

throughout his life. Although Seigel's constant effort is to connect disparate tendencies, such psychological speculations do not detract from the value of the book. There can be no serious objection, even among those who have reservations about the use of psychoanalytic theories on historical subjects when the only available evidence is material written for purposes other than such analysis.

Reading Seigel, one might almost be persuaded that the single most significant passage in the Marxist corpus is the oft-quoted Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it." The epigram resolves, at least temporarily, many of the conflicts Marx faced throughout his life. He possessed both a keen intellectual interest and a dominating moral purpose; a poetic temperament and an aptitude for scholarly drudgery. He pursued the formulation of abstract first principles and yet held to the conviction that theory must be based on solid empirical fact. He was determined to complete an analysis of capitalism that would supercede the works of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo, and yet he recognized the need to respond to the human degradation and suffering as continental Europe followed the British lead in converting from small-scale, craft-based artisan manufacture to full-scale industrialization.

Seigel believes one can read the history of the times in the tone of Marx's works: at their most optimistic during periods of crisis when radical change seemed imminent; drab and pessimistic during times of reaction and stability. Seigel draws a comparison—which should not be stretched—between the conservative, placid, "gray-on-gray" 1850's after the revolutionary ferment of 1848 with the contemporary lull after the storm of the late 1960's. Writing to Engels in February, 1863, after the Polish uprising gave evidence of a renewed revolutionary era, Marx said: "The pleasant delusions and the almost childish enthusiasm with which we greeted the revolution before February, 1848, are for the devil. . . . [We] now know what a role stupidity plays in revolutions, and how they are exploited by scoundrels."

If the relationship between social evolution and revolutionary movements

was one conscious major theme of Marx's writings, another was the development of a critique of classical English economics. While this concern was evident in the Paris Manuscripts of 1844, Marx's major expositions were the *Grundrisse* of 1857-58 and the more carefully arranged and consistently worked out *Capital*. Obsessed with the lack of a clear distinction between price and value on the part of his predecessors, Marx's major contributions here were the theory of surplus value and an attempt to prove the inevitable decline in rates of profit as industrial capitalism fully developed. Seigel notes a constant doubt expressed in Marx's manuscripts that he had adequately proven his case. The greater certainty expressed in the published version of *Capital* was due to Engels's editorial revisions.

Particularly valuable to the student of Marxist thought is the first chapter, perhaps the most lucid twenty-five-page introduction to Hegelian philosophy available. Equally well done are brief discussions of social displacements in Western Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. There are excellent summaries of the thought of Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Arnold Ruge, David Friedrich Strauss, and the

anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon; and of the Bakuninist-Marxist controversy that, far more than the reaction to the Paris Commune of 1871, led to the dissolution of the First International.

It is an unfortunate human tendency to encrust original thought with ideology, accept falsification and simplification at face value, and tear key words and concepts from their contexts. For over a century Marxist thought in particular has been subjected to this unfortunate treatment. Various schools, movements, and individual leaders have emphasized certain aspects of Marxist thought to suit national, personal, or tactical needs while neglecting the totality of Marx. Marxism has been seen as both the salvation and the damnation of contemporary civilization. With this in mind, Seigel writes: "What any person learns from Marx's life will depend on what he or she brings to it. But in some way we are all his heirs. Revolution still promises to transform our lives, yet threatens to leave them unredeemed. The social oppression and personal neurosis of modern life still confront us. As long as we live in such a present Marx will belong to our most usable past."

Seigel has written a most valuable guide to rediscovering this usable past.

