

efforts in the agricultural sphere must be judged as having enjoyed relatively little success."

As a study of the Virgin Lands program, the background to that program, and Khrushchev's role in its development, the book succeeds, and should be read by anyone interested in Soviet agricultural development. As a more general study of the Khrushchev record, and in particular of the balance among the various themes promoted by Khrushchev, this work is less satisfactory. To be fair, the author may have intended to treat only the narrower theme, but the substance of the book and the conclusions drawn suggest otherwise.

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THE SOVIET UNION SINCE THE FALL OF KHRUSHCHEV. Edited by Archie Brown and Michael Kaser. New York: The Free Press, Macmillan, 1975. xiv, 294 pp. \$13.95.

In this compendium several British scholars examine the Soviet scene during the first decade under Brezhnev. Their aim is to provide a broad readership with "a thoroughly informed, up-to-date [mid-1975] survey of the changes that have taken place . . . since Khrushchev's departure" (p. xi). While not exhaustive, the work manages effectively to cover major social, economic, and political developments of the period. Successive chapters deal with agriculture, the import of Western technology, foreign and defense policies, demographic developments, the changing composition of the Communist Party, dissent and opposition, religion, and literature. While nationality problems are not dealt with separately, relevant data appear in the articles on demography and religion. The essays by Alec Nove (on agriculture) and Peter Reddaway (on dissent) deserve special praise for their scholarship and lucidity.

Two final essays contain general assessments of the economy and polity. Unfortunately, the first of these, by Michael Kaser, will prove difficult for the reader without special knowledge of economic or Soviet affairs. Archie Brown's overview of political trends, which includes careful attention to the political implications of the earlier chapters, admirably rounds out the collection. Students will find useful the "Calendar of Political Events" (from October 14, 1964 to April 16, 1975).

This is a timely and valuable survey.

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POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES. By Michael J. Deane. New York: Crane, Russak & Company, 1977. xi, 297 pp. \$17.50.

SOVIET ARMED FORCES REVIEW ANNUAL, vol. 1, 1977. Edited by David R. Jones. Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1977. x, 277 pp. \$29.50.

Growing interest in the Soviet military has spurred Western scholars to an intensification of the research efforts needed to help shed light on this complex and often confusing subject. The two books under review approach this task from different perspectives. Michael Deane's book focuses on the role of the Main Political Administration (MPA), while the work edited by David Jones touches on many different aspects of the Soviet military.

The purpose of Deane's book is to "define types of interest groups represented by the MPA, the Party and the professional military" (p. viii). Providing a historical overview of party-army relations from 1917 to Ustinov's promotion to defense min-

ister in 1976, Deane concludes not only that the three organs qualify as interest groups, but that civilian party leaders experience continuing problems in their efforts to control them. Difficulties arise not only with the military, but also the MPA, which often sides with the professional soldiers.

Unfortunately, four major problems seriously limit this work's utility to scholars and students alike. First, Deane's understanding of interest group theory appears superficial at best. His failure to define carefully an interest group leads to constant confusion as the reader attempts to follow Deane's description of party-army interactions. Furthermore, it seems incredible to this reviewer that a book on this subject fails to mention, let alone discuss, the major debate between Roman Kolkowicz and William E. Odom over the theoretical relevance of interest group theory to party-army relations in the USSR.

A second problem arises from Deane's failure to investigate carefully the meaning of political work by the MPA during various time periods. A citation of political directives is not a sufficient foundation upon which to base a study of party-army relations. More significant would have been an analysis of the effect of these directives on party work at the company or regimental level. The necessary primary work is available, as the work of Timothy J. Colton demonstrates. This brings us to the third weakness of the book, the author's heavy reliance on secondary sources for the pre-Khrushchev period. This reviewer would argue that we are not in need of a recapitulation of past research; instead, there is a desperate need for a new, thorough analysis of *primary* documents covering party-army relations during the period. Last, the book includes some important unsubstantiated assertions, for example, that the major cause of the purges of the 1930s was "the greater professionalism and, therewith independence of the armed forces" (p. 44). Surely a major assertion requires more support than a citation from Atkinson's 1950 study of dual command in the Soviet armed forces.

The volume edited by David Jones is an effort to provide an up-to-date forum for the discussion of Soviet military affairs. It includes twenty articles on a wide variety of topics. Peter Vigor's survey of military developments in 1974 serves as the starting point. While one may not find all of his observations convincing, the essay is useful and stimulating. The articles on the various branches of the armed forces and related fields provide a review of current developments in these areas. While this reviewer is far from an expert on military hardware, the authors appear to have taken their work seriously and have done a credible job. (One nit-pick, however. On page 17 Epishev is listed as a first deputy minister of defense. As far as I know, he has never held that post.)

While some may object to the inclusion of five articles on historical or seemingly peripheral topics, such as Soviet think tanks, I found these articles useful. This is particularly true of the essays by Jacob Kipp on the Imperial Navy and David Jones on the officers and the Soviets, from 1917 to 1920. The latter article is well documented and the author's periodization will be of interest to specialists in Soviet civil-military relations. Unfortunately, his treatment of this important topic is too brief.

The book also includes bibliographic articles on the Soviet military. These articles, and particularly Jones's annotated checklist of Soviet military literature from 1965 to 1971, should prove to be a valuable source for both specialists and students alike.

This book represents an important contribution to the field of Soviet military studies. I hope that Jones continues with his plans to publish it on an annual basis. My only concern, however, is whether he will be able to attract articles of this quality under the pressure to publish a volume on an annual basis.

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