

cal ideas as the Englishman John Locke. In his *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu taught that republics required homogeneity in their citizen body and modesty in their territorial extent.

While acknowledging Montesquieu's influence upon the revolutionaries and the anti-Federalists, Wood makes the mistake of assuming that with the establishment of the new federal government, Montesquieu's ideas ceased to be relevant or influential, for the new republic was both large and diverse. Not so fast. While the federal union was diverse in climate, resources, interests, and regional cultures, the states were not, and it was in the states, as distinct political societies, where most governing would take place.

Americans continued to believe that their confederated republic could expand across North America without losing its republican character because it was decentralized and the states retained the right to determine eligibility for citizenship and voting within their borders (Article I, Section 2). Thus, the founders did not discard Montesquieu. The question for their descendants is, after having lost their republic to a multicultural empire, do we need to bring him back? ■

H.A. Scott Trask IV has a Ph.D. in American history, has just finished a political biography of 19th-century political economist Condé Raguet, and has started a study of the Northern peace movement during the Civil War.

[*Images of Terror: What We Can and Can't Know About Terrorism*, Philip Jenkins, Aldine de Gruyter, 227 pages]

Taking Terror Apart

By Jeremy Lott

COMEDIAN DAVE BARRY is a funny guy but sometimes he isn't very bright. In the introduction to his book on the foibles of the federal government, he held up the alternative-reality Democrats-are-still-in-the-White-House television drama "The West Wing" as a good example of what is wrong with the culture of Washington, D.C. The characters on the show act as if every little thing they do has enormous repercussions, as is often the case in real life. He singled out one episode in which the regular cast "hotly debat[ed] the question of whether the president should chide some environmental group for not condemning ecoterrorism. In other words, the issue was totally about words—whether the president should say harsh words to a group because that group had failed to say harsh words to another group. Nobody was talking about *doing* anything."

Penn State professor Philip Jenkins has probably not read *Dave Barry Hits Below the Beltway*, but if he has he would have winced at the suggestion that White-House debates about how to deal with any kind of terrorism didn't have real-world repercussions. All that jaw-jawing sets things in motion. "If a movement associated with a particular cause is commonly agreed to be terrorist," Jenkins explains in his new book *Images of Terror*, "then ... that stigma adheres not only to the armed group itself, but also to other peaceful groups that might share its views, whether or not they have any connection with violence."

At the law-enforcement level, the terrorist label leads to greater surveillance of both the offending group and its

peaceful fellow travelers, which in turn leads to deportations and other restrictions and inconveniences. Little wonder then, says Jenkins, that political movements work so hard to resist the application of the T-word to their violent but well-meaning fellow ideologues. In fact, one might wonder what "The West Wing's" President Bartlett, a liberal Democrat, was doing sabotaging his own base. Maybe it was one of those post-election Sistah Souljah moments for which Democrats are so famous.

Unlike most of the recent books on terrorism, *Images of Terror: What We Can and Can't Know About Terrorism* doesn't attempt to add new information on a specific terrorist threat or movement. Instead it looks at how terrorism is portrayed by government and in the media and how the views of the state play a very large role in how we conceive of everything from the post-Sept. 11 anthrax attacks to assassinations to home-grown groups that might be prone to violence. Jenkins starts with the jarring approach that terrorism, "like any other problem, is socially constructed," which he immediately qualifies by assuring that this isn't an endorsement of a relativist view of terrorism (e.g., "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"—a view that chapter two demolishes).

In opposition to what we might call the "shattered innocence" view of terrorism in the U.S.—that terrorism before Sept. 11 was something that happened *out there*—Jenkins argues that it is a well-established part of American life. Though recent technological advances have made killing on a larger scale easier, terror attacks on U.S. soldiers, embassies, citizens, visitors, businesses, and government offices were neither unheard of nor all that rare in the previous century. Both foreign and home-grown terror groups have been here before, particularly in the 1970s, and figured prominently in that era's headlines. Last year, there was a minor to-do when former members of the leftist Symbionese Liberation Army had the book thrown at them for their violent

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actions in the 1970s. It was, however, quite a small story. "[T]errorist campaigns of bygone years have largely faded from memory: terrorism is a menace that is discovered anew each generation, if not each new decade," writes Jenkins.

