

Heyde-Karte sofort ergibt, es nahm weiter zu in der Nähe der Eisenbahnen und natürlich dort, wo der preußische Staat, sei es der Friedrichs des Großen, sei es der Bismarcks, Deutsche ansiedelte. Aber ich habe schon 1927 darauf hingewiesen<sup>13</sup>, daß dies nur punktweise, nur an wenigen Stellen der Fall war, die man nicht überschätzen soll.

Warum nahm das Deutschtum so oft ab? Der Zug nach dem Westen und die Agrarstruktur sind dafür verantwortlich zu machen. Der Großgrundbesitz „vertrieb“ die Deutschen. Das hat Max Weber schon 1895 gesehen<sup>14</sup>, für das Posener Land habe ich dies in Einzelheiten 1927 geschildert.<sup>15</sup>

Aber das geschah lange nach 1772, und die beigegebene Karte stellt ja die Verhältnisse von damals dar. Die ländliche Bevölkerung Pommerellens war 1772 zumindest zur Hälfte deutsch, das ist das Ergebnis dieser Karte, also dasselbe, auf das Ilse Rhode<sup>16</sup> in anderer Weise gekommen ist. Sie errechnete eine deutsche Mehrheit für ganz Westpreußen, was sehr wahrscheinlich ist infolge des städtischen Deutschtums und der hier nicht berücksichtigten Kreise rechts der Weichsel.

Walther Maas

13) W. Maas, Das Deutschtum im Netzedistrikt 1774. In: Zs. für Politik XVII (1927), S. 464—468.

14) M. Weber, Der Nationalstaat und die Volkswirtschaft. Freiburg 1895. Wieder abgedruckt in: Gesammelte politische Schriften. München 1921. S. 7—30.

15) W. Maas, Der Posener Großgrundbesitzer. In: Jb. der Bodenreform XXIII (1927), S. 215—220.

16) Ilse Rhode, Das Nationalitätenverhältnis in Westpreußen und Posen zur Zeit der polnischen Teilungen. In: Deutsche wissenschaftliche Zs. für Polen (1926) 7, S. 3—79.

## Recent American Literature on Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe 1945—1956

The area between the Free World and Soviet Russia today is known to the Americans as the "Iron Curtain" region.<sup>1</sup> Although the events there have been making headlines, actually the area remains a *terra incognita* for the American scholar. The evidence for this statement can be found in the number of courses given in American universities and colleges in this field and in the number of textbooks serving such courses; the number could be easily, to use the standard American phrase, "counted on your fingers."

1) The phrase "Iron Curtain" is credited to Winston Churchill. But it was used many years before Churchill, in the same sense, in a book published in 1931: Charlotte Kellog, *Jadwiga: Poland's Great-queen* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931), p. 201: "An Iron Curtain had dropped down, shutting off those happy scenes forever."

Among the reasons, academically speaking, the major factor has been the traditions of American historical scholarship. The founders of the graduate departments in history in the American Universities either received their training directly in Germany or came eventually under the spell of its traditions developed by Ranke and his insistence, in his earlier writings that the Germanic and Romance nations alone form a cultural unit having a common history to be identified with the history of Europe.<sup>2</sup> Roughly speaking, most Americans have been educated under the spell of "Western Civilization" courses which concentrate on the history of Western Europe. The writers of such numerous textbooks (headed by those provided by the faculty of the Columbia University Faculty) have developed their thesis within a narrow and artificial form, thinking of Western Europe as the hub of world history, characterized by the spirit of a cultural dominance based upon an attitude of cultural superiority of the Western history over that of Eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Thus Central Europe has been greatly neglected not only by political historians, but also by specialists in culture and economics. (Closer study of Central European economics would have had a profound bearing on a more realistic understanding of the trends that ultimately led to totalitarianism.)

#### Textbooks

At the end of World War II, when the impacts of events in the Danubian area made glaringly evident the need for a systematic knowledge about the area, Roucek, with 10 collaborators, all specialists in this field, published *Central-Eastern Europe: Crucible of World Wars* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1946). In the Preface, the editor pointed out that "the present book is one of the first to try present fair and reliable information on the historical development of these nations, with particular emphasis on the period following the First World War, in a single volume. The result is, therefore, a harvest of studies aiming to synthesize, summarize, and re-interpret available knowledge about the region" (p. viii). Although the editor and the publishers put high hopes into the project, and it received mostly favorable reviews, from the commercial standpoint the volume proved to be no success at all (selling about 3,000 copies during the subsequent decade — and a successful textbook in America averages around 30,000 copies a year). In general, the work presented two general chapters on the region (Central-Eastern Europe in World History by E. C. Helmreich, and Austria-Hungary by Hans Kohn), historical chapters on each country from Finland to Greece, the historical developments in each

2) Joseph S. Roucek, *Misapprehensions about Central-Eastern Europe in Anglo-Saxon Historiography* (Reprinted from the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences in America, January, 1944); Oscar Halecki, "Problems of Polish Historiography", *The Slavonic Review*, XXI (March, 1943), p. 223; J. L. Brown, "Deutschum and America", *Journal of Legal & Political Sociology*, II (October, 1943), pp. 117—135; Geoffrey Barraclough, *History in a Changing World* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956).

3) The same generalization can be applied to the knowledge of Russia's history; see: Joseph S. Roucek, "Russlandkunde in den USA" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, IV, 1 (1956), S. 64—71.

of these countries between 1918 and 1945, and the sections devoted to the region under National-socialist and Russian occupation, governments in exile, and economic problems.

Somewhat more successful as a textbook was, for a while, Hugh Seton-Watson's *The East European Revolution* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1951). His stress on the social forces and his bold generalizations on all the countries of the region made this Englishman's contribution popular in some circles in America.

Seton-Watson had made his reputation as the son of one of Great Britain's foremost authorities on the history of Central-Eastern Europe and the author of *Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1918—1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), where he devoted almost one third of the book to the geographic and historic background of the area; two chapters were assigned to the peasantry and the political system of the different countries, while two central chapters traced separately the inner political developments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, and dealt with the minorities and mixed populations; the problems of the German and Jewish minorities and the Transylvanian and Macedonian questions were singled out as the most illustrative. The last part of the book dealt with Eastern Europe in world affairs between the two wars and "the effect on Eastern Europe as a whole of the plans and intrigues of the Great Powers." Six years later Seton-Watson continued the same theme in *The East European Revolution*. There he apologizes for having taken the rulers of Central-Eastern Europe severely to task for their fear of the "Bolshevik bogey." Again, the book was rather popular, although written from a narrowly British point of view, using England as a standard of comparison for developments in Eastern Europe, a naive approach (although American interests and those of the Western world in general are identified with those of Britain). Then the bibliography was rather poor (a tendency glaringly evident for those reviewing British books); one is especially surprised that the memoirs of President Beneš are not noted here.

In 1953 appeared John A. Lukacs' *The Great Powers and Eastern Europe* (New York: American Book Co., 1953) which fared poorly as a textbook but he had been recognized as a useful general work of reference. He set himself an enormous canvass, beginning his detailed narrative before 1934 and ending it at 1945, and describing not only the fortunes of the 14 states, from Finland to Turkey, and the policy decisions in Washington, London, Berlin, Moscow, Rome and Paris which determined those fortunes. Lukacs, a Hungarian by birth, shows in his bibliographical notes that he had read also English, German, French and Italian, used all the available primary sources and standard works in half a dozen languages, besides a large number of little known publications.

