

nationalities." He holds that the key issue is "whether closely related and inter-mixed peoples can, regardless of past differences, find ways to live at peace with one another while cooperating for the common good. . . ." He does not make clear why this problem is peculiar to Yugoslavia.

After a brief, rather sketchy introduction Shoup surveys the CPY's positions on the nationalities question from 1919 through 1966, making a side trip into that morass of domestic and international politics known as the Macedonian question. He considers, extensively, the important relationship between economics and the central goal: national unity.

Viewing Tito as "the first real Yugoslav leader," Shoup defines Titoism as a "unique Yugoslav form of socialism, more authoritarian than totalitarian. . . ." He notes that Titoist reforms giving regional and local authorities responsibilities they did not have before 1949 caused "national relations" to worsen. Decentralization of the economy fostered a new spirit—"a combination of old national feelings and a new nationalism. . . ." The relaxation of Stalinist-type controls made it easier for artists and intellectuals to express, openly and forcefully, their preference for narrow national themes over Marxist or Communist subjects.

If the burgeoning of cultural nationalism distressed the CPY, the growth of economic nationalism even further discomfited the party leadership. At the same time that economic reforms failed to ameliorate major differences between the developed and underdeveloped areas of the country they also encouraged competition among the six republics to the detriment of Yugoslav industrial development as a whole. Shoup doubts whether the reforms will ever reduce the political temperature to a level conducive to the growth of a healthy economy.

Asking why a "liberal form of communism" should seem to be "succumbing to the sterile pattern of national conflict which so weakened the interwar regime," Shoup offers a number of explanations. All of them are interesting, but all are peripheral to the question he raises.

The author is at his best in interpreting the tortuous reasoning and dreary prose of party theoreticians. Despite his acknowledgment that the sources of national conflict arise largely from historical experiences, his failure to bring into focus those factors of history and political sociology prevents him from coming to grips with the central question: of what does national unity consist? Or to put it differently: under what conditions does federalism flourish?

The present study is a highly satisfactory start that will frequently be consulted by students of East European history and politics.

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YUGOSLAVIA: PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. By *F. E. Ian Hamilton*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. xvi, 384 pp. \$8.00.

It is usually difficult to muster enthusiasm for reading a work on economic geography, but Professor Hamilton's work has all the intrigue and flow of a novel. This is not to imply that it is light reading—far from it. The book is such a masterful display of scholarship, and so well written, that even the footnotes are interesting. The prime object of the study "is to present the aims and methods of planning in this socialist state, and to assess its achievements in the distribution and location of economic activity." To achieve this task, Hamilton begins the study with a description of the historical, demographic, and physical environment of Yugoslavia.

In this section he establishes the inheritance that has shaped the postwar development of the country, including the legacies of foreign domination and exploitation as well as the impact of Soviet ideology. One of his interesting conclusions is that although the Soviet model created a proclivity for emphasizing so-called heavy industry, this emphasis happily coincided with the developmental potential of Yugoslavia in the early postwar period.

Parts 2 and 3 of the book contain a careful analysis of the economic policy and development of Yugoslavia since 1945. The various sectors of the economy are minutely described, full attention being given both to actual developments and to potentials for development. The material is treated in a way that makes clear the relations between such factors as resources, population, transportation facilities, and industrial and agricultural progress.

The Yugoslav economy, though it has achieved quite respectable rates of growth in national income and in industrial and agricultural output, has been plagued by serious problems arising from an imbalance in the economy—chronic balance of payments problems, inflation, and low capital and labor productivity. These problems have many causes, but the cause that Hamilton is most concerned with is that of the spatial distribution of economic activity. His first-rate analysis of this matter sheds a good deal of light on both the achievements and the failures of the Yugoslav experiment with a fairly decentralized socialist system. Resource misallocations arising from decentralization are clearly defined, as is the failure of the government's policy to close the gap between the advanced and the backward regions of the country. But these issues are treated in the context of the feasibility of better performance, given the potentials that exist. One can only hope that Hamilton's work receives wide circulation among those interested in questions of economic development and economic planning, and among Yugoslav policy-makers in particular.

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THE ORIGINS OF SOCIALISM. By *George Lichtheim*. New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. xii, 302 pp. \$6.95, cloth. \$2.95, paper.

NATIONALISM & SOCIALISM: MARXIST AND LABOR THEORIES OF NATIONALISM TO 1917. By *Horace B. Davis*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1967. xiv, 258 pp. \$7.50.

A century of disputation and exegesis has not exhausted the fascination of the socialist tradition for scholars and revolutionary activists alike. Thanks to the existence of powerful governments espousing Marxism-Leninism (in one form or another) as their official faith, the meaning of Marxist theory in particular remains a lively question for historical and philosophical judgment. Nevertheless, the actual relevance of socialist theory to the present Communist regimes has not been satisfactorily settled.

One great myth is only now being erased inadvertently by the New Left—the conviction that the industrial working class is the principal natural vehicle for the socialist reconstruction of society. Lenin was right about the workers—left to themselves they can rise only to trade-union consciousness. In *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (1961) George Lichtheim recounted Marx's quest for a revolutionary social force to implement his ideal, and the theory of inevitable