
male-centrism 15
Maloney, William Power 88
Manson, Charles 43
Manzanas, Meliton 146
Maoism 20
marches 9, 13, 17(*n*5), 31, 44
Marcuse, Herbert 57-58, 64, 65
Marine Midland bank bombing (1969) 42, 47
Markiewicz, Constance 161
marriage 42, 42(*n*11), 188-189, 195
bar 77
dowry 140
martyrs 83, 87, 100, 120-121, 141, 157, 162
shahida 187-194
Marxism 28, 29, 30, 56, 57-58, 74, 145
and nationalism 156, 161, 174-175, 180
Marxist feminism 15, 19-20, 21
Maskhadov, Aslan 198-199, 202, 203
Masoud, Mervat 192
Massu, Gen Jacques 108
maternal sacrificial code *see* affective code
Mau Mau rebellion 94-103
British brutality in 98, 99-100, 101
circumcision dispute 96, 98
compulsory labor dispute 98
government response to 100-103
community development 100
Emergency Regulations 97, 99
Operation Anvil 102
Operation Jack Scott 100
'screening' 101-102

villagization program 99-100
historical background 94-96
Hola Massacre (1959) 102
ideology/praxis of 96-97
land dispute 95, 97-98
Mau Mau violence 101
origin of term 96-97
Pipeline 98-99, 100, 101-102
tax dispute 95, 98
women's prison in (Kiamti) 99
women's role in 23, 25, 95-96, 97-100, 132, 214
in combat 98-99
military supplies 98
in taking oaths 97, 98
legacy of 103
Meade, Robert 29, 33(*n*6), 34, 37
media 10, 18, 127, 172, 188, 190, 195
Meinhof, Ulrike 54, 58-59, 60-63, 69
and Baader/Ensslin 60-61, 62, 63
and Israeli athletes massacre 68
orders executions 62
radicalization of 60
Meins, Holger 63, 65
Melville, Sam 42, 46-47, 48
Menderes, Adnan 173
mental illness 71
mercenaries 149, 161
meta narratives 21
Metropolitan Political Collective 27
MI5 81
MI6 56
Michegan University 38-39
Middle East 56
Mier, Golda 16, 179
Milan 28, 29, 30, 33, 34
Mill, John Stuart 16
misogyny 14, 15
Mitchell, George 158
Mitford, Diana *see* Mosley, Diana
Mitford, Nancy 79
Mitford, Unity 78
Mitscherlich-Nielsen, Margarete 37
Moghaddam, Fathali M. 11-12
Moi, Daniel arap 103
Möller, Irmgard 66
Molly Pitcher Rifle Legion 87
monogamy 42, 42(*n*11)
Moon, Timur 186
Moore, Will H. 6
Moretti, Mario 28
Morgan, Robin 48
Moro, Aldo 28, 35, 36-37
Moscow theater siege (2002) 200, 202-204, 215
Mosley, Diana (née Mitford) 76, 78-81
and Hitler 78, 79, 80, 81, 90-91
interned 78-79
Mosley, Oswald 76, 77, 78, 79-80, 81, 82
Moss, David 36, 37
"Mother Right" manifesto 48
mothers 3, 4, 12
KKK 84
and maternal affective code 31, 32, 43, 141, 185
as peacemakers 17
and racist movements 82, 91
Spartan 18
Mothers' Movement 82, 85-88
government response to 88
women's involvement in 86-87
Mowlam, Mo 158
Muller, Edward N. 5, 7
Müller, Gerhard 63
Munich Olympics 68, 179
Murphy, Paul 197, 198, 199, 199(*n*13), 201
Musaleyeva, Larisa 204-205
Muslims 89
Mussolini, Benito 73, 76
Muzhukhoyeva, Zarema 205-206

Naaman, Dorit 195
Nairobi 95, 102
narcissistic rage theory 12
Nashat, Guity 107, 110
National Liberation Front *see* FLN
national liberation wars 1, 2, 23, 24, 93-132, 214
background to 93-94
and Marxism/socialism 174-175, 184
and sexual norms 139, 140, 159, 166-167, 168
see also Algeria; Chechnya; Mau Mau; Vietnam
National Socialists, Action Front of 89
NATO 88
Neidhart, Friedhelm 59
neo-Nazism 25, 29-30, 30(*n*4), 60, 89-90
Ness, Cindy 138, 139, 201
Netherlands 105, 179
New Left 14, 28, 30-31, 39-40, 47, 56-57, 69

