

with a specific aspect of economic reform in Hungary—determination of prices. Their special interest is in the “double channel price,” which incorporates taxes on wages and investment in the cost of production. Mescheriakoff deals with monetary policy in the Soviet system—monetary intervention administered to ensure the fulfillment of the plan—and Rogulska investigates the existence of an income policy in Poland. According to her, remuneration for labor, as in capitalist countries, is based on labor productivity and not on need. Szymkiewicz uncovers some paradoxical relationships between the international exchange and internal planning in Poland.

The third part of the volume consists of three essays by Andreff, Djurjevac, and Lavigne, dealing with some recent debates which revive certain controversies inherent in contemporary socialist systems.

The twelve contributors, who have extended the theories of planned economies by suggesting new approaches and interpretations, do not claim to cover the area, because it is too large for any research group. A great deal remains to be done. Yet, the book represents a valuable addition to presently existing literature on socialist planning in Soviet-type economies.

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NATIONALISM IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE ERA OF BREZHNEV AND KOSYGIN. Edited by *George W. Simmonds*. Detroit: University of Detroit Press, 1977. 534 pp. \$12.00, cloth. \$6.95, paper.

The noted sociologist Nathan Glazer has remarked that the problem of ethnicity ought now to be placed “at the very center of our concern for the human condition.” Much the same thought seems to have inspired the organizers of a symposium, held at the University of Detroit, the papers and proceedings of which are reproduced in the present volume. It comprises more than three dozen contributions, covering most of the major national minorities in the Soviet Union, four nationalities of Eastern Europe (Poles, Hungarians, Albanians, and Rumanians), and two national minority groups (Slovaks and Croatsians). According to the volume’s editor, all the contributors believe that “nationalism has reemerged as one of the major forces in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.” Of course, ethnicity, ethnic consciousness, and nationalism need not be synonymous terms, a fact recognized by most, but by no means all, of the contributors. In a symposium of this scope and coverage, unevenness of quality seems inevitable.

Although many of the papers are informative, only a few excel in the quality of their analysis. The latter include Tõnu Parming’s dispassionate dissection of the “collaborative response pattern” characteristic of the Estonian experience, Vahakn Dadrian’s functional analysis of religion in conjunction with his use of sociopsychological models to elucidate Armenian “ethnocentrism,” Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone’s insightful treatment of Soviet policies in Central Asia working at “cross-purposes” and, in a separate paper, her suggestive approaches to “the study of ethnic politics in the USSR,” and Zvi Gitelman’s discriminating account of “the Jewish question in the USSR since 1964.” In contrast to these contributions, a number of the other papers are largely descriptive, sometimes sketchily so, or else, in one or two cases, more partisan than scholarly in character. Several of the papers do not even purport to come to grips with the basic issues of ethnicity and nationalism. These include the papers on Poland, as well as the two contributions on Albania, which constitute exercises in “Tiranology” with respect to Albanian elite politics. While tantalizing in their own right, they do not pertain to the symposium as a whole.

Considered in its entirety, the volume fails to develop or explore theoretical approaches that would transcend particular case studies. With the partial exception

of the contributors cited above, there is precious little to fulfill the promise of "concept formation" made in the editor's preface. Closely related to this failing is the conspicuous absence of any separate investigation of the nationalism of the single largest national group, the Great Russians, who constitute a crucial political force throughout the Soviet and East European region and especially, of course, within the USSR itself. If one may, with Nathan Glazer, speak of the "universalization of ethnicity," the process is not only reactive but also interactive. The same is true with regard to the transformation of ethnic consciousness into political nationalism. No less than the national minorities in the USSR, the Russians have reacted against the hollowness of official professions of doctrinal internationalism. Moreover, Russian nationalism now interacts with the stirrings of non-Russian ethnic consciousness in the USSR and with expressions of national self-assertion in Eastern Europe. If nothing else, the present volume demonstrates how little we still know about these processes and their demographic, socioeconomic, and sociopsychological underpinnings. By the same token, it should serve to suggest how much theoretical and empirical work remains to be done on matters that do indeed directly affect the human condition throughout the entire Soviet-East European area.

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L'EMPIRE ÉCLATÉ: LA RÉVOLTE DES NATIONS EN U.R.S.S. By *Hélène Carrère d'Encause*. Paris: Flammarion, 1978. 314 pp.

In recent years Jewish and German emigration, trials of Ukrainian and Tatar "bourgeois nationalists," demands for religious freedom in Lithuania, and campaigns against "illegal" Muslim mullahs have provided ample indication that the Soviet leadership is still far from its goal of an integrated Soviet society in which national and religious factors have ceased to be significant. *L'empire éclaté: La révolte des nations en U.R.S.S. (The Shattered Empire: The Revolt of the Nationalities in the USSR)*, by the noted French student of Soviet Central Asia, Hélène Carrère d'Encause, presents a lucid survey of Soviet efforts to deal with the problem of national divergence from the days of Lenin until the present. Madame Carrère d'Encause maintains that the Soviet Union is a "virtual empire in a world where empires have vanished." It is not a state of workers and peasants, as Soviet legend claims, but rather a state of nations. The most important constituents of the Soviet state are not social classes, but nations which have continued to resist integration and increasingly assert interests that deviate from the basic goals declared by the Communist, and largely Russian, leadership in Moscow.

Although few scholarly volumes are likely to reach a mass audience—and, in spite of its somewhat misleading and sensationalist title, this is truly a scholarly book—*L'empire éclaté* has reached the top of the best-seller lists for nonfiction in France. The author begins her discussion of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union with a succinct survey of the Soviet treatment of national minorities—from Lenin's offer of autonomy as an encouragement for their support for the Revolution to Stalin's postwar efforts at rapid and forced Russification and the post-Stalinist policy of "equality" for all official national groups.

The central section of the study provides a detailed description of recent demographic developments in the Soviet Union—including the increasing discrepancy between the requirement for a growing labor force in the industrial centers of European Russia and western Siberia and the location of the population growth in Central Asia—and assesses their implications for the future development of the Soviet system. The most interesting portions of the book—at least for the political analyst—are those dealing with present methods employed by the leadership to "integrate"