
is “to cause confusion and panic”, are not more successful. In this, as in the chapter by Loren Lomasky, are echoes of Ronald Reagan’s crude notion of terrorism as a coordinated international conspiracy: the notion of a singular, nihilistic and mindless plot against the “free world”. Annette Baier views the definitional problem rather more simply, using non-conventional non-sexist language but conventional politics. There is no mystery as to who is a terrorist: “She is a violent demonstrator”. Terrorism is thus fringe and illegitimate violent dissent.

While it is not discussed in this book, terrorism might be thought to represent particular techniques of political violence, as the notion seems to have developed popularity in the 1970s following a series of aircraft hijackings. Such a technical definition, however, would also have failed, as it was neither Palestinian groups nor the Baader-Meinhof group which invented aircraft hijackings. In December 1954 Israeli jets captured a Syrian airliner and held the passengers hostage in exchange for the release of captured Israeli soldiers. This act by a state was said at the time to be without precedent.

Other chapters treat issues such as the “innocence” of victims, the fundamental moral issue of justifiable killing, and the question of whether those that commit acts of violence place themselves outside the protection of civil society. Thomas Hill rejects the absolute Kantian view that one must approach such moral issues with clean hands; Kantian morality may countenance endangering the lives of innocents in response to terrorist immorality, he concludes. Many of the questions of the book are thus phrased: the moral dilemmas of the US state in dealing with violent dissent and rebellion in its metropolis and periphery.

Broadly speaking, the papers treat terrorism as a relatively homogeneous phenomenon, rather than a politically constructed term. Is terrorism more a slogan than an institution? This is one of several important questions not addressed here.

TIM ANDERSON*

A Sparrow's Flight — the memoirs of Lord Hailsham of St Marylebone, by Lord Hailsham (Quinton Hogg), Collins, London, 1990.

This is not a book which having read one puts aside and turns to the next. It lingers on. Passages come back to your mind. Recollection of philosophies disguised as thoughts interrupt other activities not in the short term, but over a lengthy period. The work is so full of the reminiscences of one man’s life, to date, that an awful task is presented to one who is asked to review in a critical sense (constructive, I hope) the outpouring of ambition, disappointment, love, achievement, faith and hope all mixed with a reticence and lack of confidence in the author’s ability alone to achieve an end. All too often the

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author recites fate, chance, political whim as dictating his selection or future path. His heritage, training and intellect decree otherwise.

This collection of "Memoirs" is not a straight autobiography, that is, the writings of one's own history or the story of one's life written by himself. It was not, as I see it, intended so to be. The author is too introspective, too certain in his expressed views and opinions, too damning in his criticism of others, such as:

The only word of truth in this extraordinary summary was that during the debate in which he had clearly lost the argument, Rab (Mr R Butler) did in fact ask me to press the matter to a vote ...

My principal opponent winding up for the government on the first day was Dick Crossman, my exact contemporary at Oxford, brilliant in scholarship and with outstanding brains, but utterly devoid of principle or moral convictions ...

But this would have been an act of disloyalty [retiring from his candidature for a doctorate at Cambridge], to those offered the honour and an admission on my part that this calumny inspired by atrabillious political spleen had some measure of substance in it ...

Profumo was the victim of a really foul conspiracy between the late Dick Crossman (utterly unscrupulous) and the late George Wigg (positively evil) and some shockingly bad advice from friends and advisers who should have known better.

He was and is unable to countenance a view as being correct or acceptable other than his own. This does not mean that he is not able to accommodate himself to what he sees as adverse appreciation of a situation. He can, otherwise he would not have lived and savoured of the challenges that have been presented to him.

Lord Hailsham, some time known as Quinton Hogg, is an individual. A true person with few peers. He has largely let circumstances, so he says, dictate his professional and political life, be it that he, under the direction and guidance of his father, also at one time Lord Chancellor, equipped himself well for the tasks conferred upon him. But, "I wished ... so far as possible to stand on my own feet and so far as possible not to be beholden to others, not even to my parents." He says that at an early time, his aim was to practice at the bar, and in due course, take silk, and in further due course, be elevated to the Bench. He followed these paths. However, his active career at the bar was in years short and punctuated by military service, elected office as a Member of the House of Commons and assumption of the hereditary titles conferred upon his father and thence a seat in the House of Lords. He vacated the latter to return to the Commons. He returned to the Lords on his own decree, a House which:

provides a model of civilised, thoughtful and well-informed discussion on public affairs, a real limitation of the party system which, left to the Commons, may well convert parliament which under our constitution, has no limitation on its legal powers into a single party, single chamber, elective dictatorship in the form of eastern European model.

