

ever, the work is extremely rewarding and indeed vital to students of economic and social change in the region.

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POLITICAL GROUPING IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK REFORM MOVEMENT. By *Vladimir V. Kusin*. Political and Social Processes in Eastern Europe Series. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972. xii, 224 pp. \$11.00.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLING IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1968–69: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF SURVEYS CONDUCTED DURING THE DUBCEK ERA. By *Jaroslav A. Piekalkiewicz*. Foreword by *Barry Bede*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972. xxix, 357 pp. \$18.50.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND STRATIFICATION IN POSTWAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By *Jaroslav Krejčí*. Political and Social Processes in Eastern Europe Series. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972. xvi, 207 pp. \$11.00.

The Czechoslovak effort during 1968 to introduce and implement reform while retaining a socialist system has been of particular interest to social scientists in the West. Who were the initiators and proponents of reform within the Czechoslovak political system? What role did the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ) play in the reform movement? To what extent was it pushed toward reform by societal forces? To what extent did it have the support of organized groups and the public at large? Was it compelled to introduce reforms too precipitously and against its more measured judgment?

Kusin's *Political Grouping in the Czechoslovak Reform Movement* and Piekalkiewicz's *Public Opinion Polling in Czechoslovakia, 1968–69* provide some answers to these questions, based on public opinion surveys and on a close reading of the Czechoslovak press. Krejčí's *Social Change and Stratification in Postwar Czechoslovakia* presents some very useful data and interpretation of radical social reform under Communist rule, but unfortunately does not link up this discussion to the 1968 events very successfully.

Kusin, presently at the University of Glasgow, offers a survey of seven major nongovernmental political interest groups, their internal development during 1968 (including recognition of shared attitudes and concerns), and the influence each seems to have had on the 1968 KSČ-led reform movement. He argues from the outset that interest groups do exist in Communist-ruled states. Their cohesion and unity of opinion may vary greatly, however, and are different from those which typically characterize groups in Western-type democratic societies. He focuses most fully on the intelligentsia (defined by Czechoslovak writers as inclusive of white collar and professional workers, and comprising about 25 percent of the working population in 1968) and concludes that though it was not tightly organized, it seems to have had the greatest impact on the reform movement. The students, considered separately, do not rate particularly high on his scale of influence and involvement in the reform, perhaps because they concentrated on bringing about some sort of joint action with industrial workers (such as was effected quite

successfully in France) but did not succeed. They thus are described as a supportive rather than an innovative group.

Kusin clearly is most interested in the role of the workers, farmers, and intelligentsia, and thus offers the greatest detail on the growth and activity of these groups. As a consequence, the reader is given a somewhat lopsided view of group influence on internal change. Nonetheless, his main conclusions—that the groups operated in a restrained manner but had a considerable effect on the government, and that the political leadership sought to counteract the groups' enhanced influence—are amply borne out by the evidence he presents.

Piekalkiewicz, a political scientist at the University of Kansas, is not concerned with the influence of groups on the Dubček regime's policy decisions, but rather with the degree to which the regime and its policies were supported by the population between March 1968 and March 1969. In examining this problem, he relies on the data collected in some twenty public opinion polls conducted in Czechoslovakia during that year. In all, about 35,000 people were interviewed, selected largely at random. Unfortunately, the author feels he can neither divulge the sources of these polls nor even describe them very adequately. He includes in the book all available data, with multitudinous tables, organized around a number of general themes. Indeed, most of the book consists of tables, with the accompanying text merely a brief summary of each one. If we assume the authenticity and reliability of the data (which must be taken on faith), the author provides some very interesting public opinion data, particularly between the August 1968 invasion of Warsaw Pact forces and the last months of Dubček's rule as first secretary of the KSC (he was replaced by Husak in April 1969). Attitudes toward continued reform, support of party leaders, and willingness to respond to polls, for example, remained constant after the invasion and began to decline only gradually in the months thereafter.

