

wealth of nations within which the Slavic and non-Slavic nations of South-East Europe could live in progress and freedom.

A fully annotated bibliography and a detailed list of important personalities with relevant data, mentioned in the book, provide very useful informations for the student in 19th and 20th century of South Slav world.

A translation of this book into English would be of great interest for a foreign audience.

Fairleigh Dickinson University
New Jersey

BOGDAN RADITSA

George M. Zaninovich, *The Development of Socialist Yugoslavia*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968. Pp. 188.

The main objective of this study is to analyse the emergence and nature of institutional innovations, as well as the trends in political integration of Yugoslavia's communist system.

The distinctive Yugoslav polity is not presented as a model of totalitarianism, nor as a betrayal of Marxism. Following the example of contemporary Sovietologists the author refuses to view Titoism through the monolithic conceptual scheme, with the logical result that such themes typical of a communist-based system as terror, concern with power, the imposition by force of an alien political system, etc. are left out or strongly de-emphasized. According to Professor Zaninovich, the main reason for this methodological neglect is his fear that the monolithic model is insensitive to many "non-communist" variables which allegedly should be taken into account if we are to grasp the genesis and particular features of communism in Yugoslavia. Consequently, the author offers a multi-causal explanation by exploiting the combined strengths of developmental and historico-characterological approaches. Utilizing his complex model, the author isolates several historical phases of institutional growth in Yugoslavia. However, the study's principal focus is upon the period of blind imitation of Soviet institutions and especially on the interval of Yugoslav social experimentations following the well-known Soviet-Yugoslav split of 1948.

In the assessment of the causes and nature of institutional and ideological innovations in Yugoslavia, the author repeatedly assigns con-

siderable weight to the schismatic event of 1948 as the catalyst in raising Yugoslav doubts in the Soviet model, and in prompting the search for a new political and economic organization and international orientation. Specifically, the Yugoslav Communist Party's opposition to Soviet economic exploitation allegedly invited the Yugoslav rejection of the Soviet repressive, bureaucratic, overcentralized and exploitative system of state capitalism. Although the disenchantment with Soviet intentions is not viewed as the only causative factor for the decision to decentralize, de-bureaucratize and democratize Yugoslavia's economic and political institutions, the author attributes to it crucial importance in producing the decisive impetus toward the "heretic" road of socialism in that country.

Perhaps the chief merit in Professor Zaninovich's study is that it has demonstrated well that institutional and ideological innovations and their continuous elaboration in Yugoslavia are the result of the influences of many variables. In a methodologically refined multicausal analysis, the author shows that Yugoslav deviations from the Soviet model (i. e. the coexistence of private and socialized property, the establishment of workers' councils and self-governing communes, the institution of ethnic and functional representation, etc.) are developments caused by the cumulative pressure and interrelationship of several factors. To give one illustration, the Yugoslav plural economic base has resulted in an institutional superstructure which can be conceived as a compromise between individualistic and collectivistic social aspirations. In turn, this whole novel arrangement was the result of a dynamic inter-play of multiple factors. Here are a few: the absence of large landholdings and the kulak class suitable for communist expropriation and socialization; the communist fear of alienating the powerful anti-collectivistic peasantry that had significantly contributed to communist wartime victories, and which persistently refuses to join collectivized agricultural enterprises; the individualistic, tribalistic and separatist tendencies due to cultural ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity; the absolute necessity for the Communist Party to secure the political loyalty of the population after the Soviet-Yugoslav split, etc. Thus all these and several additional influences were at work in effecting a plural economic base and a corresponding superstructure consisting of self-governing institutions.

In treating the problem of community building and integration of diverse religious, cultural and ethnic groups, the study focuses on

probable trends rather than on results achieved. Understandably, such a research orientation is necessitated by the fact that the author was unable to secure any reliable public opinion indicators in order to measure the extent of political loyalties in Yugoslavia. Lacking such evidence, the author isolates a series of probable integrational indicators such as the myth of partisan solidarity, the mystique of an independent road to socialism, the formation of a professional elite loyal to the new system, etc. The author maintains that all these and several other elements may have created a positive integrational trend, and a new sense of national solidarity. However, this inference is carefully weighted against the possibility that disintegrative forces of ancient political loyalties among the Serbs, of ethnic separatism and religious fanaticism, may still be latent. Moreover, the consolidation of the new system may not be unequivocally asserted due to the fact that new institutions, and especially the agricultural collectives, do not show a tendency to become nationally shared institutions.

Besides the problem of national integration, the study dwells on integration at the supranational level. In this sense, Yugoslavia's active neutralism, and the ideological affinities and political sympathies with liberal ambitions of several communist parties in Eastern and Western Europe, have contributed not only to Yugoslavia's confidence in her indigenous Marxist road, but they have also unleashed an upsurge of national or ethnic communist tendencies. The latter have brought about a new pattern in international relations, and a new constellation of power within the Soviet bloc and the world.

On the whole, this is an excellently written text for the study of socialist Yugoslavia. It is equipped with an extensive native and English bibliography. Perhaps, in the book's next edition, the author could amplify the discussion regarding the role and future of peasants in Yugoslav theory and practice.

Southern Connecticut State College
New Haven, Connecticut

RADE J. VUJACIĆ

Dietrich Orlow, *The Nazis in the Balkans: A Case Study of Totalitarian Politics*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968. Pp. 235.

The Nazis in the Balkans is a misleading title but, strangely, this is a welcome deficiency; departing from what that title seems to imply, the