

unpublished sources, not all factual statements can remain independent of interpretation, and attempts by various authors to present them as such conceal implicit presuppositions and make the study of Macedonia's past even more difficult. As with almost any work on the Macedonian question, scholars will find some of Poplazarov's interpretations controversial. There is no doubt that many areas of Macedonia's past need further elucidation. Poplazarov's study has both strengths and weaknesses. The latter are primarily the result of preconceived notions and the lack of archival materials, which are still not available to all scholars.

Two summaries are included in the book, one in Russian and the other in English. Although the Russian-language summary is good, the English-language one is unclear and contains many errors. A rather good bibliography and index are provided.

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USTAŠE I NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA: 1941–1945. 2nd ed. By *Fikreta Jelić-Butić*. Monographies-Biographies, no. 5. Zagreb: Liber and Školska knjiga, 1978. 331 pp. Maps. 280 dinars.

Fikreta Jelić-Butić, a member of the Institute for the History of the Croatian Worker Movement in Zagreb, has published many works dealing with wartime Croatia. The subject of her book has been the topic of numerous studies, both in Yugoslavia and abroad, but this one is the most comprehensive to date. The book is well thought out, well written, and certainly honors Yugoslav historical scholarship.

The volume is divided into five parts. The introduction—which relies primarily on secondary sources—traces the history of the Ustasha from its ideological institutional origin within the Party of (Constitutional) Right to March 1941. The first part of the book reviews the cooperation of the Ustasha with the Axis powers, the organization of the Independent State of Croatia, and the drafting of its borders. Although Jelić-Butić uses the works of B. Krizman, F. Čulinović, and others extensively, she offers many new insights into the creation of a German-Italian satellite. This section is followed by an illuminating and innovative survey of the Ustasha regime, its organization, and *modus operandi*. The discussion encompasses the state's administration, the setup and tasks of the Ustasha movement, the armed forces, and economic and social policies. The next part analyzes the Ustasha's conception of a Croatian state and its social structure, and also outlines racial policies, the use of organized terror, and the impact of outside forces (the Axis, the church, the Muslims, and the Peasant Party) on the regime. Resistance activities and attempts to save the state are examined in the last part of the book. A synopsis, maps, and an index of names (but no bibliography) complete this well-annotated volume.

The only criticism that can be levied is based on political and ideological differences rather than on factual objections. To begin with, the author neglects non-Croatian sources—except for those deposited in Yugoslav archives—as well as numerous Croatian and non-Croatian studies published abroad (the most notable exception being Hory and Broszat's *Der kroatische Ustascha-Staat*). Prejudices particularly distort the descriptions of the Catholic church and of the Peasant Party. The first is depicted as an open partner, and the last as a silent one, of the Ustasha. But, as Western documentation demonstrates, the Peasant Party was opposed to the Ustasha. Unwilling to accept the reins of government from the Axis powers, the Peasants nonetheless sensed a certain Western coolness and apprehension. The Vatican did not offer de facto recognition of Pavelić's regime, as claimed on page 217. Its friendly attitude toward the state notwithstanding, the Holy See and the church had reservations about its rulers. In spite of the Muslims' frequent cooperation with the Axis powers, Jelić-Butić treats them

gently. In addition, her analysis of the Ustasha movement is unimaginative and stereotyped. She downgrades its regional and social support and sees its members merely as individuals. These and similar shortcomings, however, do not take away from the value of the volume.

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PRAXIS: MARXIST CRITICISM AND DISSENT IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA. By *Gerson S. Sher*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977. xx, 360 pp. \$15.00.

In his book, Gerson Sher presents a sympathetic and thorough treatment of the dissenting Yugoslav Marxist intellectuals who came together around the journal *Praxis* during its short precarious existence in 1964–75. Basing their critiques on the writings of “the young Marx,” these philosophers and social scientists—centered primarily in Zagreb and Belgrade university communities—engaged in ideological combat with the state and party in an effort to further humanize Yugoslav socialism. As Sher points out, they thus fostered “a heresy within a heresy.”

The opening chapter provides an organizational profile of the journal and considers the critical philosophical antecedents to the *Praxis* dissenters. Sher indicates that they were actually part of an ongoing tradition of criticism and that they viewed themselves as a legitimate continuation of the Yugoslav revolution. Succeeding chapters discuss the specific points of departure in the *Praxis* critiques and trace the history of the journal. *Praxis* initially carried largely theoretical commentary, and in 1969, because of its subject matter and chronic economic difficulties, it languished. Thereafter, a revitalized *Praxis* stepped up its criticism of socialism in practice, but it never overcame its financial problems. The journal’s publication was underwritten by the state, and the withdrawal of support and the continued official harassment of the members of the *Praxis* group finally brought its activities to a halt.

Sher attempts to put the *Praxis* experience into perspective with other facets of Yugoslav dissent—Djilas, Mihajlov, radical students, and so forth—but he does not fully succeed. Neither does he offer any substantial criticism of the *Praxis* critiques. He also concentrates on the domestic edition of *Praxis* and generally neglects its foreign counterpart. Nevertheless, Sher has produced an important book which is well written and documented with English, Serbo-Croatian, and other sources and interviews with many of the principals involved.

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YUGOSLAVIA AFTER TITO: SCENARIOS AND IMPLICATIONS. By *Gavriel D. Ra’anan*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977. xiv, 206 pp. \$14.50.

Some annual events such as the World Series or the Rose Bowl are eagerly anticipated. Others, like the tax deadline or the annual dental check-up are not similarly awaited. Ra’anan’s *Yugoslavia After Tito* falls into the latter category. It is the 1977 attempt to detail the probable nightmare following President Tito’s retirement or death.

The major focus of the book is the presentation of various forecasts about Tito’s successors and the implications of these predictions for the United States and NATO. Ra’anan’s discussion is interesting but incomplete. Not all prognostications are included, nor does the author attempt to estimate the probability of occurrence of any single one. The major utility of the book is Ra’anan’s clear demonstration of the importance