

analyses differing in several interesting details both from the approaches characteristic of American scholarship and from the views of most English and West German observers of the European Communist scene.

The overall treatment of Communist regimes is the principal defect of this volume. Its generalizations on ideology cannot apply at all to Greece and Turkey (which therefore should have been excluded altogether), and in the case of Yugoslavia and Albania different methods of study and examination are required. The chapter on Czechoslovakia is wholly invalidated by the events of August 1968 and their aftermath, and the treatment of Hungary is far weaker than the more substantial coverage of Bulgaria and Rumania.

The Hungarian-born author of *Eagles in Cobwebs*, now an Austrian citizen living in Vienna, offers a sophisticated analysis of the Balkans' oldest and most endemic political problem: the irrepressible force of nationalism. The central theme of the book is clearly stated: "The Balkans have been a traditional storm center. The twin assault of a Communist takeover and Soviet domination has not 'solved' the national problem. On the contrary, it has intensified national animosities" (p. xii).

The author concentrates on the Yugoslav, Albanian, and Rumanian case studies of dissidence and defiance, showing almost conclusively that the rise of nationalism has led to a dramatic decline of Soviet influence not only in this region but also (by ideological osmosis) in neighboring countries. Although Czechoslovakia was clearly beyond the scope of this investigation focused on the "southern tier," Lendvai's views on Dubček-era patterns of Czech and Slovak nationalism should be of interest to the profession in view of the August 1968 events and the current occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The chapters on Yugoslavia are probably the most useful and relevant among the "linkage-studies" of nationalism and communism. The discussion of the Yugoslav "party in search of a role" is among the best this reviewer has seen. In it Yugoslav legal theory and its practical political application are juxtaposed in an interesting fashion. The Rumanian and Bulgarian sections are not up to this standard and occasionally are open to reinterpretation, if not correction.

This is a valuable study, but the approach taken is essentially journalistic. Not to speak of the incredible title (quite misleading, by the way), there are too many East Central European-style anecdotes, stories, and asides. The absence of even a minimal degree of documentation is also disturbing if there is any expectation that the book will be used in college classes. If this is not the intent, and the volume is offered as a trade book, it can serve as a clever ideological-political Baedeker of four of the world's most nationalism-ridden countries.

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THE FUTURE OF COMMUNISM IN EUROPE. Compiled and edited by R. V. Burks. The Franklin Memorial Lectures, vol. 17. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968. 283 pp. \$7.95.

DAS SELBSTBESTIMMUNGSRECHT DER VÖLKER IN OSTEUROPA UND CHINA. Edited by Boris Meissner. Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1968. 237 pp. DM 32.

Each of these volumes is the result of a symposium. The first consists of five essays that in 1966-67 were delivered as the Leo M. Franklin Memorial Lectures

at Wayne State University. The second is composed of fourteen papers read at the December 1965 annual meeting of the Studiengruppe für Ostrecht at the University of Hamburg. Although the volumes deal with quite different subjects, most of their contents refer to the same geographical area: the Soviet Union and its European satellites.

The contributions to *The Future of Communism in Europe* were written by three professors, one researcher from the RAND Corporation, and one from Radio Free Europe. The pitfall of such symposia is that in most cases they do not manage to cover the entire intended field. Kevin Devlin (Radio Free Europe) opens the discussion with an expert appraisal of the impact of the complex developments in the international Communist movement after Stalin's death on the West European parties. Professor Michael B. Petrovich presents Tito's "heresy" in the light of the 1965–66 economic reforms in Yugoslavia. As for an analysis of the situation in the European Communist parties, not all the parties are covered, and since the symposium was held things have changed in the Communist world.

Professor Gregory Grossman's contribution on the interplay of economics and politics in the Communist countries is a valuable appraisal of the application of the Soviet economic paradigm to the European satellites, particularly Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. He concludes that the application of the Soviet model to the East European economies was a failure. As a result, "all of Eastern Europe (including the USSR itself) is in flux" (p. 137). The essay by Arnold L. Horelick (RAND Corporation), "Fifty Years After October: Party and Society in the USSR," is a well-written postscript to the many papers and books published earlier for the Soviet anniversary. His speculations on the direction in which the USSR will move in future years are interesting—but remain only speculations.

