

In a sense, then, Buchan's book suffers from the same problem as American, Western European, and Japanese diplomacy: it was struck from the blind side by the Price Revolution of 1972-75 and all its implications. Both the book and Western diplomacy perceive certain directions in which policy must go. But the intellectual and political foundations for policies to match the new agenda are thin and uncertain. The older balance-of-power tasks remain: SALT and assuring stability in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. But the constructs of September 1973 no longer suffice. It is a virtue of Buchan's study that, while framed by these constructs, it also contributes to the search for new perspectives and policies.

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LES INSTITUTIONS SOVIÉTIQUES. By *Michel Lesage*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975. 128 pp. Paper.

Michel Lesage, France's most prominent specialist on the Soviet governmental system, assesses the current Soviet scene in this new popular text. The author believes that the Soviet system serves as an important model for much of the socialist world, that Soviet political institutions are in transition from Stalin's model to some modified form because of urbanization and an increase in the number of Soviet scientists and technocrats, and that goals have changed from a desire for rapid and radical overthrow of traditional institutions to a mere "bending" of existing forms to meet the new needs. The Communist Party is seen as changing its role from an authority imposing its will on the public to one of mediator between various social groupings, searching for an equilibrium acceptable to all. Today's emphasis is upon stability of relationships with ever-increasing recourse by the party to discussions among these groupings prior to the issuance of final directives. The debate today is between those favoring equilibrium in arms with the West rather than absolute supremacy; between those preferring investment in consumer goods rather than heavy industry; and between those favoring an increase in the local soviets' authority to provide lodging and services rather than central direction of the entire administration. In short, Lesage sees the revolution from above as largely over.

The state constitution promised by Brezhnev for 1976 is, in Lesage's view, unlikely to introduce organizational changes. Rather, it will confirm in law changes already occurring in economics and in the social, cultural, and political systems. It may resolve some debates, however—notably those over economic administration, where there is no agreement on the modalities of increasing productivity whether through self-financing, premiums and so forth, or through central direction. Lesage sees the trend toward a middle way through use of giant new industrial combinations to replace the smaller individual factories organized as corporate entities.

On the subject of "interest groups," brought to the fore by H. Gordon Skilling in 1960, Lesage partially agrees with Skilling. Differing "milieux" (party, administration, police, army, and so forth) whose expressed interests serve to modify the political climate are forming in Soviet society, but the party still intervenes to influence the direction in which these groups express their interests publicly. The dismissal of *Novyi mir's* editor, Tvardovskii, is seen as an indication of the limita-

tions on group expression. Lesage finds that most writers exercise self-censorship publicly, preferring to argue behind closed doors to neutralize the censor's office. Only a few like Solzhenitsyn speak out.

As for law enforcement, Lesage finds that the party, in principle, refrains from intervention in individual cases, but it guides the judges and procurators through directives. Lesage sees the Ministry of Justice, re-created in 1970 after a ten-year gap, restoring centralized administrative influence through its power to nominate and transfer higher level judges.

The great question, in Lesage's view, is whether today's Soviet leaders have the capacity to adapt sufficiently to the evolution of technology and of Soviet man, or whether they are to fall behind the public's social and political aspirations. He cites Soviet and Western commentary on this subject and concludes that there is evidence of a modification in attitudes created by public desires for better living and by technological necessity, although the institutional framework can be expected to be permanent.

This book will not shock the North American reader, for it adopts the cautious view of traditional Western scholars. No behavioral techniques are used to produce new insights, although the author knows the current literature of the West. His work is based primarily on what has been done statistically both within the USSR and abroad, supplemented by his participation in various round table discussions in the USSR between French scholars and their Soviet counterparts. Consequently, the book is primarily valuable to North Americans for what it confirms of their own conclusions through French eyes. It is the more remarkable because it encompasses so much in so few pages.

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THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. By *G. I. Tunkin*. Translated with an introduction by *William E. Butler*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974. xxv, 497 pp. \$20.00.

The English translation of *G. I. Tunkin's Teoriia mezhdunarodnogo prava* (Moscow, 1970) is a most welcome addition to the growing Western literature on the socialist doctrine of international law. Except, perhaps, for an earlier six-volume Soviet treatise on the general theory of international law (*Chkhikvadze*, ed., *Kurs mezhdunarodnogo prava*, Moscow, 1967), Professor Tunkin's book is the most authoritative and comprehensive restatement of the contemporary Soviet doctrine of international law. In a twenty-chapter study the author discusses such issues as: the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 on the development of general international law; the nature and essence of contemporary general international law; the international law of peaceful coexistence; international norm-creating processes; the interaction of international law, foreign policy, and diplomacy; the law of general international organizations; state responsibility under contemporary international law; and the essence and nature of the evolving socialist international law.

Many noteworthy points are made by the author, but four are of particular interest. First, contemporary general international law, as a qualitative negation of the old international law, began to take shape under the direct impact of the political and legal ideas and principles of the Great October Socialist Revolution