

THE SOVIET SOLDIER: SOVIET MILITARY MANAGEMENT AT THE TROOP LEVEL. By *Herbert Goldhamer*. New York and London: Crane, Russak & Company and Leo Cooper Ltd., 1975. xvi, 352 pp. \$17.00, cloth. \$8.75, paper.

In surveying the strategic potential of the Soviet Union and its military forces, one topic is almost always left out of the overall evaluations and studies. Little, if anything, is ever said about the people who make up these forces. While a great deal is written about military doctrine, grand strategy, and the formidable weaponry in the Soviet arsenal, and there is much discussion about the Soviet High Command and the massive armies it controls, there is hardly a mention of the junior officers and soldiers. Indeed, very little is written about the Soviet citizenry in general, except as propagandized in the open Soviet press.

The difficulty lies in the fact that there is no single ideal representative of the Soviet system whom we can appraise and evaluate. Specific socioeconomic, racial, and national characteristics make it difficult to bring all the Soviet peoples to a common denominator. It may be that the Soviet soldier comes closer to this mark than any other group or individual. He may very well epitomize the Soviet slogan, "Men of a different breed." He is loyal to communism, enthusiastic about the social order, hard working, wholly indoctrinated, and anti-Western; in other words, he is the product of the so-called "Superior Socialist Environment." Soviet propagandists add that their soldiers are full of initiative, fanatically devoted to the Soviet regime, immune to hardships and sacrifices, politically reliable, and ever eager to sacrifice themselves for the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

In almost complete contradiction of this description, the regulations and directives for the management of military personnel take a much less optimistic view of the Soviet soldier. Western observers, who have dealt extensively with Soviet military personnel at the lower echelons, generally agree that the Soviet soldier can only be relied upon through a process of endless drill, constant prodding, and repressive discipline. Only thorough reshaping and regimentation make him an efficient fighting man.

Although the Russians have been considered good and tenacious fighters for centuries, glorification of militarism has been artificially sponsored by the state, and service in the army, as far as the masses were concerned, was—and is—looked upon as an unavoidable evil. Because of his background, the Soviet soldier is by and large an intellectually more simple person than most of his Western counterparts. He seems willing to accept severe regimentation, harsh discipline, and restricted movement as a normal part of military life. At the same time, the present-day Soviet soldier is probably more reliable politically than ever before. How well he would react to a prolonged conflict fought on foreign soil is another question. Conversely, and again it is a racial matter, the Soviet soldier, particularly if he is a Great Russian, is extremely patriotic and could be expected to respond to an invasion of the homeland with great vigor and tenacity. Even if the struggle was on the Sino-Soviet border, he would fight with determination and will as a tough, callous opponent, inured to hardship and convinced that he was righteously defending his country against aggression.

For most Western readers who do not have a command of the Russian language, there has been a lack of substantive works upon which individual assessments might be made. Dr. Goldhamer's study goes a long way in correcting this situation. Goldhamer, a senior analyst for the Rand Corporation, has put together a rather remarkable account of the life and times of the Soviet soldier and lower grade officer. He has made good use of the resources available, and shows that data exist upon which some critical judgments may be made. His affiliation with Rand obviously helped considerably in this effort, as it gave him access to a bulk of data not easily collected by the unassisted

investigator. Indeed, the book under review follows closely a Rand study entitled "Soviet Military Management at the Troop Level" prepared for the U.S. Air Force in May 1974. As Goldhamer's name appears on the original study and he credits it in the new book, there is nothing irregular about putting the material before a larger reading audience.

In this present work, the author points out a number of weaknesses evident in the current military recruitment system which the Soviets are trying to correct. Unfortunately, Goldhamer does not extend his general investigation back much beyond 1972 and, therefore, loses a great deal of historical perspective. Some will argue that the study of the past will not necessarily portray the present with any accuracy or assist in determining future trends. For the Soviets, however, change comes slowly and old ways die hard. This is especially true when Goldhamer deals with the role of the political officer in the present-day Soviet army. Additional analysis of the past would have brought forth the point that the Party has gone to great pains to maintain and legitimize its place in the military. The ups and downs that the Party has experienced indicate that participation has been most successful in peacetime and less so when the USSR is at war, Soviet propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding.

In sum, *The Soviet Soldier* is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the adversary and will serve students of the Soviet military well. Hopefully, others will follow Goldhamer's lead in preparing similar studies from available translated material.

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RUSSKAIA RELIGIOZNO-FILOSOFSKAIA MYSL' XX VEKA: SBORNIK STATEI. Edited by N. P. Poltoratskii. Slavic series, 2. Pittsburgh: Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, 1975. 413 pp. Paper.

Partiality, in both senses of the word, has been a hallmark of the historiography of Russian philosophical thought. The philosophical (metaphysical) and religious (theological as well as spiritual) aspects of modern Russian culture have been deliberately and almost totally ignored in pre-Revolutionary Russia and the Soviet Union, as well as among the politically committed liberal emigration. Even the works of writers inspired by a metaphysical and religious quest (for example, the Slavophiles, Dostoevsky, Gogol, Tolstoy) were assessed almost exclusively in terms of their social and political implications. The publication of *Vekhi* (1909) marked a sharp shift in interest that 1917 served to confirm; and, ever since, growing attention has been paid to the philosophic and religious manifestations of the so-called Silver Age. Yet, except for the two very different but towering achievements of G. Florovsky (*Puti russkogo bogosloviia*, Paris, 1937) and V. Zen'kovsky (*A History of Russian Philosophy*, English ed., 1953), which display a catholicity of interest and concern only too rare in the Russian literature on the subject, this turn toward philosophy and religion has given rise to a literature whose partiality, exclusiveness, and smugness—alas—can vie with the positivistic and radical *obshchestvennaia mysl'*. The volume under review is a fair example of this "new partiality." It has, of course, the merit of correcting Soviet distortions of Russia's philosophic heritage and of complementing Western treatments that emphasize the secular and scientific modernization of Russian thought (for example, Professor A. Vucinich's work).

The book consists of two parts, each containing separate essays by different authors, which results in a lot of overlap and some repetition. The first part, entitled