

too many of the speeches and articles cited are from Radio Havana broadcasts rather than readily available published texts.

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THE VOICES. By *Joseph Wechsberg*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1969. 113 pp. \$3.95.

THE SEVENTH NIGHT. By *Ladislav Mňačko*. Foreword by *Harry Schwartz*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1969. 220 pp. \$5.95.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S BLUEPRINT FOR "FREEDOM": "UNITY, SOCIALISM & HUMANITY," DUBČEK'S STATEMENTS—THE ORIGINAL AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS LEADING TO THE CONFLICT OF AUGUST, 1968. Compiled by *Paul Ello*. Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1969. x, 304 pp. \$4.95, cloth. \$2.95, paper.

These three books have as their central theme "The Year 1968 in Czechoslovakia," but they vary greatly in their approach, and each appeals to a different group of readers. Joseph Wechsberg's little book, *The Voices*, is essentially an account of what the distinguished journalist heard over the Czechoslovak underground radio after the invasion by Warsaw Pact forces. Wechsberg, himself born and raised in Czechoslovakia, treats his subject with deep feeling and emotion. The book is in no sense a scholarly work, nor was it intended to be. Wechsberg does not hesitate to offer his own interpretation of events as he relates them. Sometimes his explanations are plausible, but others have turned out to be unfounded conjectures and rumors, and one wonders how much Wechsberg's friend "J." (whom he terms an amateur historian) and Wechsberg himself have fallen into the trap of believing what they want to believe. The book is still of interest as a personal account of the dramatic days of August. It suffers from some unfortunate editing, particularly the apparent lacuna at the bottom of page 47.

The Seventh Night by Slovak journalist Ladislav Mňačko is an attempt to place the August invasion in the context of Czechoslovak history since the war. Mňačko was one of the country's leading political columnists. A Communist since youth, he had a great number of friends and acquaintances within the ruling circles of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and his frequent excursions into past history, which the invasion prompted, have resulted in his providing some vivid portraits of the party functionaries at work. Mňačko's own role in the periods of the repressive regimes of Gottwald and Novotný is not above reproach. The author points to frequent errors in judgment on his part and offers a candid, if perhaps exaggerated, picture of his role in the implementation of Stalinist tyranny in his country.

Like many other Central Europeans, Mňačko views the Soviet Union and the United States as a dual threat to national sovereignty and suggests that such recent developments as the signing of the agreement limiting the proliferation of atomic weapons was part of a much larger understanding between the two states. He hints darkly at a "new Yalta, a new division of spheres of interest by the two greatest powers" (p. 213). Mňačko is convinced that the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia can only be explained by a new policy of expansion into Europe. His is a voice of despair, despair that the socialist internationalism in which he and countless other Communists believed has become socialist imperialism.

The publication of some of Alexander Dubček's statements on the path of socialism in Czechoslovakia prior to the Warsaw invasion is a significant event. Paul Ello has chosen his four texts not only for their importance as historical documents. He insists that they provide a "blueprint for the further development of a Socialist political order" (p. vii). The translations themselves are adequate, preserving something of the original style, which is difficult, often obtuse, and replete with the jargon one has come to expect of the public pronouncements of East European political figures.

Ello provides each document with an introduction and an analysis based on the speech itself. His central idea is that relations among the nations of the Communist bloc have been guided by the principle of change and accommodation since the death of Stalin. Not all scholars will agree with this, but the failure of the reform government in Prague was certainly indicative of the opposition to change on the part of the Brezhnev regime.

With the resignation of Oldřich Černík in January 1970 and his replacement by Lubomir Strougal, the reform "action programme" has become a thing of the past. Ello's statement that the documents he has published "provide some indication of the direction [in] which Communist Party State Systems will have to move if they are to survive" is probably a more dubious hypothesis now than it was in September 1968, when the book was first published.

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COMMUNIST STUDIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ESSAYS ON
METHODOLOGY AND EMPIRICAL THEORY. Edited by *Frederic J.
Fleron, Jr.* Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1969. xiii, 481 pp. \$5.95, paper.

Perhaps this collection of studies, assembled by Professor Fleron from widely scattered—although exclusively English-language—sources, should be reviewed by a committee. Certainly few scholars would feel confident of their capacity to evaluate such a wide range of methodologies, theoretical approaches, and analytical—including mathematical and statistical—techniques as are represented. However, the difficulties confronting the reviewer of this volume may be a measure both of its merits and of the complexity and variety of emerging trends in scholarship that it exemplifies. It should perhaps be added that since even the most recent of the articles included were published, many new projects, especially quantitative ones, have been begun.

This reviewer is favorably disposed to what he takes to be the editor's objective, namely, the fostering of rigorously professional and "scientific" modes of scholarly inquiry in the description and analysis of "Communist" political systems and movements. He has for some time recommended to his undergraduate and graduate students the reading of such components of the present symposium as Fleron's introductory article, "Soviet Area Studies and the Social Sciences: Some Methodological Problems in Communist Studies," as well as Milton Lodge's statistical study of "elite" attitudes, and the writings of Skilling, Tucker, Shoup, and other contributors to this symposium. However, the reviewer would like to offer some observations and, it is hoped, constructive criticisms.

The first relates to the criteria of selection and organization of this collection, and, more fundamentally, to the question of what purpose is served by reprinting excellent but highly disparate articles, assuming that Professor Fleron's objective