The two issues of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1950: "Moscow's European Satellites", and March, 1944: "A Challenge to Peacemakers", (Philadelphia) had the advantage of the 17 000 subscription list of the Academy. Edited by Roucek, the first analyzed the geopolitical aspects of the region, the historical role of Central-Eastern

Europe, and some misconceptions about the area, the nationalistic ideology of each country there, the Axis domination here, the pattern of underground resistance, the system of governments in exile, the Central-Eastern minorities in the U.S., struggle among United Nations viewpoints, and peace-planning for the area. The second volume gathered articles on the Evolution of the Middle Zone, the geopolitical trends, the changing role of Iron Curtain countries, the structure of Soviet power and expansion, the impact of sovietization on political, religious, educational, economic and constitutional systems, and the international implications of the Soviet occupation. (While the 1944 volume contained "Bibliography of Central and Eastern Europe", pp. 177—181, the 1950 had no such appendix, since the editor-in-chief felt that there was no interest in it).

We must note also here Oscar Halecki's *Borderlands of Western Civilization, A History of East Central Europe* (New York: Ronald Press, 1952), which was also a failure as a textbook but a valuable scholarly contribution to the tendency to revise many conventional conceptions of East Central Europe commonly held in the West, especially the conviction that the area is an intermediary zone peopled by a chaotic collection of fragmentary "nationalities" with a vague past and with distinctive cultures, which, it might have been wiser to keep under foreign rule; Halecki stresses that East Central Europe forms a part of western civilization and that Western civilization ends where the Russian border begins.

As a text, Halecki has stressed too much political history, with only occasional glimpses of cultural developments; social and economic history is completely ignored. The greater part of the book (275 out of 475 pages) is assigned to the ancient origins and medieval developments of the nations here up to their absorption into the Austrian, Ottoman and Russian Empires, a process completed with the third partition of Poland, at the very moment when they were undergoing a modern nationalist revival. The rest of the work covers in brief outline form the modern period the cultural renaissance of the nations here, their struggle for freedom and unity, and the attainment and new loss of independence. But all events are treated in terms of personalities and never within the framework of systems and movements; the reigns of kings are covered with dreary monotony, and feudalism, which was the dominant socio-economic system of the region no less than of Western Europe, is overlooked; yet, many historians have pointed out that the inability of the medieval states of East Central Europe to create strong national monarchies like those in Western Europe can be explained by the long survival of feudalism resulting from the continued importance of the nobility and the relative insignificance of the burgher class. But to the credit of Halecki, is an exceptionally complete bibliography of works in English, French, and German, and a genealogical table of East European dynasties.

In recent years, a sort of hesitating efforts to produce semi-textbooks have been made by Mid-European Studies Center, Free Europe Committee (4 West 57 St., New York City) and the Committee on International Relations of the University of Notre Dame (Indiana). The first sponsored *Current Research on Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Dagmar Horna (1956), a most valuable

handbook, showing the extent and nature of research underway in the United States, listed under the headings of general work, Russia and the Central and East European Area and then Albania, Austria, the Baltic nations, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia.

The Center tried also to promote interest in the area by having C. E. Black edit, *Readings on Contemporary Eastern Europe* (1953), which had four sections: the background of contemporary problems, the politics of communism, transition to a totalitarian economy, and international relations and regional organization; the result was just as poor as the "Selected Bibliography", compiled by Ivo J. Lederer (pp. 317—346). But the same year appeared a very good, up-to-date bibliography of Jiřina Sztachova, *Mid-Europe: A Selective Bibliography* (Mid-European Studies Center, 1953). Black, a year later, made another effort to "popularize" Eastern Europe by editing *Challenge on Eastern Europe* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954), which contained 12 essays by Eastern European and American scholars and political figures, dealing with the recent history, present contributions and possible future of the nations lying to the west of the Soviet Union. The essays were of uneven value, and most were simply propaganda tracts.

Notre Dame's publications are certainly better organized and more carefully edited than those of the Mid-European Center. Before the death Waldemar Gurian (1955), the International Studies series produced such well known works as: Stephen D. Kertesz, *Diplomacy in a Whirlpool: Hungary Between Nazi Germany & Soviet Russia*, *Soviet Imperialism: its Origins and Tactics*, edited by Waldemar Gurian, Hans Kohn's *Pan-Slavism* (and several works on Soviet Russia); in 1956 appeared *The Fate of East Central Europe*, edited by Kertesz, which analyzes the principal aspects of American foreign policy toward East Central Europe from the earliest period to the present; the postwar history of individual countries in East Central Europe and the effect of several American policies upon their fate, together with the special actions of American policy in the various countries (including Finland and East Germany) appears in Parts Two and Three; Part Four examines the economic problems between the Soviet and non-Soviet worlds and touches upon economic trends in the captive countries; Part Five offers a glimpse into a more desirable future of the area.

#### Reference Books

Although the concept of the "Slavs", "Pan-Slavism", had been vaguely known to the Americans thanks to that band of immigrants reaching America in such great numbers before World War I, academically, the concept became recognized only, to a degree, with the foundation of the *American Slavic and East European Review* in New York 1941, and the publication of the first *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* in English (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), with Roucek as the editor-in-chief; the volume, edited on a shoe-string and without any financial grant, received various criticism, framed, in general, as: "limited in value by an unconventional style and methodology. Useful in placing the states of Eastern Europe in their Slavic setting". In 1953, Hans Kohn published his standard *Pan-Slavism — its History and Ideology* (Uni-



versity of Notre Dame Press). The late Samuel Hazzard Cross authored *Slavic Civilization Through the Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1948) who, in a broad sweep, painted the picture of the rise, fall, and reemergence of the three branches of the Slavic people (the Eastern, the Western and the Southern) — throughout the processes of their expansion in Northern and Central Europe, the Balkans, and the great area now occupied by European Russia. A definitely scholarly contribution is Michael B. Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Pan Slavism, 1856—1870* (Columbia University Press, 1956), showing how the original Pan-Slavic movement has a significance which goes beyond its historical value; for instance, the author states that early Russian Pan-Slavists insisted on conformity to the Russian way of life; in 1956, as in 1856, "The non-Russian Slavic nations are unwilling to submerge their own national identities to a larger ethnic union."

The political developments, featuring a comparative study of domestic problems, were offered by Andrew Gyorgy, *Governments of Danubian Europe* (New York: Rinehart, 1949); Reginald R. Betts edited (from England), *Central & South East Europe, 1945—1948* (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950), summarizing domestic developments, with sections frequently sympathetic to the new regimes; another English citizen, Doreen Warriner, authored *Revolution in Eastern Europe* (London: Turnstile Press, 1950), which was also sympathetic to the new regimes.

The same year, 1949, which saw the appearance of *The Slavonic Encyclopaedia*, also produced *Handbook of Slavic Studies*, edited by Leonid I. Strakhovsky (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949). The aim was to provide a one-volume guide to the geography, ethnology, history, and literature of every Slavic country; the collection of 28 chapters was prepared by a group of 18 scholars (some of them unknown to the specialist). In general the stress was the history and literature of the Slavic countries (including Russia and the Ukraine). As Roucek's book, Strakhovsky's product has been rather severely criticized, as not being a penetrating guide or a key to the culture of the Slavonic peoples; the best appreciation was that it remains "a collection of separate articles and bibliographies, varying in importance, scope, form, and interpretation." Generally speaking, contributions dealing with linguistics and the origins and medieval history of the Slavs are the soundest. Perhaps the most useful features of this publication are the bibliographical lists of works in western European languages. The Pan-Slavonic idea, especially since 1939, was also briefly described in terms of the vicissitudes of the Slavonic peoples in a brief translation of *The World of the Slavs*, by Albert Mousset (New York: Praeger, 1950).

More recognition was granted, during that period, to Roucek's *Balkan Politics* (Stanford University Press, 1948), which aimed to integrate the social and political trends of Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Greece, and Rumania to the course of international events; it was a revision of the *The Politics of the Balkans* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939).