As he passed through the stages of his life, Lord Hailsham gave of himself to each. He does not in his "Memoirs" show other than that he was able to and did make much of adversity as he did of perceived opportunity. His time in the armed forces was short but to him eventful. He probably gained personally more than he gave, this through no fault of

his own but rather because he was not chosen to place himself at greater risk. His time at the bar as a junior and in his early years was not eventful, but

during my last years as a junior at the bar, my practice, although very general in character, had a very solid basis in personal injury cases, mainly road accidents and employer's liability. I was employed by most of the insurance companies for defendants, and by some trade unions and others for plaintiffs. But following my father's advice, there was almost no type of work I did not take. I had plenty of crime (mainly Attorney General's briefs for the Prosecution) and divorce. I had a nice line in Privy Council appeals (mainly from Canada). I appeared before numerous public local inquiries and before professional advisory bodies, like the general medical council and one or two ecclesiastical cases about the union of benefices.

He was a keen member of his chambers. He speaks of a practice sufficient with his parliamentary salary to maintain self, wife and children (five in the fullness of time). His career as a silk ranks little mention, although the law reports show his appearance in a number of significant cases. As he puts it:

but for the main, I followed my plan of pursuing my professional career. In spite of the frequent breaks in this caused by military service in the war and my short period of junior office after it, this really took off after 1950, and although I suffered the inevitable decline in income which followed my taking silk in 1953 (for the time being I lost my lucrative junior practice in personal injuries) my practice was beginning to build up quite nicely before the end of 1955.

Perhaps in his own mind, the events politic, he then being on the opposition benches with a labour government in power, prevented in hindsight a more significant recollection.

Without any doubt from his "Memoirs", and apart from his love for wife and family, politics has been the leading determinant of his life and career. He has been and will remain a conservative wedded to tradition and the value of precedent and evolution. He holds a strong belief in the monarchy and the part it can and does play in the constitutional life of a country.

Could anyone but a royal representative have played the robust part of Sir John Kerr in effecting a dissolution of both Houses in Australia in 1975? Evidently Gough Whitlam thought not and in consequence into the dreary wastes of republicanism in which so far from being the ultimate safeguard of constitutional rule, the President would be permanently at the mercy of the transitory tenant of the office of Prime Minister.

Lord Hailsham is not a devotee of the welfare state:

By 1979 the welfare state (in the United Kingdom) was inadequate both in scope and in sources of finance. Quite apart from this was the need to accept that the philosophy of equality is quite incompatible with liberty, and the gospel of uniformity quite inconsistent with progress and a sure producer of shortage.

He was and is not one for radical reform, although as Lord Chancellor he sought to change the structure of the judiciary,

despite the innate caution and conservatism of my disposition, more changes I believe had been effected in the judiciary, the office itself, the profession, and the substantive and procedural law of the land during my two terms as chancellor than under any other occupant of the Woolsack ... Law is a family mansion whose upkeep requires constant maintenance and repair, as well demolition and extension.

the administration of family law,

The real trouble about the proliferation of divorces is partly that parties who enter into a marriage only too often do so without a real intention to make it permanent, and too often allow a temporary quarrel or a casual and perhaps almost venial act of infidelity to be made the occasion of a permanent separation ... the real problem was to make the unavoidable consequences of a broken marriage more tolerable to the parties and their children without unnecessarily undermining the public interest which lies in the permanence of the marriage bond

and to reorganise the criminal courts.

