

Terrorism, Political Violence and World Order, Edited by Henry Hyunwook Han

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CONFLICTS AMONG STATES AND PEOPLES

TERRORISM

TERRORISM, POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND WORLD ORDER. Edited by Henry Hyunwook Han. Lanham, Md.: The University Press of America, 1984, 790 pp., \$41.75 (cloth), \$26.25 (paper).

Few works in international affairs could be more timely than a volume of essays on the problem of political terrorism. And in a number of important ways, this large, edited collection by Henry H. Han, Professor of International Law and Relations at Central Michigan University, responds to the need for interdisciplinary and multidimensional approaches to this perplexing trend in political violence. This assessment holds despite the fact that the book is a collection of papers originally delivered at conferences held at Central Michigan in 1980 and 1982. Although the title suggests a three part division of concern in the book, in fact over 600 pages discuss terrorism, while the remainder of the book examines revolution and violent change in Latin America and the Middle East, areas where political violence and terror are closely intertwined. Only a concluding essay by Richard A. Falk and Samuel S. Kim, reprinted from their work for the World Policy Institute, addresses the issue of world order *per se*. This review will appropriately address the dominant topic of the volume.

On balance, analysts of international terrorism will welcome this assemblage of essays for a number of reasons. First, the authors include both specialists widely recognized for their continuing contribution to the scholarly literature in the field as well as policy level officials charged with dealing with political terror. Among the former group, J.J. Labor-Lederer and Yonah Alexander are names easily recognized, while the latter group includes a spectrum ranging from Robert M. Sayre, Director (at that time) of the Office of Combating Terrorism, U.S. Department of State, to Zehdi Labib Terzi, former Permanent Observer of the P.L.O. to the United Nations. Thus the work provides a number of first-rate treatments from analysts well-versed in the topic, who sit in distinct positions of interaction with this pressing phenomenon.

The second strength of this volume is the comprehensive range of inquiry across the issues involving political terrorism. The initial section of the work examines the problem of establishing analytically meaningful and politically prudent definitional boundaries between terrorism and other forms of political violence. The second part of the book includes chapters which debate the causes of terror and three articles which assess the influence and role of the media in terror violence. Part Three of the book, a particularly strong and diverse set of essays, includes fourteen articles on

the "users" of terrorism and political violence. Here Han and his collaborators may make their most significant contribution to the study of political terror. The section is divided into essays treating "Individuals and Private Groups," "Individuals and Private Groups with the Backing of Government(s)," "State Against Its Own People," and "State Against State or Other International Entity." Traditionally, analysts and practitioners of international affairs have been slow to include the latter two activities within the rubric of political terror, but the combination and progression of essays included in this chapter illustrate well why such demarcation has been short-sighted.

Part Four explores issues of greatest interest to international legal specialists and those whose focus in international relations involves actions of transnational organizations. In eleven chapters, the reader finds thorough treatment of the response of international law to terrorism, the use of the United Nations Charter in this regard, and a discussion of the U.N. in issues involving revolution, mercenaries, hostage-taking and other matters often part of the dynamics of terrorism. The essays by Alfred P. Rubin, Christopher Joyner and John F. Murphy are particularly useful and reflect much of the discussion of terrorism embodied in the work of the Committee on International Terrorism of the International Law Association. Two chapters by Francis A. Boyle on the hostage situations in Iran and Entebbe, and David Steward's perspective on the South African situation also deserve a close reading.

As noted above, a relatively small portion of the book is devoted to regional revolutionary and terror violence. These essays, included in Part Five, are diverse in type and quality. These readings range from three solid chapters on transnational efforts to deal with political violence in the Americas by John W. Ford, a Senior Legal Advisor to the Organization of American States, to quantitative social science explorations of patterns of revolutionary violence. Given the rapid change in the character of violence in Latin America and the Middle East since these papers were first presented, readers would want to augment these essays with more current material relevant to each of those regions.

Considering then the range of topics examined, the credibility of the contributors, and the reasonably well-documented references for ninety percent of the chapters, there is little question that this volume ought to be considered a major reference source in the literature of terrorism. Certainly specialists will still be inclined to turn to Walter Laquer's *Terrorism* for a more in-depth philosophical and historical treatment, to Michael Stohl's *The Politics of Terrorism* for greater attention to sophisticated social science and area studies investigation, or to Robert A. Friedlander's works for more comprehensive attention to international legal dimensions of the problem. But this does not diminish the effort Han has produced here.

This reviewer makes one final comment regarding style. In light of the complexity of editing a collection of this size, the volume is in fairly good order. Han provides short and useful introductions to each of the major sections of the book. The writing and documentation are generally of high quality. Particularly welcome are the forty-five charts and illustrations contained in the collection which detail such useful information as summary data from U.S. sources on the incidence of various forms of terrorism and the organizational chart of the P.L.O. But the editor's "tea break corners" which highlight political and philosophical quotations, many of which have nothing to do with the chapter which follows them, appear out of place in this otherwise serious effort. Equally disturbing is the terribly inadequate index, which almost always contains only one page citation per item entry. Fortunately these are bearable distractions in a generally good edition.

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