anti-Capitalism of 57-58
anti-fascism in 56-57
collective action in 59
New York 42, 43, 45, 47, 58, 86
Mothers' Movement in 87
New York Radical Women 48(*n*15)
Nguyen Thi Dinh 123-126
Nguyen Thi Minh Khai 119
NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) 155
9/11 attacks 182, 186, 200
legacy of 2, 5, 151
Nivat, Anne 203, 208
Nixon, Richard 48, 50
Nkrumah, Kwame 96
No Other Road To Take (Nguyen Thi Dinh) 123-125, 126
North Africa 93
North Korea 4
Northern Ireland 133, 152-168
Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) 157
Black & Tans in 161
Bloody Sunday (1972) 155
civil rights movement in 155
created (1921) 154, 161
Downing Street Declaration (1993) 158
Good Friday Agreement (1998) 158-159
SAS in 165-166, 168
Norway 89
NSA (National Security Agency) 54
Nugent, Mairead 157, 162

oaths 97
Obershall, Anthony 13
Öcalan, Abdullah 172, 174-175, 176-177, 178
Ohnesorg, Benno 56-57, 64
oil 180, 197, 198
Olson, Mancur Jr 6
Opp, Karl-Dieter 5, 7
Orange Order 153
Oslo Accords (1993) 181, 181(*n*6)
Other, demonisation of 72, 76, 82
Oughton, Diana 49-51
Outlaw Hammerskins gang 90
Özcan, Ali Kemal 173, 174, 175, 176

Pacific region 93
Paisley, Ian 159
Palestine 105, 179-195, 210
and Britain 179-180
elections in 183
government response in 194-195
guerrilla groups in, and RAF 54, 58, 61-62, 66
historical background 179-183
Intifada (1987) 180-181, 188, 190
peace process 179, 181, 182
refugee camps in 182, 185, 188, 190, 191
suicide bombers in 3, 4, 18, 139, 140-141, 171, 179, 182, 186-194, 188, 215
no single theory/profile of 187, 195
recruitment/motives of 187-188, 189, 192-194
women in 184-187
and sexual norms 184
women's peace groups in 17(*n*5)
see also PFLP; PLO
Palme, Olaf 63
pamphleteering 51, 52, 64, 77, 82, 85, 86-87, 123
paramilitary training 76
paranoia 43, 47
Parnell, Anna/Fanny 159-160
participation 6, 15
in political activity 23, 31, 32
partisans 2, 30, 33
Passerini, Luisa 32
Patkin, Terri Toles 189, 192
Pedazhur, Ami 136, 171, 175, 176, 177, 187, 191
Pendergraft, Rachel 71
Perry, Barbara 83
personal factors 22, 23, 24
see also psychological theories
PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) 61, 66, 179, 184
plane hijackings 184, 185-186
Piazza Fontana bombing (1969) 29, 30
picket lines 32-33
PIRA (Provisional IRA) 133, 155, 156
PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) 25, 107, 171, 172-179
ceasefires 172, 175
female suicide bombers in 176-178, 215
reasons for using 177-178
funding 175
government response to 178-179
historical background 172-174
hunger strikers 175

ideology/praxis in 174-176
language issue 173
and other Kurdish groups 175
recruitment to 176
PLO 179, 180, 181
corruption in 182, 183
and RAF 54-58
see also Palestine
Poland 85, 86
police 2
political violence
analytical approach to 21-24
defined 1
and feminism *see under* feminism
motivations for 4, 31-32
preconditions/precipitants for 9
and terrorism 1-2
theories of 5-14
Collective Action 13-14, 21, 59
psychological 10-13
rational choice *see* rational choice theory
structural/societal 8-10
universal, lack of 23-24, 187, 195
Politkovskaya, Anna 203
Ponto, Jurgen 65, 68, 69
Port Huron statement (1962) 38-39
Post, Jerrold M. 12
postmodern feminism 15, 20-21
Potere Operaio (Worker's Power) 30, 31
poverty 20, 75
Power, Margaret 71
Powers, Thomas 50
Prabhakaran, Vellupillai 135, 136, 137, 138
Presley, Cora Ann 96, 98-99
Price, Marian 162, 163-164
Prima Linea 29, 33, 35
Primo de Rivera, Jose Antonio 74
Primo de Rivera, Pilar 74, 75
prison campaigns 66, 68
private/public sphere 71, 72, 75
Proll, Astrid 58, 59
Proll, Thorward 57, 58, 59
propaganda 74, 77, 82-83, 86-87, 88, 111, 132, 138, 206, 214
modern channels of 83
prostitution 139, 160
Protestants 84, 153, 155, 166
psychological theories 10-13, 23
labeling of women in 12-13
psycho-pathological 12, 14
relative deprivation 9, 11-12
staircase analogy 11-12, 23
public goods model 7
public/private spheres 15, 18, 22, 107-108
Putin, Vladimir 200, 203, 208, 209

