

to anyone interested in party membership or in the party-membership aspect of any Soviet question. As younger scholars experiment with different methodologies, one hopes that they will not forget the data problems faced by the author of this book—and most books on the Soviet Union—and that they will build upon, rather than abandon, the painstaking tradition which scholars such as Professor Rigby have developed to cope with these problems.

JERRY F. HOUGH  
Duke University

THE SOVIET PARADIGM: AN EXPERIMENT IN CREATING A MONO-HIERARCHICAL POLITY. By *Roy D. Laird*. New York: Free Press, 1970. London: Collier-Macmillan. xxviii, 272 pp. \$7.95.

Professor Laird's main purpose in setting forth a "monohierarchical paradigm" of the Soviet polity is to introduce upper-level college students to the Soviet political system as it had evolved by 1970. While this interpretive text, like others in recent years, finds the totalitarian model no longer applicable, Laird's paradigm nevertheless underscores continuing tendencies in the Soviet polity toward greater centralization and unity, such as the merger of the bureaucratic hierarchies of state and party and the "complete carrying through" of this bureaucracy into Soviet society by means of numerous "supportive adjuncts."

Beginning with a brief account of the history and physical environment that cradled the Soviet system, Laird proceeds to describe the various ideologies that have culminated in a new Soviet nationalism. "This evolving emotional cement," he says in his preface, "holds the USSR together in a way that Stalinist terror never could" (pp. xxiv-xxv). In his analysis of the state apparatus he notes especially the monolithic quality of its all-encompassing bureaucracy. The book's fourth section discusses in detail the "supportive adjuncts" to the institutions of rule, including the various "voluntary" citizen groups, unions, educational techniques, communications media, and recent social science research, stressing their influence in joining citizen and society.

Although some of the historical material is marred by inaccuracies, Laird's profound knowledge of past and present agricultural affairs provides valuable agricultural insights and leads him to emphasize the special impact of agriculture and a large rural population upon domestic politics. Agricultural institutions (for example, the MTS) are used to illustrate government operation.

In his summary evaluation, Laird concludes that current tendencies toward centralization far outweigh countertrends toward liberalization, for although terror has been abandoned as a major instrument of rule, the substitute controls of Stalin's successors appear to be "more efficient than terror and, as a result, the USSR may be a more tightly structured society than previously" (p. 208). This, briefly, is the import of Laird's paradigm.

While clearly stating his preference for an open, pluralistic society, Laird presents with great empathy and sensitivity the values of a closed, unitary system and an other-directed collectivism. Whether or not the tongue-twisting term "monohierarchical" achieves wider usage, Laird argues well for the applicability of this neutral term that abandons the aura of terror but not the exclusivist and centralist implications of "totalitarian."

The book includes a selected list of works in English related to domestic politics and a helpful glossary of Soviet terms and usages.

JAN S. ADAMS  
*The Ohio State University*

SOVETSKII KOSMICHESKII BLEF. By *Leonid Vladimirov*. Frankfurt am Main: Possev-Verlag, 1973. 211 pp. DM 14.50, paper.

THE RUSSIAN SPACE BLUFF: THE INSIDE STORY OF THE SOVIET DRIVE TO THE MOON. By *Leonid Vladimirov*. Translated by *David Floyd*. Foreword by *Anatoli Fedoseyev*. New York: Dial Press, 1973. 190 pp. \$5.95.

Only a few years ago this book would have been unbelievable and its publication impossible. Yet the author tells us that he knew of the Soviet lag and even disarray in the space-exploration efforts and their semiclever, semiclumsy camouflage for some ten years before 1966, when he, a Moscow journalist specializing in science and technology, defected to the West. Almost immediately on crossing over he tried to reveal this inside story, but Western publishers, in the words of one of them as quoted by Vladimirov, turned it down: "All I know is that Russia was first to launch a satellite, first to send a man into space, first to carry out a space flight with more than one man aboard and first to send a spaceman on a walk outside the spaceship. As for the moon, even there the Russian Lunik was the first." To cap this winning streak, the Soviet Russians were generally expected to land their cosmonauts on the moon long before any American astronauts could arrive there.

This attitude changed in 1969 when Americans made the first moon landing. To this date no Russians have followed. It was nevertheless said, in 1969–71, that the Soviets would instead concentrate on, and lead in, space stations. Yet by 1973 their Salyut was a definite failure, while America's Skylab emerged as a resounding success. Vladimirov could rightly say "I told you so," as at last his full tale of the Soviet tries and their failure, and the real reasons for this failure or at least lag, found its publishers and public.

The author makes it clear that the chief cause of the lag was (and presumably still is) the gross interference of the Communist politicians with that nation's scientists and engineers. Only the high talents and the incredible ingenuity of the spacecraft experts allowed the late Sergei Korolev and his aides to achieve whatever was achieved before 1969—despite the rulers' ignorant caprices. And the reason the false impression in the West lingered so long was (says Vladimirov) the colossal Western gullibility. Yet (we should add) the alarm—almost panic—sown by the early Soviet space successes did serve as a mighty impetus to the American space effort, which resulted in the triumphs we have witnessed since 1969.

One may offer a few exceptions to Vladimirov's thesis, among them the continuous Soviet accomplishments with their Mars spacecraft: in July–August 1973 four of these units were sent on the 300-million-mile trip. But on the whole this reviewer seconds Wernher von Braun's opinion of the book: "Fascinating, informative, and worthy of a wide readership in the United States."

The book was originally published in London in 1971 and its Russian text in Frankfurt, West Germany, in 1973. The translation by that masterful Sovietologist David Floyd is most faithful and otherwise felicitous. The English-language edition also has a brief but worthwhile foreword by Anatoli Fedoseyev, who now