

break loose from the prison of a total, ideologically motivated cultural Gulag. In this phase of Zhdanovist commissars of culture, the situation remains frozen. But in the phase of "formal" integration, new ideas and forms begin to penetrate the texture of culture, giving rise to new trends. Mr. Anrod suggests that it is here, in what may be called the twilight zone of transition, in the "shaded area of differentiation," that Western scholars and readers can find the new—and best—elements of East European culture today.

Discussing the problems and methods of "total" integration at length (intimidation, uncertainty, conformism, and the like), Mr. Anrod offers a detailed picture of the wasteland of East European culture during the period of "spiritual corruption." Himself a composer, he gives us a most interesting (and rarely discussed) insight into the unknown regions of music (or rather, as he calls it, *Gebrauchsmusik*) of the Eastern bloc as well as the problems of literature and culture in general. His analysis of the "formal" phase consists basically of a discussion of "models" as the present state of affairs points to wider "formal" integration, that is to say, toward freer and richer cultural development (as in Hungary) or toward a difficult struggle between men of culture and the reemerging cultural commissars (as in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania). Well-written and well-informed, but with some factual mistakes and questionable judgments that could have been easily avoided (Gyula Illyés, for example, can hardly be called an "epigone" of Géza Gárdonyi), this book is an interesting introduction into a complex problem.

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NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN DIVIDED GERMANY. By *Gebhard Ludwig Schweigler*. London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975. vii, 287 pp. Paper.

NATIONALBEWUSSTSEIN IN DER BRD UND DER DDR. By *Gebhard Schweigler*. Studien zur Sozialwissenschaft, vol. 8. Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1973. 235 pp. Paper.

INSIDE EAST GERMANY: THE STATE THAT CAME IN FROM THE COLD. By *Jonathan Steele*. New York: Urizen Books, 1977. xiv, 256 pp. \$12.95. Distributed by E. P. Dutton.

In 1973, the United Nations admitted both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic as new members. But, asks Gebhard Schweigler in his important study, *National Consciousness in Divided Germany*, were they in fact two nations? Few could argue that the two Germanys continued to comprise a single *Staatsnation*, a people held together by political institutions. After the creation of separate governments in East and West Germany in 1949, the legal fiction of unity increasingly became untenable. Even so, it was not until Chancellor Willy Brandt's "acknowledgment of the political realities of 1970" that progress could be made on stabilizing the status quo.

Equally few would deny that the two Germanys retained the essential elements of a *Kulturnation*, a people sharing such identifiable cultural characteristics as language, history, and literary tradition. More to the point is the fact that the existence of these features is irrelevant unless the people in the *Kulturnation* are both conscious of them and seek to translate them into political action.

Schweigler is far more concerned with the fate of prewar Germany's national consciousness, the sense that its people indeed constituted a *Bewusstseinsnation*. He

seeks the answer through an intensive secondary analysis of undoubtedly all available public opinion data from the two Germanys. In contrast to the rich store of data from the FRG on such topics as the territories east of the Oder and Neisse rivers (formerly German but now Polish and Soviet), recognition of the GDR, and attitudes toward emerging political institutions and processes in the FRG, the GDR has provided scholars with a weaker empirical basis. Accordingly, Schweigler must rely not only on ideological reformulations but also, and more important, on attitudes expressed by GDR citizens visiting the West. Although such data pose serious analytic problems—for example, how to determine the overall representativeness of the respondents—they nonetheless indicate the general drift of attitudes and, especially (since we can assume that sampling biases are fairly constant over time), trends in changing perspectives. Schweigler concludes that the single *Bewusstseinsnation* characterizing Germany before 1945 has been replaced by two states, each with its own national consciousness. This view is particularly strong among younger Germans in both the FRG and the GDR. Moreover, present trends point to the probability that the chasm between the two *Bewusstseinsnationen* will widen in the future.

Despite the significance of Schweigler's findings and interpretations, it seems decidedly premature, at least on the basis of mass survey data alone, to declare dead the idea of an all-German national consciousness. The history of nationalisms, steady flows of visitors across the border between the FRG and the GDR, and recent hints of national bolshevism in the GDR might lead us to wonder whether the German question has really been answered once and for all. The 1973 German edition discusses conclusions more extensively and provides an excellent bibliography, but does not include the chapter in which Schweigler reports his multiple regression analysis of responses to selected questions (which, even in the English version, is neither fully elaborated nor integrated into the rest of the text).

Jonathan Steele, in *Inside East Germany*, shares Schweigler's view that the GDR has developed its own national consciousness. In general, however, the book reads like an authorized biography of a candidate for high public office. Full of interesting information, easily read, and even at times critical of the GDR and especially the Soviet Union, it nonetheless reads as though written on a rose-colored typewriter.

Steele is at his best when describing the "German face" that Ulbricht and his colleagues have put on socialism. The view that Ulbricht is "arguably the most successful German statesman since Bismarck" deserves greater attention, as does Steele's interpretation that the growth of national self-confidence is partially attributable to humiliations perpetrated by West Germans. But ultimately the reader, this one at least, tires of the all-too-frequent oversimplifications—such as the comparison of the FRG's Willy Brandt with the GDR's Otto Winzer (Otto who?)—which obscure important points. A more thorough and analytic treatment of the GDR is definitely in order.

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STATTI I PROMOVY Z NATSIONAL'NOHO PYTANNIA. By Mykola Skrypnyk. Compiled by Iwan Koszeliwec. Munich and New York: "Suchasnist'," 1974. 268 pp. Paper.

A curious combination of Ukrainian patriotism and Communist fanaticism, Mykola Skrypnyk was a prominent theoretician and historian of Ukrainian communism. As a member of the Bolshevik Old Guard and close associate of Lenin, he was chiefly responsible for the formulation and implementation of Soviet policy toward non-Russian nationalities in the 1920s and occupied a number of rather important positions in the