

## Book Reviews

Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars*, St. Louis, Mo., University of Washington Press, 1975, pp. xvii + 420.

Although the editors of this series on Central-Eastern Europe (edited by Peter F. Sugar & Donald W. Treadgold of the University of Washington) claim that «hitherto no comprehensive history of the area as a whole has appeared in any language» (p. ix), their claim is somewhat exaggerated as certified by citing similar studies in their «Bibliographical Essays» (pp. 397-402). Nevertheless, Rothschild's presentation can be considered as being probably the best survey of this kind.

For the purpose of this study, the limits of «East Central Europe» are the eastern linguistic frontier of German — and Italian — speaking peoples on the west, and the political borders of Rus/Russia/the USSR on the east. «Those limits are not precise, even within the period covered by any given volume in the series». The Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians are considered, and «it was decided not to attempt to cover them systematically, though they appear repeatedly in these books. Treated in depth are the Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Hungarians, Romanians, Yugoslav peoples, Albanians, Bulgarians, and Greeks» (pp. xi-xii).

Rothschild admits that, while attempting a comprehensive study of interwar East Central Europe, he has deliberately avoided symmetry of its several countries. «Certain problems characteristic of the entire area, or much of it, are discussed in detail for only one or two countries, and only synopses of these issues are given in the chapters on other countries» (p. xi). For instance, his probe of the Romanian Iron Guard «is intended to serve paradigmatically for such Right-Radical movements in general. Parallel phenomena in other countries, e.g., the Hungarian Arrow Cross and the Croatian Ustaša, are mentioned as political factors where appropriate», but they are not analyzed for their ideological, sociological, or psychological significance. Similarly, Bulgaria functions as «paradigm for the economics of peasant agriculture, Hungary for the impact of the depression on a transitional economy, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia for political problems arising from multiethnicity, and Poland for the structure and program of a 'government party'» (p. xii). The Jewish question is studied in some detail only in Hungary, Poland, and Romania which are «examples, respectively, of heavily assimilated, unassimilated, and mixed Jewish communities»; it is only given passing mention elsewhere.

There are no separate chapters for Austria or Greece — though they are discussed here and there («when necessary»). «Greece . . . though diplomatically engaged in Balkan issues, regarded herself as a Mediterranean, not an East Central Europe, country in terms of cultural, economic, and political perspective» (p. xii).

It spite of our enthusiasm for this publication, we are somewhat disappointed in the «Bibliographical Essay» (pp. 407) which, although being one of the best available surveys of the pertinent literature of the subject, contains, surprisingly enough, some definite gaps; more specifically, we find here no mention of such works as: Peter G. Stercho, *Diplomacy of Double Morality: Europe's Crossroads in Carpatho-Ukraine 1919-1939*, New York, Carpathian Research Center, 1971; or the reviewer's

*Politics of the Balkans*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1939, revised as *Balkan Politics: International Relations in No Man's Land*, Stanford University Press 1948, and republished by the Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn., 1971; or Roucek, Ed., *Central-Eastern Europe: Crucible of World Wars*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1946, & republished by The Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn., 1970.

City University of New York

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Ivan Volgyes (Ed.), *Political Socialization in Eastern Europe: A Comparative Framework*, New York, Praeger, 1975, pp. xiv + 199.

There is no known theory of political socialization among the Eastern European authorities trying to instill «desirable attitudes» in their citizenry.

Recognizing also the lack of available research in this area, here a group of four political scientists, headed by the editor, has been trying to discern the uniqueness of the political socialization processes in Eastern Europe and has tried to compare what they know from this subdiscipline about these processes in «open societies» with those in Eastern Europe. They first attempt to develop the theory that dictates the practices of political socialization in Eastern Europe and have constructed the prevailing theories guiding value formation activities from the existing practice. Prior to undertaking a country-by-country study of the socialization processes of the area, they had attempted to construct from practice a list of desirable value objectives and certain generalizations about the relevant processes. The results of these efforts are contained in this volume, which begins with a theoretical model, a conceptual framework of political socialization activities in Eastern Europe, and proceeds to the examination of these activities in Czechoslovakia (by Otto Ulč, pp. 38-65), Eastern Germany (by Arthur M. Hanhardt, Jr., pp. 66-91), Hungary (by Ivan Volgyes, pp. 92-131), Poland (by Joseph R. Fiszman, pp. 132-146), and Romania (by Trond Gilbert, pp. 147-199).

The desire to create a «special man», «a man of special mold», «the socialist man of the future», is ably treated within the framework of the existing processes, focused mostly on the informal structures (family, peer groups and friendship circles, the churches), the formal structures (the party, youth groups, schools, trade unions, the military), and the political media (television, radio, newspapers and journals, books, films, theater, and demonstrative arts).

The long-avowed purpose of political socialization in all these countries is to create a «special man», the good communist of the future, the citizen and the revolutionary molded into one. Nevertheless, these general concepts vary in detail from one country to another. Some of the states in the continuum stage have tried to transmit goals which are widely divergent from the norms of the party leadership in another state. Thus, for instance, Hungary and Poland aim to reduce the active participation of the citizenry in political life; other states like Romania insist on a greater nationalism, rather than internationalist orientation. But in spite of these differences we may discern a pattern in the messages which contain the values to be inculcated in the polity. These messages may be divided into positive and negative themes of political socialization: 1) the positive themes are the building of socialism, socialist morality, patriotism, and love for the socialist commonwealth; 2) the negative themes include antiimperialism, antinationalism, antiindividualism, and anti-Stalinism. The intensity of emphasis and importance of each of these themes