

LES SYSTÈMES POLITIQUES DES ÉTATS SOCIALISTES, 2 vols. By *Patrice Gelard*. Paris: Éditions Cujas, 1975. Vol. 1: LE MODÈLE SOVIÉTIQUE. xii, 372 pp. Vol. 2: TRANSPOSITION ET TRANSFORMATIONS DU MODÈLE SOVIÉTIQUE. xxiii, 335 pp. (pp. 373–708). Paper.

The two-volume textbook reviewed here offers a comprehensive view of all socialist political systems adhering to the Marxist-Leninist faith. Thus it treats the USSR, all of Eastern Europe including Albania and Yugoslavia, as well as China, Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Mongolia, but omits the socialist republics of Africa. Because it was published before the end of the Indochina war, it also fails to consider the changes wrought there since then. Even with these omissions, this is far too large a topic to be treated with any degree of adequacy in 600 or 700 small pages. Hence the books are deplorably superficial. Too many complexities are dismissed in a sentence or two or left out altogether; and many of the brief summaries are so capricious that it might have been better to omit them also.

The author discusses these political systems primarily from the point of view of constitutional law, though he does adduce a bare minimum of historical context and occasional observations about the contrast between legal or institutional fictions and the actual functioning. But there is far too little of such realism; thus the reader learns primarily about the constitutional and legal framework of socialist political systems. This is an arid and fruitless approach which American political scientists abandoned decades ago, having learned from Weber, Marx, and others to suspect this framework as an ideological screen, behind which informal relations of a very different kind go on. These books, therefore, are not likely to find admirers among American students of socialist political systems. Whether they are useful to students restricted to reading French may be doubted as well.

The general tone of this survey tends to be uncritical. While the author expresses his awareness of numerous flaws in socialist systems, on the whole he appears ready to accept much of their own self-image at face value. Thus, he can regard the Stalin constitution of 1936 as a democratization and Westernization of the USSR, justify the purges of the Lenin and Stalin periods, acknowledge the Soviet Union as the "guide and indispensable counselor of all revolutionary movements," and, in little more than a page, suggest, with some reservations, that one-party systems are democratic. Few of his American readers are likely to be convinced. But he is sufficiently critical of the socialist systems that their reviewers will dislike his books also.

The book does supply useful data about the organizational structure of these regimes. It provides the names of those who fill top positions in parties and governments. But this information tends to be out of date as soon as it is printed. Indeed, much of this work already is outdated. Moreover, there are numerous factual and typographical errors, and many faulty transliterations. The book, thin in substance, has been put together sloppily.

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IDEOLOGIEBEGRIFF UND MARXISTISCHE THEORIE: ANSÄTZE ZU EINER IMMANENTEN KRITIK. By *Peter Christian Ludz*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976. xviii, 337 pp. Paper.

Peter Christian Ludz, professor of political sociology at the University of Munich, has written what he calls "starting points to an immanent critique" of "European Marxism." Some years ago, Herbert Marcuse attempted an "immanent critique" of Soviet Marxism (*Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis* [New York, 1958])—that is, he began with the theoretical premises of Soviet Marxism and attempted to develop their