It is rarely a welcome discovery. On the domestic front, politicians find terrorism to be highly inconvenient to their own policy goals and constituencies. Throughout the Reagan and first Bush administrations, anti-abortion violence was downplayed; it was not until Clinton took office that it was taken seriously as a terrorist threat (which encouraged groups like NOW to use RICO racketeering laws to go after peaceful pro-life groups). Cuban-American terrorism has been given a pass by both Republican and Democratic administrations, who need the anti-Castro vote in Florida (along with a few hanging chads) to win that state. Many people cynically, and I believe rightly, upbraided Bill Clinton for pardoning Puerto Rican terrorists while his wife was in a tight race for a Senate seat in New York, a state with an unusually high Puerto Rican population.

Terrorism that originates from foreign sources can be, if anything, even pricklier. While a popular view of terrorism has the bad guys phoning in to claim credit, this is not always the case—fictitious terrorist organizations are often invented to send investigators down rabbit trails. Assassinations and bombings are carried out by gunmen and explosives experts who were hired by anonymous third parties in order to avoid retaliation or to create conditions under which just retaliation can be used to the terrorists' advantage.

Because of the consequences of linking country A to terrorist action B (e.g., war, economic sanctions, the possibility of upsetting important political-coalition apple carts), intelligence agencies are under immense pressure to proceed selectively. The lone nut bomber or gunman has become a favorite stock profile, even though it has proven disastrously wrong in several recent key

cases, including the Richard Jewell Olympic bombing false accusations and, probably, the FBI's current hounding of anthrax-suspect Steven Hatfill.

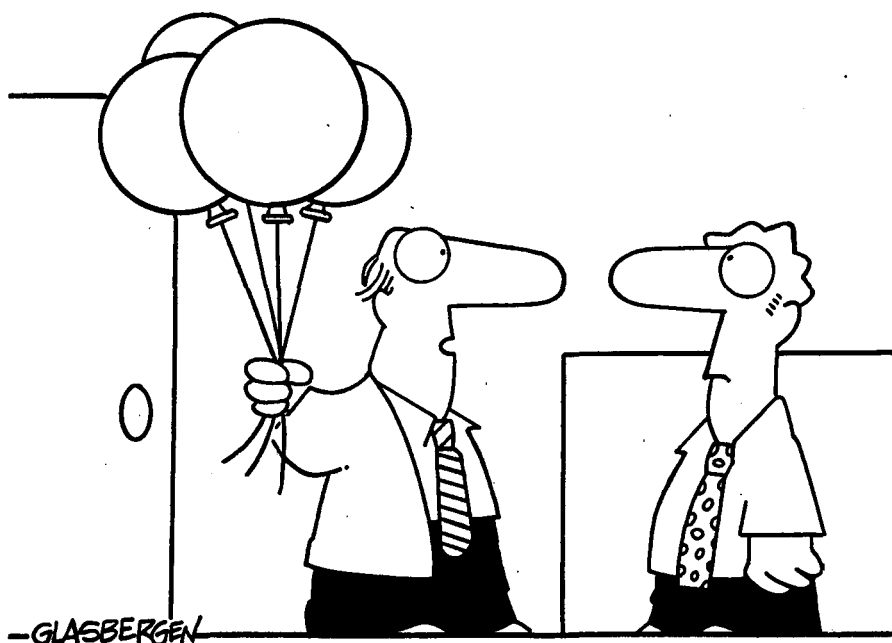
Terrorism is an explicitly political act, aimed at fomenting change, but not always the kinds of change we might expect. What normal people would consider a defeat is only the opening gambit for committed terrorists. Often, the goal of blowing things up is to provoke a strong reaction by the terror victims, which will tilt the sympathy of the local population in favor of the terrorists. Though Jenkins supported the recent wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq, he warns that local militants might be able to goad the occupying troops into cracking down too hard and thereby win recruits for future suicide missions and other acts of destruction.

Counterterrorism, likewise, operates in its own parallel universe, one in which most people would be uncomfortable. From the counterterrorist's point of view, the old rules of law enforcement make little sense. The idea is to prevent terrorism beforehand not to punish it afterwards. This is best accomplished through extensive sur-

veillance of potential subversives and infiltration of various terrorist cells. Ideally, the intelligence agencies will "turn" important people within terrorist organizations and use that influence to limit terror acts—though if they ever succeed in eliminating a terror organization outright, it might create a market niche that new terror groups could fill.