## Terrorism and the Liberal State

by Paul Wilkinson

(John Wiley; 257 pp.; \$14.95)

### Thomas N. Thompson

As late as 1969 the *New York Times Index* did not include an entry for "terrorism." Times have changed. Virtually everybody now recognizes the grotesque litany of massacres: Lod-Munich-Khartoum-Rome-Athens-Vienna. Hijackings, kidnappings, spectacular stunts and retaliatory raids, assassination squads and urban guerrillas have all been the subject of a flood of books and articles in recent years. Yet few are as carefully written and as illuminating as Mr. Wilkinson's investigation of terrorism from a liberal democratic perspective. Wilkinson is senior lecturer in politics at University College, Cardiff, in the United Kingdom

Wilkinson is primarily concerned with politically motivated terrorism, which he

understands to be "the systematic use of murder and destruction, and the threat of murder and destruction in order to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to the terrorists' political demands." "Kill one, frighten ten thousand," in the words of an ancient Chinese proverb.

While political terrorism is not a new phenomenon, its frequency and impact are increasing. Between 1968 and 1975 approximately 800 people were killed and over 1,700 injured as the result of acts of international terrorism. Wilkinson notes that "the incident rate climbed from below 53 per year in the period 1965-68 to 100 per year in 1969-70 and to 200 per year in 1973." By 1975 the rate had dropped

slightly. Western Europe, Latin America, and the United States (in that order) have been the favorite locations for terrorist activity.

Modern industrial societies, in particular liberal democracies, provide a near-perfect environment for terrorism. Unlike totalitarian regimes, no liberal democracy is willing to pay the price of snuffing out all individual rights and sacrificing liberal values for the sake of preserving some form of order. Terrorists and their sympathizers can make propaganda capital out of violations of the law by members of the security forces and use these as additional justification for their own campaigns.

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***"... liberal democracies provide a near-perfect environment for terrorism."***

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Several features of liberal democratic societies explain their attractiveness for terrorists. Such features include accessibility and vulnerability of targets as well as technology. Terrorists exploit freedom of movement by shifting their base of operation. At the same time, the complex and costly technological systems of modern society—power plants, computer banks, and airports, for example—have become sitting targets for terrorist attack.

Liberal democracies also suffer from two additional vulnerabilities. First, we have relatively free news media, assuring publicity for the terrorist. Terrorists have become specialists in targeting their activities for prime-time viewing: Deeds are orchestrated to manipulate the media and play for a wider audience. Closely linked to this vulnerability is the constraint of public opinion. Liberal democratic governments have to carry their publics with them in broad support of their responses to terrorism. The insolent confidence of terrorists is bound to be encouraged if governments are driven by public opinion into putting the lives of hostages before all other considerations.

Virtually anyone can be a terrorist's victim by taking the wrong airline, boarding the wrong commuter train, or accepting the wrong executive position abroad. Yet for all the fear the terrorist creates, he is often treated lightly when and if he is convicted. Between 1971 and 1975, ac-

ording to Wilkinson, less than 50 per cent of captured international terrorists actually served out their prison sentences; the average sentence for terrorists who stood trial was eighteen months.

Wilkinson's outrage at this situation is refreshing. He advocates a hard-line prescription that rules out any deals or concessions to terrorists' demands. The argument is simple enough: If the terrorist weapon is seen to pay off against a particular government, the terrorist groups are tempted into increasingly brazen attempts at blackmail and there is a dramatic inflation in the ransom prices they demand. Yet Western states are likely to continue to evolve responses to terrorism as a result of a mix of factors: habit, history, personalities of the moment, traditional prejudices, and intuition. Then too a hard-line prescription seldom works when the victims about to be sacrificed are too important and have too many friends, or if the threat posed would otherwise be too dreadful.

How then should the liberal democratic state respond? Democratic governments can hardly remain open and democratic by choosing repression. Even coercive aspects of temporary "states of emergency" tend to remain on the books long after the occasions for their enactment have passed. And the definition of emergency can grow so broad that it includes the dissenter, the alien, and the eccentric. Thus, Wilkinson argues that the main principles liberals should insist upon in the event of any introduction of emergency powers are: (1) that, however bad the crisis, the authority to grant and to revoke special powers be reserved to the legislature; (2) that the constitution as such *never* be suspended; (3) that the legislature remain in session for the whole period of the emergency legislation; and (4) that specific emergency powers be granted only for a fixed and limited period.