In November, 1955, the Department of State released *Moscow's European Satellites: A Handbook* (Department of State Publication 5914, European and British Commonwealth Series 48), whose aim is to "organize basic facts with

which all students of Eastern Europe may commence their efforts to analyze current developments in the Kremlin's seven European satellites." The 21 sections run all way from history, through physical surveys, biographic information, party purges, diplomatic relations, information programs, political refugees, economics, to economic Sovietization and International Front Organizations. It must be noted that the "handbook is unclassified; it was compiled with the intention that it be used freely, added to, and kept current." But the usefulness of the compilation is limited to the formal statements of facts and names.

A long-felt gap in the growing literature about Central Europe has been filled by *Oxford Regional Economic Atlas: The U. S. S. R. and Eastern Europe*, prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit and the Cartographic Department of the Clarendon Press (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); while well over half of it is devoted to economic geography, there are also eleven beautifully executed general reference maps, eight of which are double-page spreads, and maps and text covering the population, ethnic composition, territorial-administrative structure, and history growth of Russia-USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe. Yet, there are minor weaknesses and mistakes here. The text states that the Ukrainians and Belorussians are "branches" of the Great Russians, an assumption which is bound to make Ukrainian and Belorussian nationalists hopping mad. The basis for grouping of the different nationalities is not clear. While the book admits that the Bulgarians speak a Slavic language, on the map they appear as one of the Turkic peoples.

Probably the most ambitious effort to synthesize the available knowledge on the southern part of this area and integrate it with the current problems has been made by Robert Lee Wolff, *The Balkans in our Time* (Harvard University Press, 1956).<sup>4</sup> But the results are more than disappointing, for several reasons. The author has limited his treatment mostly to Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, explaining that Greece and Turkey do not properly belong to the Balkans (pp. 7—9). But he has done a good job when showing how the communists overran the region, describing the changing economy of the Balkan countries from the fall of 1944 to June 1948, and analyzing the development of the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute and Yugoslavia's break with the Cominform; also good is the last portion of the book devoted to the political life of the Balkan satellites since 1948.

#### Journalistic Accounts

When Leon Dennen went to the Eastern Mediterranean in the spring of 1944 representing the War Refugee Board, he was already strongly impressed by the conflicts of ideologies and interests in the Balkans and the Near East and saw, in his *Trouble Zone: Breeding Point of World War III?* (New York: Ziff-Davis, 1945), here a potential breeding ground of war between Soviet Russia and the Western states. In particular, Dennen felt that at the Yalta Conference, in the spring of 1945, Roosevelt and Churchill made unwarranted concessions to Stalin in Southeastern Europe. The book was severely castigated

4) See the review by J. S. Roucek, in *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXI, 4 (December, 1956), pp. 634—635.

since, that time, it was extremely unpopular to portray Roosevelt and Churchill as betrayers of Balkan democracy. (Proclaimed C. E. Black: "Such a treatment contributes only confusion to the public's understanding of these important problems, however, and does a grave injustice to the statesmanship of the Big Three . . .").

Although the deadly fruits of Yalta were not so much as yet felt internationally by 1949, and since John Gunther went rather easily on this problem in his *Behind the Curtain* (New York: Harper, 1949), his work, utilizing, by implication, Churchill's "Behind the Iron Curtain" concept, was very popular. Actually, the book covered not only the "Iron Curtain" area, but also Italy, France and England. As in his popular other books, Gunther presented well the current problems of each country within the framework of politics and personalities. He already pointed out that the U.S. had become the chief antagonist of Communist expansion everywhere.

Journalistic efforts to present the American reader with popular accounts of what has happened to the Central European countries since they came under Soviet domination are headed by E. S. Crafield and Robert Bishop, *Russia Astride the Balkans* (New York: Medill McBride, 1948); William B. King & Frank O'Brien, *The Balkans: Frontier of Two Worlds* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947); Ygael Gluckstein, *Stalin's Satellites in Europe* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952); Leland Stowe, *Conquest by Terror* (New York: Random House, 1952); and Dana Adams Schmidt, *Anatomy of a Satellite* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953). Of special notice is Gluckstein's handling of Tito's break with Moscow and his analysis of the ways and means imposed upon the satellites by the Kremlin masters intended to improve USSR's economy at the cost of the economic and industrial superiority these countries had enjoyed. Stowe, the well-known American correspondent for the Chicago *Daily News*, the ABC network and the New York *Post* Syndicate, and one of two American journalists to win all three of the top American awards for foreign reporting — the Pulitzer Prize, the Sigma Delta Chi Medal and the Medal of the University of Missouri School of Journalism — has written a solidly documented, detailed report of the sweeping Sovietization of the satellites; in his view, the process is nothing less than a preview of a world conquest by Russian communism. His vivid description of the Soviet conquest of satellite Europe, his "emotional" approach, the approach of a living man — are a great advantage of the book. Soviet propaganda is called by Stowe "a literal *salade Russe* of lies, fabrications and extravagant historical distortions". He shows skillfully how the Russian conquerors are applying identical methods, identical tactics, identical programs to all of Eastern Europe, which is to serve as a model and a prelude for a world Sovietization program. Schmidt's book differs from the others in that it is an account of a single satellite, Czechoslovakia, over a shorter period of time, since the February 1948 coup. He was *New York Times* correspondent in Prague from April 1949 to May 31, 1950, when he left Czechoslovakia in a hurry to avoid the arrest by Czechoslovakia's MVD. In that short year he collected a wealth of informations and factual data; his description of daily life of the people, the law and its perversions, education, the press, the bureaucracy, religion, letters, theatre and the arts, collectivization and the



peasant, and what resistance may be noticeable, are vivid — and appear accurate; good is also his rapid account of the February 1948 coup and Beneš' part in it.

To this categories of reporting possibly also belong Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, *My Europe* (London: Putnam, 1952), and C. A. Smith's *Escape from Paradise* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954). Sir Robert has written lightly for over twenty years of his business, diplomatic and personal experiences; of interest to us is Book Two of his diplomatic Odyssey, centered around Prague and post-1945 Czechoslovakia. Lockhart's intimacy with Jan Masaryk offers piquancy to his very personal record. Smith has edited eight accounts "by seven who escaped and one who did not" of their flights from Russia and the satellite countries; the collection is intended as a warning to the complacent, and the epilogue by Dr. Smith contains an attack on Britain's "doctrine of containment" as opposed to a more positive policy; chapter notes present the historical background and reliability testimonies of each story.

More recently appeared *Russia's Danubian Empire* by Gordon Shepherd (New York: Praeger, 1954), formerly a high official of the Allied Commission, and then a newspaper correspondent, who describes the successive stages in the shifts in political power in the satellite countries, and deals with the plight of the churches, the struggle of the peasantry against the collectivization of agriculture, and the position of the rapidly expanding industrial proletariat; the last part discusses the position of the Danubian area in world politics, and the chances for liberation. To Cyrus Sulzberger, a Harvard graduate, and an enterprising and far-wandering reporter, "Nothing is ever permanent in Eastern Europe." In the winter and spring of 1956 Sulzberger traveled extensively in Russia and Eastern Europe, from Tashkent to Prague, finding out just what was the significance of the Khrushchev-Bulgarian government by a committee, "autocracy without an autocrat". His conclusions in *The Big Thaw: A Personal Exploration of the "New" Russia and the Orbit Countries* (New York: Harper, 1956), are that the Russian state is unchanged in its traditional secretive, totalitarian, expansionist policies, but the terror has been substantially relaxed. "Ideological subjugation of the world" remains the Soviet goal. Both in Russia and in the Eastern satellite nations he found four factors characteristic of the Soviet system: (1) a housing crisis in the cities; (2) an agricultural crisis on the land; (3) an administrative crisis except at the highest levels and (4) an absence of pepper from the table. The first is caused by the rapid growth of industry, the second by the reluctance of peasants to work for a collective system, the third by a clumsy bureaucracy and the last by the shortage of consumer goods — pepper is a luxury. Titoism is a communist heresy, an individualistic and nationalistic movement. It may have little appeal to the West, but it is the best hope for Eastern Europe, the only hope for the satellite states to escape Russian rule and to regain control of their own destinies. Therefore, Sulzberger believes, American policy should support Titoism wherever it occurs; and to encourage the Titoist heresy, Sulzberger suggests that we must vastly improve our propaganda. (Our American propaganda is inept compared with Russia's, so inept that Russian champions of materia-

listic tyranny have succeeded in presenting themselves to much of the world as more concerned for spiritual values than the grossly materialistic Americans.)