Rabin, Yitzak 185
racial identity 82
racism 39, 50, 64, 69
radical feminism 15, 19, 47-48, 140
and universities 29
radicalization 23, 27, 32-33, 40, 45-46, 50-51, 60
rallies 13
Ramstein bombing (1981) 68
Rand, Ayn 45
rape 3, 99, 100, 102, 109, 129, 168
as motivation for suicide bombers 140, 193
Raspe, Jan-Carl 65, 66
Rat (magazine) 47
rational choice theory 5-8
free-rider 6-8
human motivations in 5-6
women ignored in 8
recruitment 32, 66-67, 69, 72, 82-83
of families 82, 84, 205
see also under individual groups
Red Army Faction (RAF) 4, 9, 14, 23, 24, 27, 54-69, 213
and Action Directe 68
assassinations by 62, 65, 68
bombing/arson campaigns 54, 57, 60-61, 62, 65
Jewish targets 68
communiqués 58-59, 65, 69
financing of 61, 62
government response to 63, 66, 68-69
prisoners released 69
ideology 56-57, 58-59
kidnappings by 63, 65-66, 69
origins of
macrolevel factors in 55-56
mesolevel factors in 56-59
microlevel factors 59-68
and Palestinian guerrillas 54, 185
recruitment to 59, 66-67, 69
women in 54-55, 59-68
activities of 62
as leaders 65
radicalization of 60, 64

second-generation 66-68
in support roles 67
Red Brigades 14, 24, 27-38, 68, 213
factions in 37
financing 35
government response to 36-38
historical background 28-30
history of 27-28
ideology 30-31, 56
women's involvement in 28-36
at executive level 35-36
maternal affective code 31, 32, 43, 141, 185
motivations for 31-33
types of action undertaken 31-32, 34
Redstockings collective 44
refugee camps 182, 185, 188, 190, 191
Reinares, Fernando 147, 148
relational networks 14, 22, 59, 69
relative deprivation theory 9, 11-12
remorse 68, 69
Rice, Condoleezza 4, 183
Riemeck, Renate 60
right-wing political groups 213, 214
demography 59
fascist 73
ideologies 71
recruitment to 72, 82, 84
three characteristics of 71
right-wing women 1, 2, 23, 24-25, 59, 71-91
activities of 72, 74-75
anti-feminism of 71, 72
and feminism 71-72, 89, 91
difference 72
motivations on 71-72
stereotyping 88, 90-91
rock music 83
Röhl, Klaus Rainer 60, 64
Ronconi, Susanna 29, 30, 32-33, 69
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 18(*n*6), 85, 87, 88
Rosenberg, Susan 54
ROTC (Reserve Officer Training Corps) 39
Rubin, Harriet 66
Rubin, Jerry 40(*n*10)
RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary) 155
Rudd, Mark 47, 51, 52
Ruffilli, Robert 28
Russia 75, 195-196, 210, 211
anarchists in 2, 195
and Chechnya *see* Chechnya
terrorist attacks in 199, 200
women combatants in 3, 196
Russo, Silveria 35
Rwandan genocide 16
RYM (Revolutionary Youth Movement) 41

