

GERMANY'S OSTPOLITIK: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. By *Lawrence L. Whetten*. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1971. x, 244 pp. \$6.50, paper.

The purpose of this study is "to trace the transition in West German relations with the Warsaw Pact countries by examining the positions of the principal states on the key divisive issues of the previous two decades"—that is, 1950–70. In line with this objective the author surveys the ups and downs of Bonn's *Ostpolitik*, culminating in the signing of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw in the second half of 1970.

Although the events leading up to the two historic treaties are not unfamiliar and have been ably analyzed by others, Professor Whetten performs a useful task not only in bringing together the various elements in the complex matrix of East-West negotiations but also in focusing primarily on West Germany as the key actor in the crucial period 1966–70. In this sense his study complements Fritz Ermarth's perceptive analysis of Soviet intentions regarding West Germany (*Internationalism, Security, and Legitimacy: The Challenge to Soviet Interests in East Europe, 1964–1968*). Moreover, the author, who apparently knows at least six East European languages, is able to cite original Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Rumanian, Slovak, and Soviet sources, thus presenting a fairly comprehensive coverage of the views and attitudes of the Warsaw Pact members in addition to those of West Germany and its allies.

So much for the plus side. On the minus side, the study is largely descriptive, and whatever analysis there is tends to be convoluted and often confusing. One possible reason is that judging from the documentation the book was written in a hurry, presumably to make it "current" and "relevant." Furthermore, despite the author's disclaimer that his intention was "not to establish guidelines or models for predicting behavior," he cannot resist the temptation to look into his crystal ball. But he succeeds only in raising more questions than he answers. Moreover, by focusing primarily on West Germany he tends to exaggerate the importance and influence of the Federal Republic at the expense of the United States and France, whose policies toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe get rather short shrift. It is one thing to emphasize Bonn's independent foreign policy, which to be sure represented a major change from the past, and another to disregard similar "bridge-building" initiatives of at least three American presidents and Charles de Gaulle, all of which in a sense legitimized the *Ostpolitik*.

ANDRZEJ KORBONSKI
University of California, Los Angeles

ICH BIN BÜRGER DER DDR UND LEBE IN DER BUNDESREPUBLIK.
By *Barbara Grunert-Bronnen*. Munich: R. Piper, 1970. 129 pp. DM 6.

REISE NACH ROSTOCK, DDR. By *Erika Runge*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1971. 342 pp. DM 8.

HONECKER: PORTRÄT EINES NACHFOLGERS. By *Heinz Lippmann*. Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1971. 271 pp. DM 20.
HONECKER AND THE NEW POLITICS OF EUROPE. By *Heinz*