Although Wilkinson focuses almost exclusively on political terrorism, he would no doubt agree that too often there is not sufficient distinction made between the madman, the criminal, the vigilante, and the rebel with a cause. The primary responsibility of state officials must be to gauge the nature of the terrorist threat. A mix of techniques, technology, and international cooperation is called for.

The dilemma of liberal democracy is that while a terrorist may be able to spread fear through wanton and random violence, he cannot annihilate an open society. The wrong response by government, however, can turn an open society into a closed one.

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## Briefly Noted

### Corresponding Motion: Transcendental Religion and the New America by Catherine L. Albanese

(Temple University Press; 210 pp.; \$15.00)

This work is a stunningly successful study of Emerson and transcendentalism. As in her previous work, *Sons of the Fathers: The Civil Religion of the American Revolution*, Albanese's concerns here are at once religious and political. On the one hand she uses Mircea Eliade's history of religious methodology to elucidate the complex religious elements in the thought of Emerson and other transcendentalists, showing how they "blended the mystical quest of cultures based on correspondence with the thrusting individualism which characterized evangelical Christianity." On the other hand she relates these religious elements to the political climate of the times, showing how Emerson both affirmed and negated the imperatives of Jacksonian democracy and the country's rapid indus-

trial expansion. Albanese's endeavors will undoubtedly arouse disfavor among more traditional interpreters of Emerson, who argue that Emersonian individualism was "independent of any religious mythos." Yet, as Albanese notes, Emerson and the other transcendentalists understand their own enterprise in religious terms: "Their literary tropes and philosophical explanations, they conceived, should lead them and their followers to the comprehension of religious truth and the activation of a religious response to life." Although one might quarrel with Albanese's view that Emerson's religious perspective was that of a non-Western mystic who assimilated the more pragmatic, historical, and individualistic values of the Judeo-Christian heritage into his thought (the reverse seems more likely), one cannot escape the feeling while reading this book that Albanese has opened up a whole level of insight into Emerson that most commentators have missed altogether. Her scholarship is remarkable, her insights profound, and her work immensely valuable.

—Henry McDonald

**Visions of Glory:**  
**A History and a Memory**  
**of the Jehovah's Witnesses**  
*by Barbara Grizzuti*  
*Harrison*  
 (Simon & Schuster; 413 pp.; \$12.95)

The author came out of a familial nightmare of conflict and insecurity and, in her early years, found comfort and refuge among the Jehovah's Witness religious group. Clearly her nightmare continues, for in this book she lashes out against the sect, repeating every rumor and exaggerating every resentment to which the Witnesses have ever given rise. It is a mean-spirited exercise in religious bigotry and scapegoating, of interest only because it highlights the kind of prejudice approved by respectable opinion. *Witness Publisher's Weekly's* comment on the book: "Testimonials from ex-Witnesses—herself and others—reinforce the picture of the sect as a reactionary, racist, sexist haven for damaged psyches." It is always reassuring to have our biases reinforced.

**Religion at the Polls**  
*by Albert J. Menendez*  
 (Westminster; 248 pp.; \$5.95 [paper])

The subject is an interesting one, and Menendez has a wide, if not always secure, grasp of the relevant data. He asks questions about religious influence on elections from Jefferson to Jimmy Carter, and most of the answers are either unclear or obvious. In his summary he asks and answers ten questions about the connection between religion and elections. For example: "8. To what extent does religion interact with other

variables, such as social status, geographical location, and ethnicity?" A good question, no doubt. The answer: "There is an unquestionable interaction between religion and other variables that may reinforce or modify one another." Just so.

**The Way to Christ**  
*by Jacob Boehme*  
 (Paulist Press; 307 pp.; \$6.95)

This is the second volume in a series that has been rightly acclaimed as one

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of the most important religious publishing events of recent years. The first volume was *Showings* by Julian of Norwich, the medieval mystic, and these two are to be followed by many more volumes from Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, and other mystical traditions. The translations are all new, and each volume offers a scholarly introduction that places that book's author into the larger context of religious searchings. For those who would keep penultimate political values under the judgment of the ultimate, a subscription to this series is warmly recommended.