To the shelf of volumes which aim to popularize the knowledge of the workings and devices of the Soviet regimes belongs also the growing number of publications of the several committees of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, which aim, by distributing freely the results of their investigations, to make the American citizen aware of the dangers involved. For instance, The Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, released a valuable *Report on the American Slav Congress and Associated Organizations* on June 2, 1949; or the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, published, in 1948, *The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism*, a good summary of Soviet policies, with many documents relating to the Soviet orbit in Eastern Europe.

#### Sector Studies: Religion

One of the most powerful elements shaping the resentful attitude of the American public toward Soviet regimes have been the reports on the religious persecution in the Soviet orbit. One of the first publications calling on Americans to become aware of the anti-religious trends in the area was the book edited by the late R. H. Markham, *Communists Crush Churches in Eastern Europe* (Boston: Meador, 1950), a good account of communist methods in exterminating the influence of churches. Vladimir Gsovski edited for the Mid-European Studies Center *Church & State Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York: Praeger, 1955), surveying, especially from the legal viewpoint, the position of the church in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Poland (another volume, covering the USSR, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia being in preparation); of similar nature had been The National Committee for a Free Europe pamphlet, *The Red and the Black; The Church in the Communist State* (1953). George N. Shuster's *Religion Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954) reviews the story of communist action religion — especially against the Roman Catholic Church. *The Church Under Communism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953) is the second Report of the Commission on Communism appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in May, 1949. The first half contains a survey of church life under communism with up-to-date facts and figures; the conclusion is that in spite of certain liberties in return for their active support of the regime the churches now as before are unable to propagate the Christian faith. Robert Tobias, *Communist-Christian Encounter in East Europe* (Indianapolis, Ind.: School of Religious Press, 1956) is a propaganda tract. *In Silence I Speak*, another book by George N. Shuster, is an intimate and factual account of Cardinal Mindszenty's life since his imprisonment in 1947 and also a revealing picture of the ruthless communist „New Order” in Hungary. Liho Gussoni & Aristede Brunello, *The Silent Church* (New York: Veritas Publishers, 1955) is a collection of decrees, protests and other materials concerning the persecution of the Catholic Church. *Church and State Through the Ages* (Westminster, Mary.: Newman, 1954), edited and translated by Sidney Z. Ehler and John B. Morrall, is a collection of original documents covering the subject of Church and

State from the time of the Emperor Trajan to the Czechoslovak Law of 1949. Camille Maximilian Cianfarra, *The Vatican and the Kremlin* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1950) is another chronicle of the communist persecution of the Catholic Church in Europe since World War II. Thomas B. Morgan's *Faith is a Weapon* (New York: Putnam, 1952) described the resistance of the Catholic Church to Communism in both Western and Eastern Europe. J. Hutchison Cockburn, *Religious Freedom in Eastern Europe* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1953) defines religious freedom and describes how it has been lost in that section of Europe behind the Iron Curtain; it is good on communist antics as well as the reaction of the churches to them. Ludvík Němec, *Church & State in Czechoslovakia* (New York: Vantage Press, 1955) contains an enormous amount of material about events in Czechoslovakia. But the book would have been better if the first 177 pages had been omitted; as history they are of no value and they will do much to prevent the perceptive reader from ever reaching the main part of the story; they deal with the theological base fort the position of the Catholic Church, and then aim to re-interpret the Czech history from the Catholic point of view. Then the style is deplorable and is, in parts so bad as to be meaningless; it is also a pity that among the many authentic documents are some whose reliability must be doubted (such as that p. 274, purporting to emanate from a conference attended by Andrei Vishinsky and the leading Czech politicians). Apart from several phrases which do not ring true, it contains the surprising statement that there is no Orthodox Church in Poland or Hungary.

#### Sociological Studies

Social scientists who want to be relevant on contemporary issues will find Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1953) a launching platform for exploration of uncharted areas; it is a contour map of the satellite psyché in the Soviet Imperium. Milosz is a Polish poet who rejected satellite society and writes out a retrospection of his own lived-through experience. To him, satellite society is the first sustained experiment in modern history designed to impose a rationalized set of values and institutions upon a variety of foreign (indeed antipathetic) populations, with the objective of obtaining a uniform social product — the "New Soviet Man." For the nearest comparable effort in history we must go back to the Ottoman Empire of the pre-16th century. The behavioral patterns involved constitute the most challenging current events available for study by the social scientist. The substance of the book is four case-studies of Polish literary intellectuals who have been Stalinized: Alpha the Moralizer, Beta the Disappointed Lover, Gamma the Slave of History; and Delta the Troubadour; these rich individual psychographs also typify, as their titles suggest, varieties of the species Satellite Stalinoid; together, they illustrate major variants in the operational code of behavior whereby mutation to, and survival in, the species is accomplished. The general theory of this behavior Milosz labels *Ketman*, a code that was widely diffused in the Islamic world during the Ottoman Imperium. Its key term is this: "He who is in possession of truth must not expose his person, his relatives or his reputation to the blindness, the folly, the perversity of those whom it has

pleased God to place and maintain in error." Eastern Ketman is thus in dialectical opposition to the Western code of martyrology, whence the doctrines of personality for truth, fair dealing in public, open diplomacy were diffused among as approved standards of behavior. Milosz discriminates 7 main varieties of Ketman among intellectuals who have "adjusted to" the Soviet Imperium — National, Aesthetic, Professional, Sceptical, Metaphysical, Ethical and the Ketman of the Revolutionary Purity. Each variant has developed a rationale of overt conformity to the demands of satellite life (with inner commitment to a contrary faith) which is appropriate to its actual circumstances. Formulated in these terms, and illustrated by the author's cases, Ketman presents genuine challenges to social theory and research.

The pro-Croat Yugoslav sociologist, who has made quite a name for himself in America, Dinko Tomašić, is quite original in his *Personality & Culture in Eastern European Politics* (New York: George W. Steart, 1948), although the title is misleading, since the work deals the sociological aspects of Eastern European states, the social processes in Dinaric and Zadruga societies, and the ideologies of the peasant and partisan movements. On the margin of sociology and economics belongs Doreen Warriner's *Economics of Peasant Farming* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939).

