

## BOOK REVIEWS

Stohl, Michael and George A. Lopez, eds. *The State As Terrorist: The Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984.

This book had its genesis in the May 1982 meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association in Milwaukee, Wisconsin where eight of the nine essays contained in this volume were first presented. Drs. Stohl and Lopez, Associate Professors of Political Science at Purdue University and Earlham College, respectively, contend that increased scholarly concern with political terrorism over the past fifteen years "has concentrated primarily on the problem of insurgent and anti-state terrorism. Relatively little recent work has focused concern on the problem of terrorism as it relates to the activities of nation-states in forms other than what has been labeled counterterrorism."

*The State As Terrorist* examines the use of violence, repression, and terrorism by the state in the pursuit of domestic and international interests. Drs. Stohl and Lopez maintain that terrorism, "the purposeful act or threat of violence to create fear and/or compliant behavior in a victim and/or audience of the act or threat," is a very special form of state violence and behavior. Although oppression, repression, and terrorism may be concurrent and coordinated policies and actions, they are nonetheless different phenomena and should be distinguished. With this premise, the scholars who have contributed to this book examine "the elusive and complex issue of state terror."

The chapters comprising the book represent philosophical, descriptive and national examples of the dynamics of governmental violence called state terror. One author argues that there are serious conceptual problems confronting social scientists in their attempts to distinguish among terrorism, oppression and repression. In exploring the international political system as the arena in which state terror policies unfold, another author concludes that the state terror mechanism has greater impact on international politics than insurgent terrorism. Geographic studies dealing with Latin America, the Philippines, South Africa and the United States offer a variety of descriptive and explanatory insights into the dynamics of governmental violence. The concluding chapter of the book addresses the substantive and methodological issues that future scholars interested in the study of state terror must explore. A four page bibliographic essay provides valuable reference sources for those who seek additional readings in the general areas of authoritarianism, genocide, and data collections on state terror.

*The State As Terrorist* is written for the academic community and specifically for those whose interests lie in the systematic study of political violence. Unfortunately, it will miss most of the audience who have a professional need for a better understanding of how to respond to

the terrorist phenoma, namely, the members of the U.S. policy community.

James B. Motley, Ph.D.  
Director,  
Terrorist Research and Low-Intensity Conflict  
National Institute for Public Policy

Shultz, Richard H. and Roy Godson. *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy*. McLean, Virginia: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 1984.

Since the mid-1970s, when newly-opened World War II documents revealed the widespread use of deception by the allies, the study of deception has evolved into something of an academic and journalistic cult. The range of published works is both vast and eclectic. It includes personal memoirs,<sup>1</sup> journalistic exposés,<sup>2</sup> written with the flavor of a thriller, and dense, often highly theoretical, scholarly analyses.<sup>3</sup> Much of the focus has been on the practice of deception in wartime, but it is clear from studies already published that deception has had, and continues to have, a wide variety of potential applications in diplomacy, in intelligence activities and in other international relations short of war. It is in this context that *Dezinformatsia* endeavors to make its contribution.

The term *dezinformatsia*, which translates easily from the Russian as 'disinformation,' marks one of a number of *aktivnyye meropriatia*, active measures, those covert and overt techniques — up to and including some military actions short of actual war — thought to be employed by Soviet diplomatic and intelligence services to deceive and manipulate international opponents. Western governments often are the particular targets of *dezinformatsia* activities and this book, authored by Richard Shultz and Roy Godson, attempts to illustrate exactly how the Soviet Union uses these techniques to its best advantage.

Following a brief introduction, the authors define and describe active measures and their place in Soviet strategy, foreign policy and national security framework. The third chapter consists of a content and context analysis of overt Soviet propaganda themes directed against specified western audiences over a two-decade period from 1960-1980. This exercise reveals a remarkable consistency in propaganda themes, reflecting a highly negative portrayal of American and NATO policies, even during the period of so-called 'detente.' During this era, Soviet propaganda developed in complexity, sophistication and flexibility, while maintaining uniformly high intensity.

Chapter four describes several active measures/disinformation campaigns carried out by the use of agents of influence, forged documents and certain international front organizations, the direction of which might be plausibly denied. Considerable attention is given to the