### The Catholic Church and the Soviet Government

by *Dennis J. Dunn*  
(Columbia; 270 pp.; \$17.00)

A specialized but intriguing study of relations between the Vatican and the Soviet Union from 1939 to 1949. The author, very delicately, describes the Vatican's policy of "eschewing Nazism somewhat less than Communism" and helps the reader understand why this, far from being an odious failure of nerve, reflected the Holy See's best understanding of its moral and political obligations. Especially helpful is the detailed treatment of Uniate and ethnic churches under Moscow's rule. One suspects that, with some editorial crafting, this book could have been brought out in a form and at a price that would command the wider readership it deserves.

### Art and the Christian Intelligence in St. Augustine

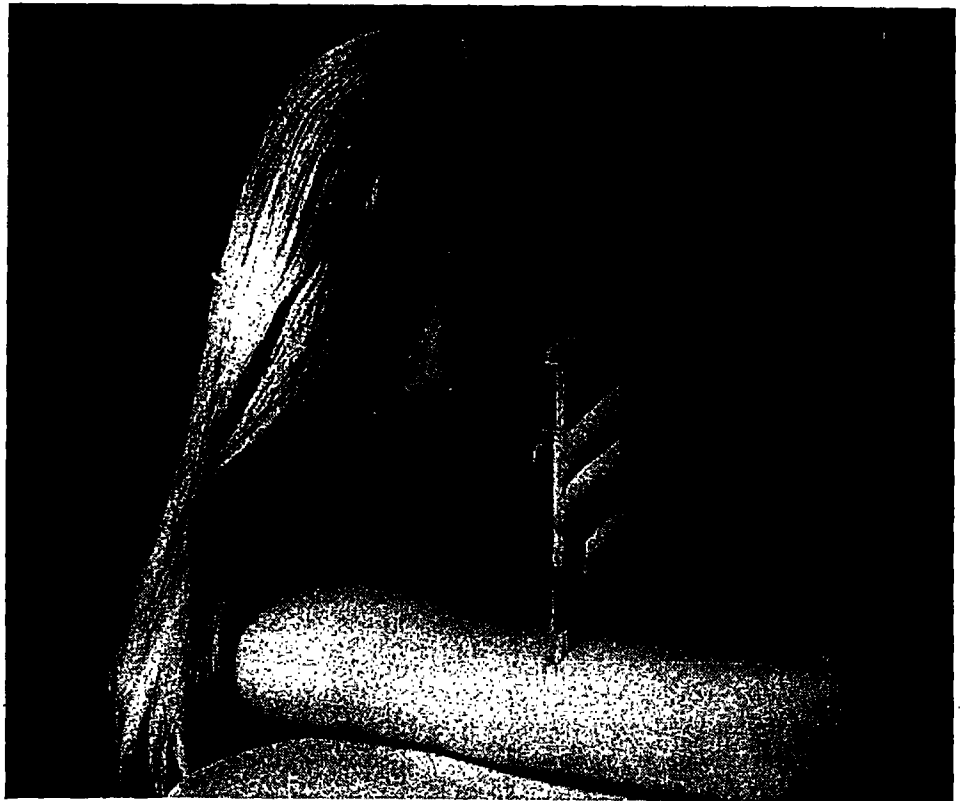
by *Robert J. O'Connell*  
(Harvard; 251 pp.; \$16.50)

An effort to rehabilitate Augustine almost against himself, as it were. O'Connell is convinced there is a worthy and indeed awesome theory of aesthetics in Augustine's thought, although Augustine might have been embarrassed by its articulation. A work chiefly of interest to students of Augustine, but with clear significance for Christian thought about the sacramental nature of the universe and of its beauty in particular.

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