

Notwithstanding these very real merits, Miss Bodea's book does contain certain not altogether minor flaws. Although the theme is for the most part well sustained, there are numerous instances which seem to show that, at the least, the "unitary thread" connecting the various Rumanian movements for unification was composed of many disparate strands. The almost exclusive emphasis on the activities of those Rumanians who desired unification is misleading too, because it is sometimes rather difficult to see where these "progressives" fitted into the broader context of Rumanian political life. There is also insufficient discussion of how far down and by what means the intellectuals' ideas about unification permeated the lower strata of Rumanian society. A vertical analysis of the same caliber as her discussions of relations between intellectual and political leaders in different geographical areas is needed to complete Miss Bodea's story.

There are a bit too many patriotic phrases in Miss Bodea's text and something of an overuse of already well-worn images of the "chains-of-tyranny" or "smouldering-embers-of-revolution" variety. This rather uncritically nationalistic tone tends to cast some of the conclusions into doubt, when the evidence presented would otherwise seem reasonable corroboration. The translation itself, though rarely obscure, is often quite stilted and artificial sounding, offering too literal a rendering of Rumanian phrases where a well-chosen paraphrase would have produced a more felicitous and readable translation without sacrifice of accuracy.

The foregoing reservations aside, Miss Bodea's effort is on the whole commendable and will doubtless be useful to scholars of nineteenth-century revolutionary and national movements.

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MAREA ADUNARE NAȚIONALĂ DE LA ALBA IULIA: ÎNCUNUNAREA IDEII, A TENDIȚELOR ȘI A LUPTELOR DE UNITATE A POPORULUI ROMÂN. By Ștefan Pascu. Cluj: Universitatea "Babeș-Bolyai," 1968. 510 pp.

Professor Pascu has written a book for the intelligent layman designed to provide the "man of average culture" with a comprehensible discussion of the historic process which culminated in the union of Transylvania and the Old Kingdom in 1918. Specifically, Pascu addresses himself to two fundamental aspects of that process: the national and the social struggles of the Rumanian people which sought, and achieved, the political unification of the Rumanians, and to such corollary phenomena as the class struggle of the Rumanian masses directed against the Rumanian "dominant class," the national struggle of all Rumanians directed against foreign rule, and the masses' historic aspiration to coexist peacefully with all people, regardless of nationality.

The author traces the development of the national consciousness of the Rumanians from original awareness of a Rumanian nation, based on Roman origin and language, through the various stages leading to the National Assembly of Alba Iulia of December 1, 1918, which ratified the Rumanians' century-long struggle for national unification. Whenever appropriate he introduces the pertinent aspects of the interwoven social struggle.

The highlights of the discussion are easily recognizable by students of Rumanian history: Michael the Brave, Horea's revolt, the *Supplex Libellus Vala-*

chorum, Tudor Vladimirescu's revolt, the Revolution of 1848, the Union of the Principalities, the "Memorandum," and ultimately the Assembly of Alba Iulia. The analysis and arguments are conventional and straightforward. They are also persuasive within the scope of Pascu's study. The book represents the most comprehensive one-volume treatise on the Rumanian national movement in Transylvania.

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THE GREEN SHIRTS AND THE OTHERS: A HISTORY OF FASCISM IN HUNGARY AND RUMANIA. By *Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1970. xii, 427 pp. \$9.95.

The book under review is based on a Ph.D. thesis which the author, a native of Hungary, prepared at Berkeley. The book aims at presenting "the first more or less comprehensive and comparative work in the English language concerning the history of the Fascist movement in Hungary and Rumania." Furthermore the author hopes to illuminate "contemporary political developments in several parts of the world as well" (p. ix). The theoretical approach underlying his design is the concept of modernization—of technological, economic, and administrative development—which originated in modern economic theory and has recently been expounded as an explanation of the phenomenon of fascism, especially in Italy. Such far-reaching perspectives applied to countries of East Central Europe would require intensive research through analytical studies and comparisons on macro and micro bases before dealing with the specifics of non-Italian fascisms. Unfortunately the author fails to disclose the methodological premises for his undertaking. Instead he offers the avowal of an "anti-ideological" purpose of his book, defining "ideology" in this part of Europe as "distorted reflections of the real thing: the national sentiment" (p. ix), a rather narrow definition as it would seem to the reviewer. The author pretends to give the "undistorted" point of view when writing about "an idea—a quest, a yearning for a constructive nationalism, a nationalism compatible with humanity and with a recognized need for development." A striking passage on page 19 reveals the ideological grounds on which the author treads after all: "For all Europe," we are told, "the First World War was a terrible calamity. It disrupted brutally a pattern of development, and it was the end of an era. Its material damage could be repaired. Even the colossal loss in life could be tolerated. But the damage it caused in intellectual values, the discredit it brought to reason, and hence to the intellectual, was irreparable in its consequences."

These remarks concerning the main intention of the book are not to detract from the truly comprehensive presentation of the chronology of the fascist movements in Hungary and Rumania and of the leading persons involved. The reader, however, will not find systematic analyses and concentrated discussions of the ideological ingredients and of the social and economic settings. The twelfth and last chapter is the most important part of the book from the standpoint of comparison. Though dissimilar in many ways because of different historical conditions, the fascist movements in Hungary and Rumania are found here to be alike in that they represented a reaction to the former ruling classes, who failed to establish a "modernizing dictatorship" (p. 368).

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