As Quinton Hogg, he sat in the Commons being given responsibility for education, science and home affairs (the latter be it in a shadow capacity). As Lord Hailsham (for the second time) he led the House and was the adviser, nay confidante, to Prime Ministers. He represented Britain at the discussions that led to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. He attended meetings of Commonwealth law officers when Attorney General. He sought to restructure the system of tertiary education in England and Wales, and the place that science and technology should occupy in the scheme of things. There permeates throughout the work a Christian ethic. From his reticence to place blame upon any person for the tragic death of his wife in Australia:

The Christian religion is not a painkiller, no analgesic, no patent medicine. It is not there to make tolerable the intolerable suffering that, at one time or another, we all undergo in this world. It is not to be abandoned because we are in pain. The cross was suffered without an anaesthetic, and so have our several and lesser Calvaries. Christianity does not cure the toothache or alleviate sea-sickness. It did not prevent the cry of dereliction from the cross. Why then should it reduce the pain of bereavement? ... I continued to pray, to go to church, to attend communion. I did not suffer less thereby, but I was very conscious that, had I not followed these disciplines, I would have suffered even more because I would have despaired at the nature of things and not merely suffered from the course of events

to his acceptance of alleged unwarranted and false criticism of his conduct and behaviour on various occasions and his declining to return in kind, Lord Hailsham reveals a character devoid of malice, long in patience, be it lacking in preparedness to accept that he could be wrong and others (labour and socialist alike) right.

The book should be read by all who wish to understand the transition in British political thought and action from pre-World War II days to the Thatcher years. He is an ardent admirer of Mrs Thatcher:

When I resigned from the chancellorship in 1987, I wrote to her in admiration that she had succeeded in changing the face of British politics. She has in fact done more than that. She has halted and perhaps reversed the decline in British prestige throughout the world which had followed the retreat from empire, the volte-face over Suez, our long exclusion from the European community, and our repeated and seemingly endemic economic crises largely caused, at least in my eyes, by our inability to cope with trade union selfishness and the repeated attempts at domination ... but I wish to pay her tribute.

The work is long; it is crammed full of reminiscences. It is warmed by the opinion and frank revelations of the author, as if he had a desire, a need, to tell all. Yet it is more. It

tells of the power of politics and of the unfortunate trend of politicians and bureaucrats (the executive) away from the third stream in our democratic society, the judiciary.

Since [the Glorious Revolution] the legislature and the executive have become inextricably intertwined while the judiciary has been left out on a limb as the weakest power in the trinity ... The judges are far the weakest and the most vulnerable to attack both from the executive and from individual members of both Houses. It is the function of the Lord Chancellor to hold the balance between the three (legislature, executive and judiciary), and for this purpose, to retain the confidence of all three elements in the equation: his colleagues in the Cabinet, both Houses of Parliament and the judiciary, which independence and impartiality it is his duty to protect.

It tells of the law and the legal profession,

... and I believe sincerely that we are insufficiently aware of the extent that our own professionals, whether judges or advocates, show a shiny example to the rest of the world, and the extent to which that shiny example is the direct product of the particular internal arrangements which excite most criticism from members of the public and the media

and does not balk at highlighting the perceived blemishes as seen in the 1970s and still into the 1980s, even be it that by 1987 (the year of his retirement) much reform had been accomplished. But overall there is, through the years of schooling, university, reading for the bar, political campaigning, soldiering and family living, a constant morality of fairness, integrity, honesty and loyalty and a belief that:

there is a divinity which shakes our ends, rough hew them how we will ...

... without some element of conviction, faith cannot exist. But basically faith is trust. It is founded on a conscious reliance on the ultimate rationality and goodness of things, and it involves continuous action, commitment, prayer, communication, and above all, love. Without it, life is a tale told by an idiot full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

As with the "Memoirs", so perhaps with the author, the passage through time lends interest and significance to his activities and effective involvement in matters public. He is a philosopher more than a raconteur,

... I have had a pretty good innings, and a full and satisfying career, and although I miss the fun and strain and responsibility of office, it would be churlish in me not to express a profound sense of thankfulness at the opportunities I have enjoyed ... I have now reached the end of the road. I must now bring my narrative to its appointed end ... There is nothing morbid in recognizing that in front of me there is nothing but increasing dependence on the love and support of others, and there is nothing but love and gratitude that I can hope to offer in return ... As I approach the throne of the ineffable, the more mere words fail to express my inmost feelings, and I take refuge in metaphor, in poetry, in music, in admiration for beauty in a landscape, in a sunset, in the plumage of a bird or a butterfly, in the works of man in stone, in colour, in sound. ... I do not know. I do not pretend to know. But I trust, and therefore I believe.

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