

the paths followed by the Comintern in transformation or if they cover, beneath their verbal abundance, the real outcome of the permanent crisis which reduced the revolutionary creation of Lenin to the role of servile instrument of the nationalist and imperialist foreign policy of Stalin. And how much value should be attached to the tortuous discussions of "socialism in one country," when the disputants understood "socialism" in quite different or even contradictory senses?

In order fully to understand the influence exercised by the Soviet Communist Party on the whole of international communism, one must resort to the remarkable and doubtless definitive work by Lazitch and Drachkovitch, *Lenin and the Comintern*, which Sidney Hook subjected to masterly analysis in the *Russian Review*. The two authors have scrupulously expounded, with unequalled competence, the circumstances and conditions which attended the birth and first steps of the new International, so unlike the two preceding ones. It is important to know the origins in order to interpret the consequences preceding the final mutation.

After Lenin the Comintern was torn by internecine struggles which unfolded in the Soviet Communist Party and whose true significance Communists of other countries failed to decipher. The documents assembled by Gruber usefully present the exterior and acknowledged aspect of the disagreements which ripped apart the work of Lenin; they do not appear to reveal the secret and unacknowledged reasons which led to the ignominious enserfment of this Comintern which had aroused so many naïve hopes, up to the day when Stalin would be able to suppress it by a stroke of the pen without consulting anyone, while still preserving in camouflaged form the levers of power for the use of his subversive maneuvers throughout the world.

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COMMUNISM IN SCANDINAVIA AND FINLAND: POLITICS OF OPPORTUNITY. By *A. F. Upton*. With contributions by *Peter P. Rohde* and *A. Sparring*. History of Communism series. Garden City: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1973. x, 422 pp. \$2.95, paper.

Although this book does contain short profile histories of the Communist parties of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden by Peter P. Rohde, a former member of the Danish Communist Party, and Dr. Åke Sparring, the author of several previous studies dealing with the Swedish Communist Party, by far the greatest part of it is devoted to Professor Upton's history of the Finnish Communist Party. That Finnish communism is singled out for such lengthy treatment is justified in terms of the sizable popular support it has attracted and the major role it has played in influencing the course of Finnish history.

In tracing the fortunes of the Finnish Communist Party from its formation in 1918 to the mid-1960s, Upton relies heavily on the groundbreaking historical studies by Ilkka Hakalehto and John Hodgson and the colorful memoir accounts left by Arvo Tuominen, Niilo Wälläri, and Yrjö Leino, all of whom ultimately broke with the party. He balances these sources with the more partisan interpretations of party historians such as Antti Hyvönen and Erkki Salomaa, and with material drawn from various collections of party documents, reminiscences, and secondary accounts published by the party both before and after its return to legality in 1944.

With the exception of *Kommunisti*, the party's postwar theoretical journal, Upton appears to have made little, if any, direct use of Communist periodical or newspaper literature, and he does not appear to be aware of Kyösti Seppänen's research regarding the newsletters circulated by the party during its years underground. Equally surprising is his neglect of many important secondary sources, among them Erkki Salomaa's biography of Yrjö Sirola, Nestori Parkkari's books on the party's struggle to survive in the early 1930s and on the history of the Communist youth movement, and the excellent biographical sketches of several of the older generation of Communist leaders assembled in the series *Tiennäyttäjät* (edited by Hannu Soikkanen). Jarno Pennanen, Raoul Palmgren, Erkki Vala, and other left-wing intellectuals active in the cultural-political struggles of the 1930s have written much which illuminates aspects of the Popular Front years barely mentioned by Upton.

It is not, however, the inadequacy of his bibliography but rather the use Upton makes of the sources on which he does rely which is most disturbing to this reader. Precision is clearly not Upton's forte; the haste with which he did his research is betrayed by the great number of errors which mar his work. In some cases, as with his totally unfounded assertion that the Social Democrat Sylvi-Kyllikki Kilpi became a Communist fellow traveler following her visit to the Soviet Union in the mid-1930s (p. 207), these are due to an injudicious choice of sources. In others, Upton misreads his sources: the text of the famous security police memorandum used in 1936 to help topple the conservative Kivimäki government was published not, as Upton says (p. 209), by the Communists but by *Tulenkantajat*, a cultural and political journal edited by the Social Democrat Erkki Vala.

Upton's study is characterized to a far greater extent by bold and often provocative speculation than by close attention to detail or the painstaking and precise analysis of source materials. Where his sources do not offer the depth of analysis he desires, Upton does not hesitate to forge ahead boldly, armed at times with little more than his intuition and sense of fair-mindedness. While this approach does bring forth some interesting hypotheses, it also leads him on occasion to some bizarre and quite unwarranted conclusions. Several of the points Upton makes in reassessing what he regards as the "myth" of an attempted Communist coup in 1948 surely merit further investigation, even if one does not share his conclusion that the grounds for Communist Yrjö Leino's dismissal as minister of the interior were "grotesquely unfair" (p. 294). On the other hand, those who have studied carefully the writings and political career of Mauri Ryömä will wonder how Upton can be so certain that Ryömä was acting "in good faith" (p. 226) in founding the Finnish-Soviet Peace and Friendship Society in 1940. Upton's oversimplified and exaggerated account of party activity during the Russo-Finnish Continuation War and his assertion (p. 193) that little purposeful, organized party activity took place between 1930 and 1939 are but two of the other areas where specialists are apt to disagree.

Upton's book does contain an impressive amount of information not hitherto available in English, but his presentation often tends to be more impressionistic than scholarly. This is a lively book but one which should be used with great caution.

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