Piekalkiewicz's last chapter speculates on whether or not similar responses would obtain if the polls were taken elsewhere in the Soviet-East European bloc. He is unable to offer any concrete conclusions, and it would have been more beneficial both for the book's integrity and the reader's understanding if he had provided us with a summary of the polls' data and indicated what were to him important or unexpected findings.

Krejčí's study, too, suffers from a concluding chapter that has little relevance to those that precede it, and offers the reader virtually nothing that is new or thought-provoking. The book's main section is an examination of the new social stratification pattern which was effected under Communist rule. (Krejčí, an economist and sociologist, left Prague in August 1968 and is now at the University of Lancaster.) He clearly demonstrates that social differences (classes or strata) do exist in socialist societies, and that the citizens of these societies are willing to recognize this fact. Communist rule brought about a deliberate leveling of income and social status, but facilitated the growth of a small, powerful concentration of political and economic power, which had been unknown in the Czechoslovakia of the interwar period.

All three books are unquestionably of value to everyone interested in the development of Communist systems. Each provides data and interpretations that are not presently available elsewhere in such detail in English. The Kusin and Krejčí works are part of a comprehensive British interuniversity project on political and social processes in Eastern Europe, which includes Poland and

Yugoslavia as well as Czechoslovakia. The project is under the direction of Ghița Ionescu, a familiar name to readers interested in Communist systems and the comparative approach toward the study of them.

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FROM SADOWA TO SARAJEVO: THE FOREIGN POLICY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1866–1914. By F. R. Bridge. London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972. xvi, 480 pp. \$20.00.

After some shorter studies on the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary, Dr. Bridge of the London School of Economics published two books dealing with this subject in 1972. Of these two works the one reviewed here is the more ambitious and more comprehensive, the first recent attempt by a scholar not working in one of the successor states to review the foreign policy of the Habsburg state in its entirety. Though of course one might cite episodes that were excluded or not treated in full, it is a pleasure to state that Bridge succeeds very well in his aim and gives us a clear, comprehensive one-volume account of a very difficult and complex subject.

The author makes it perfectly clear (without explicitly saying so) that after the exclusion of Austria from German affairs the foreign policy of what was to become within a few months Austria-Hungary hinged on two basic and unalterable realities: the financial and military weakness of the state and the realization that the scope of its independent action as well as its major interest was in the Balkans. Even relations with Russia, the most crucial of all dealings with other great powers, were constantly dictated by Balkan considerations. In no other work on this subject is this fundamental consideration of Austria-Hungary's diplomacy spelled out as clearly as it is here. Once this fundamental truth is grasped, it makes perfectly good sense to use as titles for the first two chapters the names of the foreign ministers Beust and Andrásy, who had, in spite of everything, more room to maneuver before the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina than their successors who were hopelessly tied to developments in the Balkans and could not even rely on their German, let alone Italian and Rumanian, allies and had to try to find security arrangements within a strictly limited choice of possibilities. Thus the subsequent chapters are arranged in accordance with these attempts.

The book is well written and the organization of the material is excellent. Good basic bibliographies are offered in the first footnote of each chapter (supplemented by a good general bibliography at the end of the book). Also a very useful inclusion is the collection of thirty-nine basic documents to which the text refers repeatedly.

The author, quite correctly, frequently mentions internal developments when they influenced diplomacy and foreign policy. In this connection a little more attention should have been paid to details. For example, Tisza's government was not defeated in the 1905 elections by a Coalition Party but by a coalition of parties around the Independent Party (p. 270); nor was it Gołuchowski who granted the famous "five minute audience" to Hungarian statesmen but the emperor himself (same page); the details on page 297 concerning the planning and building of the Sandjak railroad are also slightly inaccurate. But these points are minor and are not connected to the major theme of the volume.

The study is based, with very few exceptions, on English and Austrian sources. The linguistic and archival barriers are much too formidable to expect anything