Sadat, Anwar 180
Salafi Islam 198, 199
Salan, Gen 116
Salem, Abu 192
Sands, Bobby 157, 158, 162, 167
Sartre, Jean-Paul 65, 115
SAS 165-166, 168
Saul, Jennifer Mather 17
Schiller, Margrit 62
Schlem, Petra 62
Schleyer, Hans-Martin 66, 67, 69
Schmidt, Helmut 63
SDS (Socialist German Students Union) 57
SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) 38-40, 41, 44, 47, 49, 51
Sea Tigers 138, 140
Seale, Bobby 40(*n*12), 42(*n*10)
Seattle 51, 52
"Seattle 7" 52, 53
Seccion Femenina (SF) 74-75
selective incentives/disincentives 6-7
self-determination, right to 94, 97, 117
self-help groups 14, 19
self-immolation 175, 176, 177
self-interest 5-6
self-sacrifice 141
Sétif 104, 109
sexual hierarchy 14, 15
sexual violence 112, 140, 193
shahida 187-194
Sharon, Ariel 181-183, 189, 191
Shia Muslims 171
Sidel, Mark 121
Singapore 93
Sinn Fein 154, 157-158
Six Day War (1967) 180, 184, 190
skinheads 89, 91, 210
slavery 83
smash monogamy campaign 42, 42(*n*11), 46, 52
social movements 13-14
sociohistorical factors 22
Sohnlein, Horst 57
Somalia 66
South Africa 17(*n*5)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference 54(*n*16)
Southern Poverty Law Center 83, 90(*n*6)
Spain
  Basque nationalism in *see* ETA
  democracy in 75
  fascist 73, 75, 77, 143, 145-146
  language issue 144-145, 147
  women's rights in 73
Spanish Civil War 73, 143
  ideology/praxis in 73-74
  women's involvement in 74-75
    Republican 73, 75, 147-148
Spartan mother 18
SPK (Socialist Patients Collective) 62, 63
sport 3
Springer, Axel 57
Springer building bombing (1972) 62
Sri Lanka 23, 25, 107
  civil war casualties 134
  colonial period 134
  and India 136, 138
  Jaffna peninsula 135-136, 137, 142
  Sinhalese nationalism in 134-135
  see also LTTE
Stalin, Joseph 81, 93, 196
Standard Oil bombing (1969) 43, 47
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady 14
Stasi 67
Steinem, Gloria 44(*n*13)
Stern Gang 179-180
Stern, Susan 45, 49, 51-53
Stone, Michael 166
Strauss, Franz Josef 60
strikes 30, 73, 118, 155
structural/societal theory 5, 8-10
students 59
suffrage *see* voting
suffragettes 77
suicide bombers 1, 24, 133, 134
  effectiveness of 171-172
  female 171, 171-211, 172
    motivations of 140, 187-188, 189, 192-194, 193, 204, 206, 208-209
    no single theory/profile of 187, 195, 215
  Palestinian 3, 4, 18, 188
  rationalizing 138-139
  see also under LTTE; Chechnya; Palestine; PKK
Sullivan, Aletta 18
Sunni Muslims 171, 174, 181(*n*6)
Sweden 63
Swinton, Pat 47, 49
Syria 172, 175, 178, 180, 185

Takafka, Andaleeb 191
Tambiah, Yasmin 139, 140
Tamil Nadu 136
Tamil Tigers *see* LTTE
taxation 88, 95, 118
  'revolutionary' 175
Taylor, Sandra 123
tenants' associations 49
terrorism
  as a choice 13-14
  defined 1-2, 94
  and Nazism 67
  and political violence 1-2
  theories of *see under* political violence
  women's participation in 4, 5-14
    their feelings about 33-34
testosterone levels 3
Thanku, Henry 95
Thatcher, Margaret 16, 157
Thurow, Roger 66
Tilly, Charles 1, 13, 14
torture 100, 101, 102, 111-114, 115, 142, 149, 175, 204
trades unions 30, 32-33
training camps 54, 58, 61-62, 136, 179, 184-185
trigger events 9
Trung sisters 120-121, 214
trusteeship of nations 93-94
Tucker, Judith 107, 110
Turin 28, 32, 33
Turkey 25, 172-173, 210, 211
  human rights abuses in 178
  see also PKK
Turner, Karen 126

unemployment 73, 76
United Fruit Company bombing (1969) 47
United Nations 16, 87, 93-94, 181, 182, 183, 209
United States 4, 18, 29, 64, 200, 209
  civil rights in *see* civil rights movement
  Civil War 3, 83, 85
  Democratic Convention riot (1968) 40
  extreme Right in 23, 24-25, 82-90
    and immigration 83-84

KKK *see* KKK
modern white supremacy 82, 88-89
Mothers' Movement 82, 85-88
women's recruitment to 82-83, 88-89
fascism in 73, 77
and Ireland 152, 153, 158, 167
isolationism of 85, 86, 93
left wing violence in *see* Weather Underground
and Middle East 181, 182, 183
military bases targetted 62, 68
New Left in 14, 38, 39-40, 47
social movements in 14
women's rights movement in 38
WWII in 85, 86-87
universities 14, 22, 27, 29, 32, 59, 60, 189
increace in attendance of 38
in radicalization process 59
"Urban Guerrilla" communiqué (1971) 58-59
"Urban Guerrilla is History" communiqué (1998) 58-59
urbanization 104
Ut Tich 122-123