Dr. David Mitrany, a Rumanian by birth, and a well-known scholar in America and abroad for such works as *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania* (Yale, 1930) and *The Effect of the War in South Eastern Europe* (Yale, 1936) and other excellent studies, is well versed in the peasant ideology of the Danubian and Balkan countries. In his *Marx Against the Peasants. A Study in Social Dogmatism* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), he points out that for Marx, the class of the peasants (small farmers) was doomed; small production was always less efficient, in his opinion, than large scale production and, therefore, the peasants, as a class had to be demolished by the implacable play of social forces conducive to the popularization of capitalist society into two antagonistic groups, the owners of the means of production (including the landlords) and the destitute masses of the workingmen. The peasants, as persons, not as a social class, could reach the state of moderate happiness only in the socialist society of the future. The satellite rulers, therefore, have tried to impose in the village schemes of their own preparing the final destruction of the peasant way of life along the Danube. The peasants have resisted, passively, sometimes actively. The struggle has been long and manifold, as to tempo and means, and is lucidly presented in this outstanding contribution which begins by giving a survey of the ideological conflict, continues by narrating the Marxian revolution in the Russian village (the weakest part of the book) and describes the agrarian reforms and the dogmatic struggles around them, between the two world wars, outside of Russia. He concludes by demonstrating that the dogmatic attitude of the Marxian conquerors could not but engender dictatorship. In his "Epilogue" Mitrany emphasizes that communism has come to power only where by all Marxian tests it was least expected and that the Marxian revolutions have been successful only so far as they deviated from orthodox Marxism. There is an extensive and valuable bibliography.

Wilbert E. Moore's *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946) was a unique demographic study, prepared under the auspices of the League of Nations. Unfortunately, the surveys of the developments of sociology in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia ended in 1945 with the publication of Georges Gurvitch's and Wilbert E. Moore's work, *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945) although, in some respects the subsequent genesis can be found in the *Slavonic Encyclopaedia*, and in Feliks Gross' *European Ideologies* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948).

We must notice here also a definite contribution made to this field by an exiled Czechoslovak sociologist, I. Gadourek (now living in the Netherlands), whose *The Political Control of Czechoslovakia* (Leiden: H. E. Stenfert Kroese, 1953) is a brilliant study "in social control of a Soviet satellite state"; Gadourek's reputation has been further promoted by the appearance of *A Dutch Community* (Leiden: H. E. Stenfert Kroese, 1956), a penetrating and systematic study of the social and cultural structure and social processes in a bulb-growing region in the Netherlands.

The development and function of an élite — the military — in the revolutionary society of states in the Soviet sphere is analyzed in *Satellite Generals: A Study of Military in the Soviet Sphere* (Stanford University Press, 1955), by Ithiel de Sola Pool and others. His military case histories reveal much careful work and, as far as can be judged by a Westener, good sources. The basic problem in which Dr. Pool and his colleagues seek to interest us is that of reconciling skill with loyalty. If there are not enough proficient generals who are also politically sound, how shall the balance be drawn so that both needs are met? This, clearly, is a subject open to fascinating speculations. At any rate, this volume in the Elites Series of the Hoover Institute Studies is a rather uneven survey of the development of military elites under communist rule in Eastern Europe (and China).

Although the problem of the attitudes developed by the immigrant has been a subject enticing many sociological studies in the United States, so far, little attention has been paid to the impact of culture differences on the recent refugee. A good start has been recently made by Donald Kent's *Refugee Intellectual* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), and Siegfried Kracauer's and Paul L. Berkman's *Satellite Mentality* (New York: Praeger, 1956), a valuable study based on interviews, conducted in 1951-1952, with several hundred escapees from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Although Irwin T. Sanders' *Balkan Village* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1949) is a careful sociological analysis of life in a Bulgarian village, actually it is one of the most valuable sociological analyses of the Balkan *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*; the author was at one time member of the faculty of the American College in Sofia and after World War II served as agricultural attaché at the American capital in Sofia and was able to observe the effects of Soviet occupation there.

In the field of cultural anthropology, concerned especially with the changing conditions of peasantry, definite contributions have been made by Jozo Toma-



sevich, Margaret Hasluck, and Ruth Trouton. Tomasevich's *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia* (Stanford University Press, 1955) is an extensive analysis of the peasantry and agriculture in Yugoslavia during the inter-war years, introduced by a valuable section covering the political and socio-economic developments prior to 1914. Unfortunately, the author has made no attempt to deal with the postwar situation on comparative basis. Hasluck's *The Unwritten Law in Albania* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954) is an original and scholarly study in Albanian ethnography related to the customary law of the highland tribes. Trouton's *Peasant Renaissance in Yugoslavia 1900—1950* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952), is another original contribution to our knowledge of the transformation of the peasant society under the impact of world changes, especially in the field of education. A similar approach, but with the focus on the changing status of the urban worker especially, has been used by Feliks Gross, in his *The Polish Worker: A Study of a Social Stratum* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945).

#### Economic Problems

The best survey on the subject of Eastern-Western trade is Margaret Dewar's *Soviet Trade with Eastern Europe, 1945—1949* (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951). Frederick Hertz, an Austrian now living in the U.S., appraised the postwar economic problems of the new regimes in the perspective of history in *The Economic Problem of the Danubian States: A Study in Economic Nationalism* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947). Roger N. Baldwin edited *A New Slavery: Forced Labor* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1953), a valuable survey, based on documents and personal accounts, of the system of forced labor in Central-Eastern European satellites, Yugoslavia (and in the Soviet Union and Communist China). The land policies in the Soviet sphere are ably dealt with in *Satellite Agriculture in Crisis* (New York: Praeger, 1954) by the Research Staff of Free Europe Press. A brief summary of the fuel and power resources of the satellite countries (in particular Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Rumania) and of the plans for expanding these resources in the next few years is Jan H. Wszelaki's *Fuel and Power in Captive Middle Europe* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1952). Dorothy W. Douglas' *Transitional Economic Systems: The Polish-Czech Example* (New York: Grove Press, 1953) is a relatively detailed examination of the way in which the Polish and Czech economies have evolved toward "socialism of the Communist type"; but, unfortunately, the political background to the evolution is passed over in a thoroughly unacceptable manner. More valuable in this respect is T. P. Alton's *Polish Postwar Economy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), a good appraisal of Polish economic planning and its success in solving problems of economic development, which focuses on the course of events after 1946, the extension of state control, and the Soviet influence. The integration of Rumania into the Soviet economy seems to have gone further than anywhere else behind the Iron Curtain. Large scale industrialization has made Rumania totally dependent on imports from the USSR of all basic materials, equipment and even technical aid. How Rumania's oil industry is managed as an adjunct of the Soviet economy, finan-

ced by Sovrombanc, insured by Sovromasigrari, and supplied with equipment by Sovrommetal and Sovrom-Utilaj Petrolifer, is well described by J. N. Constantin in his *The Roumanian Oil Industry* (New York: University Press, 1955).

#### Political Problems

Although, strictly speaking, all the works we have cited so far, and whatever their topic, are fundamentally based on politics, we can notice in this section the main works limited strictly to the political and constitutional analyses. Quite an impressive booklet, showing a brilliant penetrating mind, was Feliks Gross' *Crossroads of Two Continents: A Democratic Federation of East-Central Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), which analyzed the historical and contemporary developments of the idea of federation for the area. The political background of Oscar Halecki's *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe* (New York: Ronald Press, 1952) colored the approach of this well-known American-Polish historian (whose work, incidentally, also aimed to be a textbook and proved to be a failure). Clarence A. Manning's *The Forgotten Republics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952) was a good history of the Baltic states, aiming to arouse America's public opinion on behalf of the freedom of these states now incorporated within the USSR. Rudolf Schlesinger's *Federalism in Central and Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945) was a perceptive historical study, but hardly comparable to Gross' carefully thought-out work. Walter Kolarz's *Myths and Realities in Eastern Europe* (Forest Hills, N. Y.: Transatlantic Arts, 1946) stands out as one of the most original and brilliant studies showing how the course of history has been influenced that part of the world by historical myths. Samuel L. Sharp, *New Constitutions of the Soviet Sphere* (Washington, D. C.: Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1950) is a simple summary of these documents.