Of course, Jenkins allows that this approach is not without its problems: "The whole idea of *potential* subversives or terrorists is controversial—some would say, repellant and Orwellian. ... This notion contradicts basic democratic beliefs about the role of police, and the investigation of crime. It evokes the science fiction fantasy of detecting crimes before they happen, as outlined in the film *Minority Report*, with its concept of 'precrime'—though in our case we are speaking of real police forces, real suspects, and the violation of real rights." And, he might have added, that's just for starters. ■

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"When I have to fire someone, I use a helium voice to make it less traumatic."

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A Moveable Feast

Charlie Glass rang from Syria and announced that he was off to Pamplona to run the bulls *à la* Papa Hemingway. "Goldie [as in Hawn] is coming with Kurt Russell,

Nick Scott, and you can be the fifth, just like in *The Sun Also Rises*," said Charlie. "I'm not coming as Cohn," snapped I, "nor as Jake Barnes, so I guess I'll have to be Mike Campbell," or words to that effect. Glass is a very close friend and pulled my leg non-stop about being too old to run. "Well, unlike you, Glass, I ran them in 1956, and I'll run them again, so help me Pheidippides." Goldie and Kurt were the first to drop out, and I may be next, although I'm still going to Pamplona with the boys.

Cricket has done me in, but not for long. There we were, on a brilliant Saturday Devon afternoon, with lotsa young girls cheering us on, so I had to show off a bit, especially as I was bowled out on the second ball. Mind you, cricket sounds like a poofter's game, but it can be very, very painful. Think of standing 15 feet off home plate without a glove and the ball coming at you at over 100 mph. (A cricket ball is harder than a baseball.) I took a direct shot on my hip and for the moment I cannot run, only limp. The running of the bulls is on July 7. I write this with two weeks to go. If I can run, I'll run them, but no cripple has ever run the bulls in Pamplona and lived to brag about it.

But back to Papa and *The Sun Also Rises*. I read him early on and swore to myself that the moment I got out of school I'd head for Paris, Pamplona, and the Floridita bar in Havana. And I kept my promise. Like a devout 15th-century Catholic going from cathedral to cathe-

dral, I made my Hemingway pilgrimage my first summer of freedom. La Closerie des Lilas, 74 rue Cardinal Lemoine, Les Deux Magots, the Ritz bar, Pamplona ... You name it, I went to it.

For someone brought up on Greek myths, nothing encapsulated Papa's view of life better than *The Old Man and The Sea*. Like Odysseus, Santiago struggles on and refuses to give up in the face of death. Unlike the Ithacan king, however, Santiago is a rather pathetic figure. I loved *Death in the Afternoon* for the same reason. You did not have to be a connoisseur of bullfighting to appreciate the virtues Papa celebrates. The bullfighters risk all in their combat with nature, not for any material rewards—which are plenty—but so as to enact man's lonely struggle against forces far more powerful than he is. Man does not flee mortal peril but embraces it. The matador is not a tragic hero. He could be

I WAS 19 WHEN I RAN THE BULLS IN PAMPLONA IN 1956. I FLEW LIKE WIND AND MADE IT TO THE PLAZA DE TORROS. IT NEVER ENTERED MY MIND THAT I MIGHT BE GORED.

anyone. Hemingway did not espouse the fashionable idea—yes, even back then—that we are all heroes the moment we venture out of bed. Heroes were those who sought to enact in their own lives the tension between mortality and immortality. The heroes were those who went to war—not those who send oth-

ers to do the fighting—and those who were ready to fight for honor.

Every time I read Papa, it brought back memories of Greece and her mythological heroes. Greek heroes never complained. Neither did Papa's. But they did ask why. Recall Jake Barnes about his loss of manhood or Lieutenant Henry about his loss of Catherine. In an age where everyone is a victim, no wonder Hemingway is considered by some as too macho. But feminists, critics, and academics can go to hell. As Norman Mailer said, "Papa is the cavalry of American letters." He made narrative prose into a physical medium—tough, stoical, suffering, what is known as "grace under pressure." He was much imitated, and imitated himself towards the end when the going was very slow. But he was a wonderful-looking man of action, a tough guy, as different from today's writers—except for Mailer—as Ava Gardner (his favorite) is from Monica Lewinsky.

When Papa began his apprenticeship at the *Kansas City Star*, he was handed a style sheet with four basic rules: "Use

short sentences. Use short first paragraphs. Use vigorous English. Be positive, not negative." Here's Dartmouth English professor Jeffrey Hart on Hemingway: "He used simple sentences that required you to think. ... Every word of early Hemingway counted. And counted a hell of a lot." When Hemingway began