

Laurent cabinet confirmed every Conservative suspicion, especially John Diefenbaker's, that under his stewardship the PCO had become a tool of the Liberal Party and that the senior ranks of Canada's civil service were grit to the core. To Granatstein's credit, he portrays Pickersgill in context.

This was a situation that demanded a wholesale civil service housecleaning following the election of 1958 when there was an overwhelming mandate for change in government. But it was already too late. Although suspicions were never put to rest, the period of the first Diefenbaker minority government created new dependencies which mitigated against change and served Canada ill. Had the mandarins been fit to govern, the 1963 Pearson government, which contained so many who had previously served in this capacity, would not have been such a disaster.

Finally, I would quarrel mildly with three of Granatstein's assessments. If one may judge the mind of men by the memoranda they compose, the two most powerful intellects in External Affairs in the period of my research, January 1, 1936 to September 10, 1939, were Christie and Wrong, in that order. I am a bit surprised that the author should have caught the fine edge of Wrong's genius and not of Christie's. Second, I am concerned that Pearson is allowed to appear a little shabby. I recognize the author is intrigued by Pearson's skill in playing the CBC off against External to advance his career, but I remain unconvinced as to the significance of this episode and suggest that Pearson's autobiography is closer to the mark. Finally, I would wonder at the general balance in Granatstein's portrayal of Escott Reid: however, in that Reid is still vigorously able to defend himself, the author may be left to receive such quarter as his subject allows.

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Terror: holy and unholy

by Tom Mitchell

The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications edited by David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander. New York: Pergamon Press, 1982, 377 pages, \$35.00 (US).

Despite the proliferation of books and articles on various aspects of contemporary terrorism in recent years, it is disturbing how shallow our understanding remains both of the phenomenon itself and of some of the basic ethical issues it raises. Unfortunately, much of what is written about terrorism is simplistic and sensationalist and

serves only to perpetuate the confusion and controversy which surround the subject. Though we have learned a great deal about what kinds of weapons and tactics terrorists use, the much more fundamental questions of why groups and individuals resort to actions remain largely unexplored. *The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications*, edited by David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander, is an important collection of essays which seek to confront these very questions. Although, as the editors themselves readily admit, this single volume cannot hope to resolve the wide range of moral issues and dilemmas that terrorism raises, it is an encouraging beginning and it does open up some promising avenues of inquiry.

The editors present two intriguing hypotheses. The first is that the resort to terrorism has been a far more pervasive tradition in our historical experience than is commonly thought. Though many consider terrorism to be the step-child of modern technology and trace its origins no further back than the French Revolution, Rapoport and Alexander contend that terrorism has its roots in our fundamental religious experience, particularly in certain Messianic and millenarian movements. They argue that much of the basic doctrine which underlies contemporary terrorism can be seen in the struggle of the Jewish Sicarii and Zealots against the Romans in the First Century A.D. Numerous examples are cited of the other religious movements which have resorted to campaigns of terrorism since then, justifying their actions on the basis of certain moral principles. Rapoport and Alexander's second principal hypothesis is even more provocative. They argue that state and rebel terror are not distinct categories but are in fact closely linked. The two types of terrorism can be viewed merely as dimensions of the same phenomenon, since they share many fundamental assumptions. We cannot understand one type of terrorism, they argue, in isolation from the other.

The volume is organized around these two themes and, although there is some variation in the terminology and approaches used by the individual contributors, the collection as a whole is a coherent and reasonably comprehensive treatment of this complex topic. The fifteen selections that make up this volume are divided into three parts, each of which begins with an introductory essay by the editors.

The first part deals with religious terror. One of the editors, David Rapoport, contributes an interesting essay on the efforts of Jewish terrorists to initiate a revolt against Roman rule through the use of atrocities and other symbolic acts. Rapoport cites some of the lessons learned in this struggle, which were heeded by the Irgun in its efforts to establish a Jewish state following the Second World War. Essays by Vytautas Kavolis and Moshe Amon examine some of the religious and social myths which have been utilized to justify rebellion. In a more contemporary context, John Dugard traces the evolution of the concept of "just war" and the tumultuous debates which have taken place at the United Nations over what kinds of actions this does and does not justify. John R. Pottenger's superb essay on "liberation theology" explores the moral dilemma faced by Catholic clergy in Latin America as to whether violence can be condoned in the struggle against social injustice.

In the second part, which focuses on state terror, Michael Carter provides a capsule history of the Jacobin terror of the French Revolution. The designation "Enemy