#### Legal Problems

The World Peace Foundation has performed a useful service in issuing *European Peace Treaties After World War II. Negotiations and Texts of Treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania and Finland* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1953), edited by Amelia C. Leiss in cooperation with Raymond Dennett. It is welcome first of all as making easily available the texts of the treaties themselves, gathered here in a particularly convenient form. The second feature is the introductory discussion of the treaties and the brief background outlining the steps in the negotiation of the principal clauses. The treatment is purely factual, with no effort at interpretation and little discussion of the broader issues. Within this deliberately restricted scope the contribution offers the reader a succinct summary of the issues involved and the stages that led to the final provisions.

F. A. Praeger has undertaken the publishing of *Research Studies of the Mid-European Law Project at the Library of Congress*, which will include the bibliography of legal sources in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Estonia-Latvia-Lithuania, Rumania and Yugoslavia. So far, only *Bibliography of Legal Sources in Eastern Europe: Hungary* appeared (1956) under the

editorship of Vladimir Gsovski; the book opens with a historical sketch, following which is a listing of all the important legislation now in force. (To this series also belongs *Church and State Behind the Iron Curtain* (1955) noted in the section on religion.) The Association of Polish Lawyers in Exile in the United States (60 East 42 St., New York) issued, in 1956, *Legal Problems Under Soviet Domination*, edited by Zygmunt Nagorski, which includes five articles by exiled Polish lawyers in "The Satellite State — a Modern Case of Intervention", by Titus Komarnicki, "Soviet Conception of Law and Protection of Human Rights", by Marek St. Korowicz, "Draft of a New Civil Code for Poland", by Zygmunt Nagorski, Sr., "The Evolution of the Polish Labor Law, 1945—1955", by Kazimierz Grzybowski, and "Aspects of Coexistence", by A. J. M. van Dal.

### The Problem of Minorities

The persistently explosive problem of minorities in the "shatter zone" of Europe has agitated American scholars since the end of the last century. In 1945, Oscar I. Janowsky's *Nationalities and National Minorities* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1945) focused on that problem again, producing a rather good analysis of the causes of power relationships involved in the problem. But, like most American scholars, he offered, fortunately or unfortunately, his ideas, of a "solution"; opposing plebiscites and transfers of population, he wanted some form of international supervision for the minorities (nothing but the experiment tried by the League of Nations and which had failed). Joseph Tenenbaum's *Underground: The Story of a People* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), was a moving but substantial presentation of Polish Jewry during the war years, concentrating on the tragic events of Warsaw and dealing with Jewish groups in other cities and in the partisan movement. A Ukrainian-American scholar Roman Smal-Stocki, gave vent to his emotions about the whole problem of minorities in his *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1952), a poorly organized and highly polemical book. The American Jewish Committee sponsored lengthy studies by four specialists on the situation of the Jews on the eve of, and during, and since World War, in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria in *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, by Peter Meyer and others (Syracuse University Press, 1953); the central feature of the approach is the disintegration of the Jewish community life under communism.

### Special Works

The literature on special territorial problems in the area (such as Macedonia, Trieste, the Oder-Neisse Line, etc.) supporting or opposing the regimes of the new regimes is more than abundant.<sup>5</sup> In fact, we cannot survey

5) We are referring here to such works as: Basil & Steven Pandzic, *A Review of Croatian History* (Chicago: "Croatia" Cultural Publ. Center, 1954); George W. Cesarich, *Croatia & Serbia: Why is Their Peaceful Separation a European Necessity?* (Ibid., 1954); Antuj F. Boniface & Clement S. Mihanovich, Ed., *The Croatian Nation in its Struggle for Freedom & Independence* (Ibid., 1955), which have no value, except as good examples of ultra-nationalism and extensive legal hair-splitting.

it here for that very reason, and shall limit ourselves the most important or influential contributions.<sup>6</sup>

The most ambitious project to summarize the systematize the available knowledge on the satellite countries has been promoted by the Mid-European Studies Center which has secured Frederick A. Praeger (150 E. 52 St., New York 22) as the publisher of the "Mid-European Studies Center Series": Stavro Skendi, Ed., *Albania* (1956); Vratislav Busek & Nicholas Spulber, Eds., *Czechoslovakia* (1957); L. A. D. Dellin, Ed., *Bulgaria* (1957); Oscar Halecki, Ed., *Poland* (1957); Stephen Fischer-Galati, Ed., *Romania* (1957); Ernst Helmreich, Ed., *Hungary* (1957); and *Yugoslavia* (1957) — the latter edited by Robert F. Byrnes, without formally acknowledging it on the title page. (Byrnes was also the editor-in-chief of this "East-Central Europe under the Communists" series). In spite of the presentation of the mountains of valuable material on "Captive Europe", the volumes have been more than disappointing. Many sections are ineptly handled, since definite efforts were made to utilize mostly refugee intellectuals and who, often, unaccustomed to the American standards of scholarship, gave vent to their resentment of the changes behind the "Iron Curtain" by painting white the pre-war regimes and painting everything black there today.

Thus a careful examination of *Albania*, edited by Stavro Skendi (1956) and of *Romania* (1956) by Stephen Fischer-Galati, makes one surprised that, with the collaboration of so many foreign specialists so little has been produced. It is true that the volumes are the best available summaries on the sovietization of the country concerned, but there is little integration and digestion apparent in the treatment of the material. The book on Rumania has sections which, in

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6) Up to 1944, such works are listed in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, "A Challenge to Peacemakers", Vol. 232 (March, 1944), pp. 177—181; up to 1953, C. E. Black, Ed., *Readings on Contemporary Eastern Europe* (New York: National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., 1953), has a selected bibliography, pp. 317—346. The projects now in the making, are listed in Dagmar Horna, Ed., *Current Research on Central and Eastern Europe* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1956). The "Recent Books on International Relations" section, edited by Henry L. Roberts, in *Foreign Affairs* (An American Quarterly Review, 58 East 68 St., New York 21), carries systematic evaluations of the current works in "Eastern Europe"; the literature is also especially listed in *The American Slavic and East European Review* (431 West 117 St., New York 27); *The Journal of Central European Affairs* (University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado); *East European Accessions List* (monthly, October, 1951 — to date, Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress), a helpful guide to current materials and publications; *News From Behind the Iron Curtain* (monthly, New York: The National Committee for a Free Europe, 110 West 57 St., New York 19); *Problems of Communism* (U.S. Information Agency, 1776 Pennsylvania Av., N.W., Washington 25, D.C.); *The Slavonic & East European Review* (semiannual, London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, Senate House, W. C. 1); Jiřina Sztachova, ed., *Mid-Europe: A Selective Bibliography* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953) is, of course, indispensable.

an apparent desire to make everything pro-Soviet "black", and everything under the monarchy as "white", make a specialist shudder in their wild statements. Both books have extensive bibliographies, but some works and studies are unaccountably missing. In fact, even the editors of the volumes are aware of the difficulties, and Byrnes admits in his "Foreword" to the book on Albania that it was necessary to do "substantial editing, revising, and in some cases complete rewriting" (p. vi). Unfortunately, more of this process should have taken place before the appearance of these volumes. In no way can the volumes which have appeared so far compare to the *United Nations Series*, edited originally by Robert J. Kerner and published by the University of California Press and which, although the editors of the Mid-European Series do not mention it, are but imitations of the previous series.

### The Baltic Region

A few works have been published also on the Baltic, mostly by the spokesmen of the Baltic nations. The best scholarly studies remain John H. Jackson, *The Baltic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), William F. Reddaway, *Problems of the Baltic* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940), Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Baltic States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), and F. W. Pick, *Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania* (London: Boreas, 1945), the last being a compact history of the three countries that comes down through the opening phases of World War II. A popular reference book is *Estonia: A Reference Book*, compiled by Villibald Raud (New York: Nordic Press, 1953), with emphasis on her political, economic, and cultural achievements in the interwar period; there are also useful chapters about the conditions in that country under the Soviet rule and the life of Estonian refugees in the Western World.

