

that decision as did his Montenegrin forefathers, for the sake of the struggle itself. And it was a struggle. An amazingly high proportion of the dozens of homely personal vignettes Djilas draws in the book end in violent death. Djilas survived and prospered by giving nothing to his opponents, inside or outside the party, physically or intellectually, even to the extent of soiling the great love of his life in the name of solidarity. But, at the time at least, neither he nor his comrades considered the cost too high. They were driven into the closed circle of belief in Stalin, the party, and revolution by an "inner anguish," not for intellectual reasons. Marxism explained their dissatisfaction and made them strong, if not whole.

In recounting this, Djilas does not tell us something we do not already suspect. There may be details, but in general the story he tells of the thirties in Yugoslavia is familiar. What then makes Djilas so fascinating, and his books, this one included, so worth reading? It is that his life denies the depressing truism that power corrupts. Djilas rose from poverty to become one of the three or four most powerful men in the most successful European revolution since 1917. His comrades of the thirties found such success sweet enough to quiet their youthful anguish, but Djilas did not. His inability to make the concessions required of him meant disgrace and a return to prison.

Djilas may lack the delicate sensibility of an E. M. Forster or the pellucid style of a George Kennan, but these authors did not have their testicles squeezed by royalist police and they did not wield the intoxicating power of a successful revolution. Stubborn, often wrong-headed, romantic, and unfulfilled, Djilas was driven beyond both experiences by the same "vague spiritual ferment" that tormented him as a youth. It pursues him still. The humanity of the struggle gives hope to the rest of us, who have found it perhaps too easy to put aside such childish things.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY: THE YUGOSLAV CASE, 1945–1953. By *A. Ross Johnson*. *Studies in Communism, Revisionism, and Revolution*, no. 18. Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 1972. ix, 269 pp. \$15.00.

This is an important book which makes a major contribution to our knowledge of postwar Yugoslavia and international communism. It is, to my knowledge, the first systematic effort to analyze in depth the emergence and evolution of the ideological underpinnings of what is commonly known as "Titoism" or the "Yugoslav road to socialism."

Of all the East European countries that found themselves under Communist rule after World War II, Yugoslavia has been the least neglected by Western scholarship, yet nearly all research has focused on a number of discrete events or processes while somehow taking for granted the existence of a separate Titoist ideology without bothering to look more closely at its meaning and implications. In contrast, the author resisted the temptation to take the well-traveled path of discussing the history of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and chose instead to delve into the largely neglected territory of what he calls the "transformation of Communist ideology" in Yugoslavia. Moreover, he wisely refrained from carrying his analysis to the present time, preferring instead to concentrate only on the period 1945–53, which witnessed the laying of the foundations of Titoism.

Parts of his analysis are, of course, familiar: the strong Yugoslav commitment to the Stalinist model before 1948, and the resulting shock and surprise at the ferocity of Soviet accusations; the wait-and-see attitude of the Yugoslav leadership hopeful for a quick reconciliation; the eventual realization that the break was irrevocable, and the ensuing need to counterattack; and finally the decision to push through a series of major systemic reforms not only to re-emphasize the distinct character of Yugoslav communism but also to rally the Yugoslav people, still largely anti- or non-Communist, around the Titoist flag.

Although this sequence of events is generally known, the author does a yeoman job of tracing in considerable detail the movement from one stage to another with the help of a painstakingly comprehensive review of the official Yugoslav pronouncements reflecting the logical unfolding of Titoist ideology.

The most valuable aspect of the study, however, is the in-depth analysis of what the author calls "the six most important tenets of the post-1948 doctrine: the critique of the Soviet system, the re-examination of the nature of the epoch, the withering away of the state, worker self-management, the renunciation of collectivization of agriculture, and the new conception of the leading role of the Party." The discussion makes fascinating reading if only because it shows the great difficulty faced by the Titoist leadership in trying to develop a separate creed within the general framework of Marxism-Leninism. This was a complex task which required among other things considerable ideological sophistication, and it is clear that Tito was fortunate to have at his beck and call such articulate and erudite ideologues as Djilas, Kardelj, Kidrič, and Pijade, who among themselves succeeded in constructing the Titoist ideological edifice.

Two of the most interesting matters treated in Dr. Johnson's analysis are the frequent lack of consensus among the Yugoslav leaders on how to deal with some of the crucial issues and a concomitant failure to break away completely from the traditional Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist mold. This meant that in the final analysis the Yugoslav posture with regard to such questions as collectivization of agriculture and rapprochement with the West was ideologically less consistent and sound than the attitudes toward the bureaucracy, the participation of the masses, and the "withering away of the state." One victim of this unwillingness to shed the orthodox ballast was of course Milovan Djilas, and a case can also be made that the present political difficulties in Yugoslavia may be traced to the same source.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE YUGOSLAV ECONOMY. By *Joel Dirlam* and *James Plummer*. Merrill's Economics Systems Series. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1973. ix, 259 pp. Paper.

WORKERS' MANAGEMENT AND WORKERS' WAGES IN YUGOSLAVIA: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATORY SOCIALISM. By *Howard M. Wachtel*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973. xvi, 220 pp.

Here are two works by American scholars whose training as professional economists commends their findings to readers in Yugoslavia and the United States. Both groups may well learn more from Dirlam and Plummer's survey of recent Yugo-