Valentini, Tiziana 29, 31, 35, 37
Valkyria 89
Van Hyning, Lyrl Clark 87, 88
Varon, Jeremy 38, 41, 42, 43, 56, 57, 62
veil 189
strategic use of 107-108
Vesper, Bernward 64
Victor, Barbara 140-141, 187, 188, 191, 193-194
Vietnam War 22, 25, 39, 86, 117-131
American war (1961-75) 119-120, 126-131
deaths/casualties 120
Ben Tre uprising (1960) 125-126
French War (1946-54) 118, 121-126
Battle of Dien Bien Phu (1954) 105, 117, 119, 121, 124
French brutality in 118, 123, 131
Geneva Accords (1954) 119
galvanizes protest 29, 38, 53, 56, 62, 65, 69
government response 131
historical background 117-118
ICP activities 118-119, 121-122
ideology/praxis in 118-120
NLF activities 120, 126
PLAF activities 127-128
Viet Minh/Viet Cong activities 119, 120, 121, 122, 124-126, 128-130
brutality of 129-130
women' roles in 94, 118-119, 120-132, 214
intelligence gathering 121, 127-128
'long-haired warriors' 126-131
motivations 127
and traditional family role 119
and Trung sisters myth 120-121, 214
violence and women 3-4
voting rights 13, 15, 73, 84, 119

Wahhabism (Salafi Islam) 198, 199
Wainana, Wagara 98
Wambaki, Priscilla 98
Wametumi, Shifra 99
Wanjiko, Mary 98
war
laws of 2
women and 3, 17-18
Ward, Margaret 161
Warren-Gash, Katherine 99
Waruhiu, Senior Chief 97, 100
WAU (Women for Aryan Unity) 89-90, 91
We The Mothers Mobilize for America 87
Weathermen, With The (Stern) 45, 49, 51
Weathermen/Weather Underground (WU) 14, 24, 38-54, 68, 213
bombing campaigns of 42, 43, 44, 47
townhouse explosion 44, 49, 51
class issues in 38, 42, 50
communiqués 39, 44, 49
Days of Rage 42-43, 51-52, 53
goes underground 43-44
government response to 52, 53-54
historical background 38-40
ideology 38, 41-42, 44, 53
ideology/praxis 41-45
and New Left 47
and SDS 38-40, 41, 44, 47, 49, 51
structure of 42
"War Council" (1969) 43, 51
women in 38, 44-53
feminist/gender issues 44-45, 47-48
motives for joining 47-48, 50
radicalization process 45-46, 50-51
Weaver, Vicki 83
Weinberg, Leonard 27, 30

West Bank 180, 181, 183
White Feather campaign 19
White Order of Thule 90
white supremacy groups 82-85, 88-89
Wilkerson, Cathy 41, 44, 47
Wilson, Woodrow 93
WITCH (Women's International Conspiracy from Hell) 44, 48(*n*15)
Wollstonecraft, Mary 16
Woman's Klan 84
women
  attitudes towards 3
  conceptions of 3-4, 5, 12-13, 16, 18, 20-21, 149
    terrorism as aberrant behaviour 24
  and crime 3-4
  as peacemakers 17
  relational networks of 14, 22
  role of 71, 72, 73, 74-75
  subjugation/oppression of 15, 19
  as terrorist leaders 65, 69
  white, five portrayals of 82-83
Women for Aryan Unity (WAU) 89-90, 91
Women in Black 17, 211
Women's Klan 84-85
Women's League for National Salvation 122, 124
Woodworth, Paddy 149, 150
Worker's Power *see* Potere Operaio
World Church of the Creator 82, 90
World War I 3, 19, 75, 93, 95, 196
World War II 16, 18, 64, 66, 73, 86-87, 93, 118
  and Algeria 104, 109
  and BUF 77, 78-79
  and Mothers' Movement 85
  woman combatants in 3, 196

X, Malcolm 41
xenophobia 82, 85, 213

'Y-Groups' 150
Yacef, Saadi 109, 110
Yandarbiev, Zelimkhan 209
Yelikhadzhiyeva, Zulikhan 205
Yeltsin, Boris 197, 198, 199, 200
Yemen 63, 67
YIPPIES 40(*n*10)

Zapareto, Rodriguez 152
Zwerman, Gilda 5, 21, 33-34