### Rumania

While Henry L. Roberts' *Rumania: Political Problems of an Agrarian State* (Yale University Press, 1951) is an able summary of the principal political movements and of scholarly materials on contemporary Rumania, David Mitran's *The Land & the Peasant in Rumania* (Yale University Press, 1930) still stands out as the most substantial examination of Rumania's history and social problems. R. H. Markham's *Rumania Under the Soviet Yoke* (Boston: Meador, 1949) are personal observations by an experienced journalist, with some penetrating comments. Nicolae Radescu, *Forced Labor in Romania* (New York: Commission on Inquiry into Forced Labor, 1949) was prepared by a former Prime Minister of Rumania (1944—1945). Henry Baerlein's *Romanian Oasis* (London: Muller, 1948) has to be recommended as a good anthology of varied material on Rumania and her people.

### Macedonia

Macedonia has always an exciting topic and publications promoting the pro-Greek, pro-Yugoslav or pro-Macedonia viewpoint have appeared in considerable numbers. Probably the least emotional treatment is Elisabeth Barker, *Macedonia: Its Place in Balkan Power Politics* (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950); H. R. Wilkinson, *Maps & Politics*,



*A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool, 1951), is a scholarly account of the geographical basis of the Macedonian question.

The pro-Greek viewpoint, stating that the Macedonians do not constitute a nation, was offered in George E. Mylonas' *The Balkan States* (St. Louis: The Author, 1946), whose history of the lower Balkans is somewhat episodic.

### Albania

There have been but a few works on Albania. We have already noticed *Albania*, edited by Stavro Skendi for the Mid-European Studies Center Series, which is useful since it is the only available handbook on that country at the moment. Julian Amery, *Sons of the Eagle: A Study on Guerrilla War* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), are memoirs of a member of the British mission about the wartime resistance movements in Albania. Glenn A. McLain's *Albanian Expose* (Quincy, Mass.: Albanian American Literary Society, 1952), is quite interesting because of its description of the current conflicts agitating the Albanian minority in the United States.

In the field of cultural anthropology belongs Margaret Hasluck's *The Unwritten Law in Albania* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954), a valuable introduction to Albanian ethnography covering the customary law of the highland tribes.

### Bulgaria

The same dearth of literature is glaring in regard to Bulgaria. There are, actually, only three good books about three different aspects of Bulgaria's history. We have noted already the value of Irwin T. Sander's *Balkan Village* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1949), a brilliant analysis of the average Bulgarian village in terms of its folkways and mores under the impact of the political changes. C. E. Black's *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria* (Princeton University Press, 1944) is the best study of the political and constitutional developments of that country during the 19th century. And R. H. Markham's *Meet Bulgaria* (published by the author in Sofia, 1931) is the best readable and general introductory work by a journalist in thorough sympathy with the Bulgarian people. Less valuable but more exciting is Kosta Todorov's *Balkan Firebrand* (Chicago: Ziff-Davis, 1943), memoirs of an agrarian leader, valuable for the discussion of negotiations with the communists after 1923.

### Tito and Titoism

The rise of Tito and Titoism has found numerous opponents and proponents among American scholars. With the hanging of Mihailović, David Martin defended this General as a patriot, democrat and a loyal ally of Britain and the United States, who in the end betrayed him, in *Ally Betrayed* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1946). The pro-Tito bias was openly displayed by Robert St. John's *The Silent People Speak* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948).

The events of the trial of Archbishop Štepinac was presented from an official Catholic point of view by Anthony Henry, Count O'Brien of Thomond, in his *Archbishop Štepinac: The Man and His Case* (Westminster, Md: Newman Bookshop, 1947). Stephen Clissold, who was located in Yugoslavia during and

after World War II, tells us about the Chetnik movement, the rise of Tito's Partisans and the social upheaval they accomplished in *Whirlwind: An Account of Marshal Tito's Rise to Power* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950). Mrs. Milla Z. Logan, a young American of Yugoslav background, returned to revisit her old country, and has come up with definitely useful objective observations concerning the differing states of mind to be found at the grass roots, in her *Cousins and Commissars* (New York: Scribner's, 1949). Leigh White expressed his resentment of Tito, rather violently, in his *Balkan Caesar* (New York: Scribner's, 1951). The late Louis Adamić, who died in 1951 and had spent seven months in Yugoslavia, obviously tried to get into the good graces of Tito with his *The Eagle and the Roots* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1952), a highly subjective book which, however, contained some useful information on the personalities of the Partisan leaders. Harry Hodgkinson, *Challenge to the Kremlin* (New York: Praeger, 1953), taking the Tito-Stalin dispute as a point of departure, examined the strains and contradictions appearing in World Communism, offering some stimulating hypotheses. With the conviction of Vladimir Dedijer in 1956, a former close associate of Tito, and formerly the director of the communist journal *Borba*, it is important to appreciate the publication of his approved biography of Tito in 1953 as *Tito* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953); the work is really most interesting and has valuable information on the break between Tito and Stalin.

The case of Mihailović and of Cardinal Štepinac has continued to be presented in the print even in the second half of the decade of Tito's rule. Albert B. Seitz, an O. S. S. officer attached to the Chetniks, defended Mihailović in *Mihailovic? Hax or Hero?* (Columbus, Ohio: Leigh House, 1953), while Richard Pattee defended the Metropolitan of Croatia against the charges of the Yugoslav government in *The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1953).

The concept of national communism, as developed by Tito and now known as Titoism has produced numerous academic as well as journalistic works. Hamilton Fish Armstrong's *Tito and Goliath* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951) was one of the first good and substantial accounts of the rise of Titoism, followed by Adam B. Ulam's *Titoism and the Cominform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), and Josef Korbel's *Tito's Communism* (Denver, Colo: University of Denver Press, 1951). On the other hand, R. H. Markham's *Tito's Imperial Communism* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1947) is a bitter journalistic attack on Tito's regime.

With the conviction of Vladimir Dedijer in 1956 for "treason" against the state, it is worthwhile to review again his *Tito* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), which is still considered Tito's official biography and the formal presentation of the ideology of Titoism. The documents pertaining to the dispute between Tito and Stalin are collected in *Soviet-Yugoslav Dispute: Text of the Published Correspondence* (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1948).

It appears that the American officials assigned officially to Yugoslavia tend to publish their unpleasant experiences with considerable resentment against the regime of Belgrade. Alexander N. Dragnich, an American-born

Montenegrin, who spent 2 years for the U. S. Information Services in Belgrade, vociferously objects to everything Tito-istic in his *Tito's Promised Land: Yugoslavia* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954); even less academic and more "violent" in his criticism of Tito is Erich L. Pribidonoff, an American-Bulgarian, who also had spent some time in Yugoslavia as an American official, and voices his criticism in *Tito's Yugoslavia* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1955). All in all, if one to get the most systematic account of Yugoslavia's background, Robert J. Kerner's *Yugoslavia* (United Nations Series, University of California Press, 1949) remains the book, while those interested in the Tito-Kremlin break should probably turn to Ulam.

As a footnote to contemporary history, we should note the sad autobiography of Yugoslavia's living young ex-monarch, King Peter II of Yugoslavia, *A King's Heritage* (New York: Putnam, 1954).

