

large-scale plans for a national insurrection, involving the Slovak army, which was designed to take Slovakia over from the German to the Soviet side. On August 29, 1944, disquieted by the Rumanian defection and the growth of Slovak partisan warfare, the Germans began to occupy Slovakia and thereby precipitated the Slovak National Uprising before the preparations for it were completed. It failed after two months of heavy fighting.

Jablonický's study, which ends with the outbreak of the uprising, is based on a careful study of published and archival sources as well as many interviews with participants in the uprising. He was clearly affected by the spirit of the 1968 Czechoslovak "springtime," one of the striking features of which was a general feeling of surfeit with party cant and official lies and a determination to speak plainly and truthfully. Although he is a loyal Communist Party member and has no sympathy for its bourgeois competitors, he has made a scrupulous effort to tell their story objectively and accurately. His book constitutes a valuable contribution to Slovak history in World War II.

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REVOLUTION IN PERSPECTIVE: ESSAYS ON THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC OF 1919. Edited by *Andrew C. Janos* and *William B. Slottman*. Russian and East European Studies. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971. x, 185 pp. \$10.00.

Much has been written about the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 during the last few years. Book-length studies have dealt with the foreign affairs of the short-lived Communist regime (by Alfred Low and Zsuzsa L. Nagy), with the Communist Party and Béla Kun (by Rudolf L. Tőkés), with the social, cultural, and economic history of the two revolutions of 1918–19 (Tibor Hajdu's two books and a collection of studies edited by Ivan Volgyes), with the relations between Communist Hungary and the then socialist-governed Austria (by Mrs. Sándor Gábor), and with sources and relevant research tools of that episode in international Communist history (by Ivan Volgyes).

The present volume is a collection of six essays by five authors on the broadly defined subject of the Hungarian Commune. The introductory essay, "The Decline of Oligarchy: Bureaucratic and Mass Politics in the Age of Dualism (1867–1918)," by Andrew C. Janos, is a lucidly argued, often brilliant and insightful analysis of the dynamics of social forces in Hungary in the half-century that preceded the postwar collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Janos's work on the extremely complex problems of party politics, elite mobility, and interaction of social classes represents a major contribution toward a fundamental reconceptualization of the nature of Hungarian political life in the formative years of rapid economic modernization and social transformation of Hungarian society. This essay alone is almost worth the cost of this overpriced book.

The rest of the essays are several notches below the intellectual level and academic worth of the Janos study. Peter Kenez's piece on "Coalition Politics in the Hungarian Soviet Republic" offers a competent though rather superficially documented summary of the recent literature on that subject. Janos's second contribution describes the Communist-peasant problem as it developed into a political crisis during the so-called peasant congress of June 1919. Although Keith Hitchins's

"The Rumanian Socialists and the Hungarian Soviet Republic" says much that is new about the Rumanian response to the Hungarian Commune, especially to Béla Kun's nationality policies, his essay is curiously unhelpful in shedding light on the personal and political tensions that had characterized Hungarian-Rumanian socialist (i.e., prior to 1918) and Communist (within the Federation of Foreign Groups in Russia during 1918) relations. The Kun-Rakovsky feud would have deserved a few words—in fact, probably more, in view of Kun's subsequent Comintern role and his sinister interference in Rumanian Communist affairs.

William B. Slottman's "Austria's Geistaristokraten and the Hungarian Revolution of 1919" is something of a *non sequitur* to the rest of the volume: it proves—if this sort of thing needed proof—that the Hungarian sociopolitical upheaval left the Viennese intellectuals quite cold in a "The Hungarians are revolting! Aren't they?" fashion. Richard Lowenthal's concluding piece, "The Hungarian Soviet and International Communism," is a distinct disappointment to anyone expecting anything beyond meaningless trivia from this distinguished authority on international Communist history. It is most regrettable to see the author of the brilliant St. Antony's study on the Spartacus League deliver himself of a few hasty remarks on such an interesting subject as the international impact of the Hungarian Commune.

This volume and the rest of the recent literature notwithstanding, the Hungarian Soviet Republic's full story is yet to be written. Interested historians and students of social, cultural, and political change in Central Europe have much unexploited and generally accessible research material on the Commune at their disposal—over one hundred books and thousands of articles on subjects ranging from preschool educational reforms to military history have been published in the last ten years in Hungary alone—to develop monographic and comparative studies on the Hungarian Soviet Republic, its social and cultural policies, its revolutionary literature, and so on. The present volume—apart from the notable exception of Janos's excellent study and William McCagg's "Hungary's Jewish Ministers and Commissars," which regrettably was excluded from the published proceedings of the Berkeley conference on which this collection is based—fails to take up this challenge. Perhaps another conference, say, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Soviet Republic, will do justice to these matters. Until then, some collective soul-searching by all "Commune specialists" seems to be in order.

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NEMZETKÖZI JOG. By György Haraszti, Géza Herczegh, and Károly Nagy.
Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1971. 371 pp. 27 Ft.

In the less oppressive political and economic atmosphere of the late sixties, international law in Hungary remained basically conservative and showed only limited progress. It lags behind other academic fields in adapting to the changing circumstances of the postrevolutionary era. However, this new official university textbook, introduced in the fall semester of 1971, is a welcome change from the earlier text (with the same title) written by Gyula Hajdu and László Buza (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1954; reprinted most recently in 1968). The new book is shorter and the discussion more scholarly, but the authors make it clear that their approach is Marxist-Leninist and their views strongly reflect Soviet doctrines. It is an asset