

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

development of state terrorism. These range from “the distorted conception of state and society ...” to “state dependence on foreign power.” (p. 11)

Alex P. Schmid goes one step beyond by providing a useful conceptualization of state terrorism and genocide. His description of both provides a very useful foundation for understanding patterns of violence in states that have outwardly gone wild.

After the introduction the editors divide the ensuing study into three parts: *The Structural Sources of State Organized Terror*; *Terror As an Instrument of State Policy*; and *The Social and Political Psychology of State Terror*. In each of these parts are excellent articles that effectively explore the dismal landscape of mass violence.

In Part Three, James McCamant provides an understanding of the different routes to state domination and repression, and makes a strong case for the need for individuals to achieve a level of autonomy from both the state and the transnational corporation if they are not to lose their human rights to the collectivity of large-scale organizations that have the capabilities of penetrating an entire social and economic order. Charles D. Brockett engages in an assessment of primarily domestic factors that have led to massive repression in Central America, ranging from the capacity of the security apparatus to the historical reliance on violence as a means of maintaining regime control. Rhoda E. Howard in her study of how regime repression destroyed a functioning democratic system in Kenya raises serious questions about whether the Latin American model may be emulated in the new states of Africa. Jonathan R. Adelman’s study of the secret police in communist states develops a framework for understanding those major determinates that condition the evolution and functions of one of the leading agencies for state repression. William Manley provides a particularly incisive assessment of how strong bonds of social solidarity acted as a barrier to the ability of the Afghanistan regime with the support of the Soviet Union to impose its control despite its massive use of violence in a particularly bloody conflict.

In Part Three, David Pion-Berlin makes a major contribution to the understanding of the implementation of terror in the Latin American context. His discussion of the Argentinean military’s perceptions of threats and how that perception was profoundly influenced by a Latin American Security Ideology grounded in “borrowed” doctrines of counterinsurgency is must reading for those who are not only interested in how regime terrorism can be used in an offensive instead of reactive mode, but how military regimes can justify and maintain their control in the name of the sanctity of the state. Bernd Weghner also provides an outstanding study. His discussion of the factors that led to Hitler’s rise to power and the internal dynamics that led to the disintegration of the Third Reich should be of use to others who wish to analyze different totalitarian systems. Stanley K. Shernock engages in a particularly demanding

comparative analysis. In his study of the Nazi regime, the Soviet Union under Stalin and the Chinese Cultural Revolution he notes that while the mass application of terror was “purposive action by the regime leader” (p. 170), the controls and consequences of such actions were not solely in the hands of the regime, as competing individuals and organizations attempted to maximize their position in the war against all that often is a mark of massive regime repression. Perhaps the most evocative of all the articles are Ben Kiernan’s and Cahnthou Boua’s discussions of the horrors inflicted by the Pol Pot regime. The personal accounts of those few who survived bring the regime’s strategy of genocide down to a level of madness where the color of a scarf worn by a person or family could determine whether they lived or died. These chilling accounts are particularly alarming given the fact that the forces of Pol Pot are still active players in the uncertain future of a country and people who have experienced the depths of genocide.

In Part Four, William O. McCagg, Jr. provides a detailed description of how the Rajk trial of 1949 in Hungary was an effective use of “designed” state terrorism. As the author notes, the trial was indeed a form of “judicial murder.” Dimitry Shalpentokh’s discussion of Soviet show trials underscores the fact that even the most repressive regimes attempt to legitimize their actions by projecting a public image of revolutionary puritanism. Helen Fine’s succinct account of the reasons for the mass suicides in Jonestown is particularly powerful. It effectively illustrates how people can be swept up in and die in the collective paranoia that often sweeps a totalitarian system. Jan Jia-Jing Wu explores the tragic individual human cost of repression by providing a very moving account of how individuals were driven to suicide because of the profound psychological excesses of the Cultural Revolution.

In the conclusion, Robert A. Solo cogently has characterized the nature of modern state organized terror and repression when he states that it is, “... a particular kind of killing ... A slaughter of the innocent ... a functionless slaughter of those who are not the enemies of society, nor to enslave or exploit them.” (p. 303) He then offers up the hope that the remarkable events that have accompanied the end of the Cold War may weaken the hold of regimes that resort to terror and repression. One hopes his optimism is realized.

State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression is an outstanding scholarly work. It is also a book that makes the reader grapple with understanding the causes, dynamics and outcomes of political life at its worst in the twentieth century. Such painful studies are necessary if the next generation is to learn from the bitter lessons of history.

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