### Czechoslovakia

In this respect, we can notice that *Czechoslovakia*, edited by the late Robert J. Kerner (University of California Press, 1949), still remains the best systematic collection of studies on the background of modern Czechoslovakia. Among the other works on that country, we should note Robert Hamilton Bruce Lockhart's *Jan Masaryk: A Personal Memoir* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), a well-informed account by a member of the British Foreign Office and a personal friend of the late Czechoslovak Foreign Minister. Hubert Ripka recorded his experiences in *Czechoslovakia Enslaved* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950) while the communist tactics in Czechoslovakia are well described by Dana Adams Schmidt's *Anatomy of a Satellite* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952). Jan Stránský, a former Minister of Education, in *East Wind over Prague* (New York: Random House, 1951), describes the communist rule. In 1955, Godfrey Lias published his translation of *Memoirs of Dr. Eduard Beneš* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), the first and only volume of a projected series of three which Beneš planned as a continuation of the book he wrote between the wars; this new volume, published in Prague in the autumn of 1947, covers the period up to Munich through the end of World War II and the return of the Provisional Czechoslovak government from London to Košice. The book is not strictly an autobiography, but rather an attempt to vindicate the author's statesmanship in the eyes of his people, particularly with regard to Munich. Masaryk's famed *The Spirit of Russia* was also resurrected (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), with additional chapters and bibliographies by Jan Slavík, the former translated and the latter condensed and translated by W. R. and Z. Lee. A beautiful tribute to the memory of Jan Masaryk was paid by R. H. Bruce Lockhart in *Jan Masaryk* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951).

Josef Lettrich, the former President of the Slovak National Council from 1945 to 1948, has written a *History of Modern Slovakia* (New York: Praeger, 1955) whose major purpose is to explain the creation and existence of the Slovak State "by presenting documentary evidence" and keeping interpretation "to a minimum." He made a sharp distinction between Slovak desire for autonomy and the separatist movement, which, he claims, was inspired by the National Socialists and did not represent "the vast majority" of the Slovak

people. The latter part of the book deals with the immediate postwar period and the communist coup and ends with a discussion of various contemporary exile groups. An Englishwoman, Harriet Wanklyn wanted to produce another handbook on Czechoslovakia's history, climate vegetation and soils, forests, farming and settlement, with attention to regional geography, communications, trade and industry; although she visited the country, her *Czechoslovakia* (New York: Praeger, 1954) has proved to be an amateurish attempt.

### Hungary

The Hungarian cause has been rather ably represented by the pro-Catholic spokesmen and the former Hungarian leaders. Rustum Vambéry, later Hungary's Ambassador to Washington under the pro-communist regime, explored several myths about his country in *Hungary — To Be or Not to Be* (New York: Ungar, 1946). The case of *Cardinal Mindszenty* was ably presented by Béla Fabian (New York: Scribners', 1949). John F. Montgomery, *Hungary: The Unwilling Satellite* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1947) is a favorable account of Horthy's regime by the American Ambassador there (1933—1941). The former Prime Minister of Hungary, Ferenc Nágy, wrote up the communist tactics in *The Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948). Another Premier under Horthy, Nicholas Kállay, told of *Hungary's Vicissitudes in World War II* of a small power faced by a series of impossible choices; his recollections are a good fountain for our understanding of the still largely unfamiliar history of the wartime National-socialist sphere of control. A former official in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, Dr. Stephen D. Keresz, brought out *Diplomacy in a Whirlpool* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1953), a welldocumented analysis of Hungary's diplomatic struggle for survival between National-socialist Germany and Soviet Russia from 1938 to 1946. *Memoirs by Michael Karolyi* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1956) were published in America just during the heroic revolt of the Hungarians against the Soviet regime; feeling at home in every situation, except that of communism, Karolyi ably interpreted each era of Hungary's history for those who now wish to broaden their acquaintance with Hungary.

### Poland

The publications promoting the Polish cause in America have been most ably presented by Oscar Halecki's several volumes, especially his *The History of Poland* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1943). Feliks Gross, another Polish-born American, a sociologist, has published several important works, headed by *The Polish Worker: A Study of Social Stratum* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945). The memoirs of the leading Polish exiles have been published by Wladislaw Anders, *An Army in Exile* (London, 1949), who accounts for the activities of the Polish army fighting with the Allies in World War II under his command. Jan Ciechanowski, the Polish Ambassador to the United States during the war, described his experiences in *Defeat in Victory* (New York: Doubleday, 1947), while Arthur Bliss Lane, the U.S. Ambassador to Poland (1944—1947) criticized American policies in Eastern Europe in his *I Saw Poland Betrayed: An American Ambassador Reports to the American People* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1948). Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, the leader of the

Peasant Party, Prime Minister of the government-in-exile (1943—1944), and Deputy Prime Minister of the provisional government (1945—1947) describes fully the communist victory in Poland in *The Rape of Poland: Pattern of Soviet Aggression* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948). Although Samuel L. Sharp's *Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953) was bitterly attacked by such Polish spokesmen as Oscar Halecki, it remains a concise and informative study of the background and the present lineaments of the Polish problem. All in all, the best scholarly background material on contemporary Poland can be found in Bernadotte E. Schmidt, Ed., *Poland* (United Nations Series, University of California Press, 1945).

Joseph S. Roucek

## Besprechungen

**Reinhard Wenskus, Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt.** Bd 5 der Mitteldeutschen Forschungen. Böhlau-Verlag Münster/Köln 1956. VII + 275 S. Geh. DM 20,—.

Die als Marburger Dissertation entstandene Untersuchung läßt sich drei Forschungsgebieten und Themen gegenwärtiger wissenschaftlicher Auseinandersetzungen zuordnen: der Frage nach der Gültigkeit des überkommenen Bildes von Otto III. und seiner Korrektur und nach der *Renovatio Imperii*, der Frage nach der Anschauung von Heidenkrieg und Mission im 10. und 11. Jh. und der Frage nach der Erschließbarkeit der Gedankenwelt mittelalterlicher Schriftsteller aus ihren Werken. Dementsprechend folgt der Vf. in erster Linie P. E. Schramm, K. und M. Uhlirz, K. Erdmann, M. Bünding, H.-D. Kahl und H. Beumann, bzw. er setzt sich mit ihnen auseinander.

Methodisch geht der Vf. vom dritten Fragenkomplex aus und sucht die einander widersprechenden Urteile über die Gedankenwelt Bruns weniger am Gesamtinhalt seiner Werke, also der *Vita Adalberti*, der *Vita quinque fratrum Poloniae* und des berühmten Briefes an Kaiser Heinrich II. (dessen Druckort in den MPH I, 1864, übrigens nur in den Literaturangaben erscheint), als an einem Vergleich der Brun als Vorlage dienenden *Adalbertsvita* des Canaparius und der von ihm selbst verfaßten *Vita* zu messen. Da Brun an mehreren Stellen deutlich mit Canaparius polemisiert und in der zweiten Redaktion der *Vita Adalberti* Kürzungen und Veränderungen gegenüber der ersten Redaktion vorgenommen hat, ist hier jeweils mit bewußten Äußerungen und nicht mit Übernahmen und Topoi zu rechnen. Der Vf. hat so eine sichere Basis gewonnen, die er durch sorgfältige Untersuchung der Quellengrundlagen (S. 7—68) und durch ausführliche Exkurse über die Stellung der Werke Bruns zu anderen Quellen (S. 202—246) allseitig abgestützt und ausreichend verbreitert hat. Im Vergleich zu den bisher vorliegenden polnischen und deutschen Arbeiten über Brun von W. v. Giesebrecht (1856, 1871), Lohmeyer (1876), Kolberg (1884), Kaindl (1892), Pfülf (1897), Voigt (1907), Karwowska (1928), Kucharski (1937), Mikoletzky (1949) und Kahl (ZfO. IV, 1955) hat er so eine sichere und metho-