

We should thus expect that, the broader the goals of terrorist groups, the less likely they are able to achieve them, and the more willing they are to use nonviolence to achieve them. There are numerous examples of groups that transitioned from terrorism to civic action because of changes in their assessment of costs and benefits. For example, a French group that called itself Gracchus Babeuf (after the 18th-century French philosopher) committed several terrorist attacks in France in 1990 and 1991 to protest U.S. actions in the first Persian Gulf War, as well as to protest U.S. and French policy toward Libya. In 1995, the Anti-Imperialist Group Liberty for Mumia Abu Jamal bombed a Chrysler dealership in Germany to protest the arrest of the African-American journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was imprisoned for allegedly murdering a police officer.<sup>52</sup> In the 1980s, an environmental extremist group called the Peace Conquerors conducted several terrorist attacks in western Europe and Australia to coerce several countries and companies to change their environmental policies.<sup>53</sup> In France, left-wing groups, such as ATAG, briefly resorted to terrorism to protest the U.S. war in Afghanistan in 2001 but then returned to nonviolence. In all of these cases, group members dropped the use of terrorist tactics and switched to nonviolent civic action. Anecdotal evidence from historical cases supports this argument. For example, the 19th-century anarchist movement turned from violence to nonviolence (including the advocating of general strikes) as the working classes became more active and as governments and society become more tolerant of worker protests.<sup>54</sup>

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*of Mind*, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1990, pp. 86–102.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, U.S. Department of State, Office of the Secretary of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, *Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1995*, Washington, D.C., 1996.

<sup>53</sup> Margaret Kosal, "Terrorism Targeting Industrial Chemical Facilities: Strategic Motivations and the Implications for U.S. Security," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 29, No. 7, October 2006, pp. 719–751.

<sup>54</sup> Crenshaw (1996, p. 266).