Professor R. V. Burks, the organizer of the symposium and editor of its papers, contributes a fine and concise survey of the more important events in the European Communist parties since the Truman Doctrine was announced in 1947, drawing conclusions from the findings of the other lecturers. He stresses the controversies and contradictions in the situation of European Communist parties in 1967. But still, he does not succeed in his attempt "to assemble the elements of a forecast on the future of Communism in Europe" (p. 12). He can be consoled, however, with the result of previous findings that a forecast of political developments in a totalitarian system is simply impossible. Nevertheless, the volume makes interesting reading.

*Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker in Osteuropa und China* is a keen study of the legal status of minorities in eight Communist-ruled states: the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic, and China. In addition, there are four articles discussing the views and writings of Soviet, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian international law specialists on the right of self-determination. The articles are short and give clear descriptions of the development and the 1965 status of minority rights in the aforementioned countries. They are full of references to local sources. The volume fills a gap in the voluminous Western literature on post-1945 Eastern Europe. The two papers on China appear to be welcome contributions to a sparsely covered subject.

The right to self-determination is a subject of perennial discussion and has its own history, from the programs and resolutions of various European socialist parties long before World War I up to the unanimous adoption by the United

Nations General Assembly of a Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in December 1966. The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 met some demands for self-determination and added a short-lived international protection of minorities limited to about a dozen "new" states.

Lenin used the slogan of self-determination as a vehicle for imposing on many national minorities in Russia a tie with the Soviet "federation" before the "union" status of 1924 was established. Stalin repeated this in 1940 with the Baltic states. After World War II, when Soviet influence was dominant in Eastern Europe, only Tito adopted the Soviet model. The other Communist-ruled countries limited protection of minority rights to short stipulations in their constitutions and issued internal legislation providing minority rights in cultural matters. So, for example, the DDR issued several laws and decrees securing special rights for the small group of Lusatian Sorbs. Czechoslovakia, where the separatist demands of the Slovaks have a sad history, solved this matter only after the pertinent article was written. Mao Tse-tung, also, did not follow the Soviet model despite the fact that some of the thirty-five million non-Chinese form a definite majority in large areas. Limited territorial autonomy is all that they received from the central government.

The volume, edited by the well-known authority on Soviet and East European law and government, Professor Boris Meissner, deals very thoroughly with the subject. It concludes with a name index.

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PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET SOCIETY. Edited by *Allen Kassof*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. A publication of the Council on Foreign Relations. x, 582 pp. \$3.95, paper.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND THEIR SOCIETY: FROM 1917 TO THE PRESENT. By *Pierre Sorlin*. Translated by *Daniel Weissbord*. New York, Washington, and London: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. x, 293 pp. \$7.00.

THE ROADS TO RUSSIA: UNITED STATES LEND-LEASE TO THE SOVIET UNION. By *Robert Huhn Jones*. Foreword by *Edgar L. Erickson*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. xix, 326 pp. \$6.95.

The eighteen essays in *Prospects for Soviet Society* provide an extremely useful stocktaking of current Soviet reality, seen in historical perspective. They will enable scholars to obtain reliable judgments in areas bordering their own. As an authoritative review, the book seems sure to figure in many reading lists for a variety of courses. The analysis is on a high level, strewn with thoughtful insights and set forth with graceful precision. The papers were first written in 1965, revised in 1966, and put in final form by July 1967. They address themselves in part to prospects for the next decade or so, from the vantage point of the mid-1960s.

The volume is a substantial and well-organized whole, complete with solid footnotes and a thorough index. The two essays in part 1 ("Soviet Society After Fifty Years") are "Persistence and Change" by Allen Kassof and "Soviet Society: A Comparative View" by Cyril E. Black. Part 2 takes up the "Formation and Control of Policy": "The Party and Society" by Jeremy R. Azrael, "Interest Groups" by Sidney I. Ploss, "Law and Society" by Leon Lipson, "The Military" by Thomas W. Wolfe, and "The Non-Russian Nationalities" by Vernon V.