

in Great Britain (Prevention of Terrorism Acts) as well as that in Northern Ireland. Equally fascinating, especially to someone not well versed in modern German history, is his explanation of how the failure of the Weimar constitutional experiment has informed the subsequent Basic Law and the policy of “militant democracy” in modern Germany. The case study chapters are supported by a wealth of documentation from official government reports to case law arising out of emergency legislation. Uniting this is Finn’s regular reference to his theory of constitutive principles and the conformity of changes wrought in the name of protecting the constitution with these precepts.

In formulating a constitutional response to political violence, then, governmental authorities may, in certain cases of the sort I have identified, properly suspend a wide variety of individual liberties. But they cannot act arbitrarily and they cannot unilaterally deprive citizens of their citizenship or act in ways that foreclose the possibility of reasoned deliberations in the future with their opponents. (p. 42)

For constitutional scholars, specialists in Northern Ireland or Germany, or even the well-read layman interested in how reasonable men deal with the unreasonable, this book is highly recommended. It’s not an evening’s read in front of the fireplace, nor should it be, but it is well worth the effort.

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McCauley, Clark, ed. *Terrorism Research and Public Policy*. London: Frank Cass, 1991.

It is difficult to resist such aphorisms as “good things come in small packages” when referring to this edited collection of seminar papers. Indeed it is a work that deserves to be welcomed, both by those engaged in research on terrorism and by those involved in the formulation of public policy.

The volume is the outcome of a seminar held at the School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1987. Introduced as a “very diverse group” by Clark McCauley of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, the participants were: Everett Wheeler (historian), Joseba Zulaika (anthropologist), Gustavo Gorriti (journalist), Martha Crenshaw, Ehud Sprinzak, John Thompson (political scientists), Ariel Merari, McCauley, Raphael Ezekiel (psychologists), and Jerrold

Post (psychiatrist). Six of the papers delivered are presented in this book, together with a seventh, co-authored in the aftermath by Ezekiel and Post, and a concluding overview by McCauley. Notwithstanding the hiatus, the material has retained its currency — partly through some revision and editing, and partly because of the relevance of the issues and supporting arguments.

Two major issues involving research and the formation of public policy are highlighted. The first concerns the value of terrorism as a category of research, beginning with challenges to the definition and categorization of terrorism. The second examines practical problems associated with terrorism research, particularly communication between academic researchers and policy makers. McCauley acknowledges that one answer to the lack of mutual understanding is more acquaintanceship with each other, but “this kind of broadening ... is not easy to come by for busy people in or out of government” He cites the Santa Fe seminar as a notable example of the sort of opportunity that should be provided.

In the opening essay, Wheeler claims terrorism is a form of war and “... arguments against (this) identification ... are strained.” One may not necessarily agree with his hypothesis, finding it somewhat strained in its turn, but Wheeler does provide supporting illustrations and data useful for reference purposes. Zulaika follows with a critique of a report, submitted to the Spanish government by an international commission, on Basque terrorism. Obviously angered by what he considered to be a “mockery of (his) anthropological work” he is scathing in some of his observations: “The man in the street was simply amused that the ... panel of international savants ... had reached the astonishing conclusion that the violence is the result of Basque nationalism”

Sprinzak’s paper is an attempt to understand the phenomenon of terrorism by showing “that terrorism does not exist in isolation.” He discusses his perspective of the circumstances that give rise to terrorism, beginning with normal opposition politics and, through a process of delegitimization, extending to disillusionment and rejection of the system. Unfortunately, his paper contains the style of abstruse reasoning that induces impatience amongst policy makers. Martha Crenshaw, on the other hand, demonstrates her accustomed clarity and scholarly excellence in a perceptive study of factors that influence the decline of terrorism. Crenshaw’s analysis of 77 post-war terrorist groups *per se* gives the volume substance and value. The data and discussion reveal various and complex explanations of decline that do not lead to easy decisions for policy makers.

The remaining three papers (by Merari, Ezekiel and Post, and Gorriti) consider the proper relationship between terrorist researchers and policy makers. The opposing arguments offer judgements beneficial to both policy makers and researchers, especially as the authors are experienced and largely approach the subject in practical terms. Merari, for instance, notes that a failing of government

specialists is that their attention to a problem is necessarily of short duration and they frequently change jobs. Gorriti warns about relations becoming too close between researchers and policy makers, to the extent that governments may receive products lacking in objectivity, creativity and usefulness. Ezekiel and Post suggest a number of different methods of communicating research, such as reaching policy makers through published material or by joining the policy making process itself.

McCauley completes the volume with a synthesis of some of the seminar discussion and debate that did not appear in the individual essays. He reviews a number of generalizations, described as “relatively simple, but ... not always obvious,” including a thought-provoking policy of no-response response to terrorism. Overall, McCauley is particularly enthusiastic about the nature of the seminar, which he refers to as “notably different in going beyond discussion of research to focus on the problems and prospects of putting research on terrorism to work in the formation of public policy.” As one with reasonable experience of research, policy analysis and implementation, I found this to be an interesting volume and certainly deserving of a place in a personal or official library.

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Bushell, P. Timothy, Vladimir Shlapentokh, Christopher K. Vanderpool and Jeyaratnam Sundram, eds. *State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991.

The dark underside of political life — violence and repression — has not often been the subject of systematic analysis. The horror of the Nazi concentration camps, the killing fields of Kampuchea and the knock at the door by the secret police in the early morning hours have alternately shocked and numbed a world where state terrorism has been “refined” with murderous efficiency in the twentieth century.

Confronted with a form of violence that has taken far more lives than those who have engaged in “terror from below” the editors and contributors of *State Organized Terrorism: The Case of Violent Repression* have taken on the onerous task of seeking to provide us with an insightful comparative of the demonic reality of mass coercion and murder.

In the introduction the four editors effectively establish the foundation for the ensuing case studies. They identify four conditions that may explain the