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Janke, Peter, ed. *Terrorism and Democracy: Some Contemporary Cases*. London: Macmillan, 1992.

The purpose of this book is to examine those instances in democracies where campaigns of terrorism have been reduced to manageable dimensions. Published at a time when the political economy of terrorism is apparently in recession, this is a book whose basic premise is both timely and sensible.

Terrorism and Democracy consists of six case studies of terrorist campaigns in first world democracies (two in Italy, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, and Japan). One other chapter addresses the social and psychological aspects of terrorism (this by Dr. Dirk Mulder). A final chapter considers what conclusions follow from the case studies. The cases were chosen first because they represent instances of successful state responses to terrorism, and second because these successes were achieved within the constraints of democratic principles. Each of the individual case studies provides a concise overview of the origins of the terrorism it evaluates, its purposes, and its effects. Each then proceeds to a summary of how state authorities reacted to the violence. Some of the chapters, such as the one dealing with terrorism in South Tyrol, are comprehensive and critical. Others, such as the chapter on the Red Army Faction, are somewhat less critical and more descriptive.

Such variations are to be expected in a work of this sort — multiple authors and cases necessarily mean some variation in both quality and emphasis. The book's general editor, Peter Janke, has done a good job of trying to smooth out such variations. Some of the variation, however, is a consequence of an important theoretical imprecision: although the book is commendably careful in its choice of cases (it excludes, as different in kind, terrorism in dependent territories in the process of decolonization), it is less meticulous in defining what "success" or "manageable dimensions" mean. Indeed, no discussion of these terms appears in the Introduction to the work, so the reader is sent to the case studies with no guidance at all on the matter.

The case studies differ in emphasis, if not opinion, about what constitutes "success" in the struggle against terrorism, although all agree that "success" should not mean the total abolition of political violence. Success therefore consists, at least in part, of reducing conflict to "manageable proportions." This standard has an intuitive appeal, but it lacks the operational clarity necessary to make it useful on a comparative basis. The chapters also vary, for example, on the question of whether success should include a significant reduction in public support for the terrorist campaign or its agenda, or a measurable improvement in the concrete conditions that spawned the violence, or whether success also means anticipating such campaigns.

A second, and related, difficulty is that one of the book's criteria for its selection of cases is that the state's reactions must square with the requirements of democratic principles. Unfortunately, neither the Introduction nor the individual

chapters tell us what those principles are or what sorts of governmental responses they would authorize or prohibit. In this respect, the book seems unlikely to fill one of the charges it sets for itself: to offer guidance to newly emergent democracies in Eastern Europe about how democracies can cope with terrorism without compromising their democratic or constitutional integrity.

The concluding chapter is both a useful review of the cases and, more importantly, a thoughtful assessment of the lessons that should be drawn from them. The chapter begins with a discussion of the significant ways in which its cases differ from others, like Northern Ireland and Spain, where terrorism resonates with the agendas and goals of significant sections of the public. It is only in this chapter that we find an extended discussion of what success means. The discussion, unlike some of the case studies, emphasizes the importance of public opinion.

In sum, this is a book that occasionally falters in theoretical rigor: no discussion of success in the struggle against terrorism is likely to go far absent a careful definition of terms. Nevertheless, this is an important and seasonable study.

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Gal-Or, Noemi, ed. *Tolerating Terrorism in the West: an international survey*. London: Routledge, 1991.

This slim volume consists of five essays on the domestic tolerance for terrorism in Spain, the former West Germany, Israel, Belgium and Italy. A sixth chapter, written by editor Noemi Gal-Or, who also wrote the section on Israel, attempts to interpret the disparate results.

As a basic premise, the idea of a comparative study of this kind is a good one. Unfortunately only one chapter, the first, written by Peter Waldmann on the impact of the changing role of ETA on the society and politics in the Basque region of Spain, deals with the book's purported subject matter. Had the approach and level of analysis of this piece been continued throughout the book, a valuable contribution might have been made to the study of the comparative response patterns of Western states to international terrorism. As it is, the reader is forced to wade through assorted approaches to the subject matter, uneven analytical quality, awkward translation and abysmal English.

Faced with these problems, this review will concentrate on the book's focus, the case studies chosen and the editing process. To begin with, the editor waits until almost the end of the book to state her approach. "The origin of this book," she writes on page 146, "is an attempt to understand tolerance of terrorism in principle, and the varying degrees of tolerance of terrorism within five western [sic] liberal