

KULTURPOLITIK DER SOWJETUNION. Edited by *Oskar Anweiler* and *Karl-Heinz Ruffmann*. Kröners Taschenausgabe, vol. 429. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1973. xxiv, 400 pp. DM 22.

Although we have an immense scholarly literature on the arts, education, and certain aspects of cultural policy in the Soviet Union, it remains difficult to find this material synthesized into a single convenient volume. A group of German scholars has recently sought to remedy the deficiency with a collection of extended essays, and the effort is remarkable, not least because it does achieve synthesis despite the involvement of seven authors.

A guiding conception is needed to achieve this synthesis, and it is set forth with admirable clarity in the introduction by Karl-Heinz Ruffmann. He penetratingly notes both the problem of cultural backwardness and the seriousness with which a new postrevolutionary Bolshevik leadership regarded that problem. There is a difference between accepting a given ideological position and acknowledging the commitment of others to it; and Ruffmann's way of treating Leninist perceptions of cultural issues—by giving full credence to the seriousness of the Bolshevik approach to these problems—avoids distortions commonly resulting when observers stand resolutely outside their subject and rely upon implicit antagonism rather than explicit criticism.

All the contributors to the book are worthy of mention. The opening, and by far the longest, contribution is Oskar Anweiler's study of educational policy. This is followed by Klaus Meyer's treatment of science policy, Peter Hübner's review of policy toward literature, and Hans-Jürgen Drengenberg's study of policy toward the arts. The two concluding sections, on somewhat more unusual topics, are Bernhard Dilger's examination of national and minority cultures in the USSR and Wolfgang Kasack's survey of Soviet cultural policies in international relations. The omission of religion as a topic is explained by lack of space for an aspect of "negative cultural policy"; the slighting of the performing arts is not explained.

Most of the contributors base the surveys offered in this volume on earlier and more detailed original research. But the fact that their contributions are surveys in no way diminishes the value of the book. Given the informing conceptualization that unifies the different parts, the volume provides a synthesis that undoubtedly exceeds the capabilities of any single scholar, and it illuminates, in comparative perspective, a vast range of vitally important policies that have unfolded since the Bolshevik seizure of power.

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SOCJALIZM W PAŃSTWACH ŚRODKOWEJ I POŁUDNIOWO-WSCHODNIEJ EUROPY: SPOŁECZNO-POLITYCZNE PROBLEMY REWOLUCJI SOCJALISTYCZNEJ I BUDOWNICTWA SOCJALIZMU. By *Jerzy Muszyński*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975. 458 pp. 42 zł., paper.

This long, verbose, and unbelievably repetitious book consists of two parts: part 1—"Marxist-Leninist Theory of Socialist Revolution in the Practice of Revolutionary Events in the States of Central and Southeastern Europe"; and part 2—"Po-

litical Characteristics of the Socialist System of the States of Central and South-eastern Europe." The expression "states of Central and Southeastern Europe" occurs nineteen times in the table of contents alone (the author must have earned a good many extra złoty in royalties from this and other lengthy expressions used in the text). By Muszyński's own admission, this is not a historical study; he does not, however, make clear what it is. It certainly is not a piece of research in political science, comparative government, political theory, or jurisprudence. The volume "covers" all socialist states of the area, including Yugoslavia and Albania, but no particular importance seems to be attached to the fact that the latter two are not in the Comecon or the Warsaw Pact. These two states, plus Poland, are described as still "building the foundations of socialism"; the others, already past this stage, are constructing a "developed socialist society." The author follows a wonderful methodological principle: "The judgment whether and [if so] what stage has been reached in socialist construction belongs to the political leadership of the socialist state concerned" (p. 257).

This may work for the present, but there are problems about the past. What is one to do with the Cominform, the "mixed companies," Gomulka's "right-wing nationalist deviation" of 1948, Stalin's conflict with Tito, the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, Gomulka's return to power in 1956, and so forth? The Cominform is ignored. According to the author, the Soviet Union was helping Eastern Europe economically after the war; but he does not give any specifics. The Polish crises of 1948 and 1956 are disregarded; Gomulka is an unperson in the study; the Twentieth Party Congress appears only in the bibliography; and Khrushchev is not even there. The conflict with Yugoslavia in 1948 is treated in one meaningless phrase. The 1956 revolt in Hungary and the Czechoslovak reforms of 1968 came about because bourgeois influences in those countries had not been successfully controlled under the "cult of personality." ("Cult of personality" is thus mentioned, but the personality which was its object appears to have had little impact on how socialism came to power, or how it was understood and built, in Eastern Europe after 1944.)

If any political tendency is detectable in this volume, it is to downplay the importance of intrabloc organizations and to stress the ideological sovereignty of each state and party. One looks in vain for any intimation, generally included in comparable Soviet works, that these states may already be forming, or moving toward, an international "Socialist Community" with the USSR.

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THE NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE. Edited by Hans-Hermann Höhmann, Michael Kaser, and Karl C. Thalheim. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975. xxiv, 585 pp. \$22.50.

This is the type of book that a few reviewers and insomniacs will read all the way through, while other interested readers will be content to sample or draw on it for reference. All too frequently in this collection of seventeen essays, the blandness of an author's style, whether original or in English translation from the German, matches the colorlessness of his ideas. The book does, however, have a worthwhile purpose. It is very useful as a handy reference, for it covers the broad features of contemporary industrial and agricultural systems in all the East Euro-