

tium. He again places the background of the brothers' mission in the midst of the Photian-Ignatian struggle in Byzantium and utilizes this also in analyzing the situation in Dalmatian Croatia when Byzantium failed to support its protégé Zdeslav, although the latter had apparently acknowledged Byzantine supremacy over Croatia while in Constantinople. Besides the Slavonic liturgy, Dvornik discusses the Byzantine transmission to the Slavs of literature, law, art, and political ideas, and, finally, the role of Novgorod in passing on (after improving on it) the Kievan artistic tradition to Moscow.

Because of the masterful reformulation of, and in no few cases, new solutions to old but still abstruse problems, the incisive interpretation of archaeological material, the informative appendices, and, finally, the massive documentation, this book should be read by all those interested in the Byzantine-Slavic field. It will undoubtedly take its place as the major work on the subject of the Byzantine mission of Cyril and Methodius to the Moravians and its effects on other Slavic areas.

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F. L. Carsten, *Revolution in Central Europe, 1918-1919* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1972) 360 pp.

The debate on the nature and extent of the revolutions in Central Europe in 1918-19 goes on. F. L. Carsten insists on speaking of «the revolution» in Central Europe and maintains that the rapid widespread proliferation of, first, soldiers', then workers' councils in the fall of 1918 «gives the lie to the allegation that there was no revolution but only a collapse». (323). And yet this study of the development and rather sudden demise of these novel political institutions must conclude that the «aim of the revolution... 'democratization' in the political, administrative, military and economic spheres... was only very partially successful» (326), and this even though «'democratization' was a real possibility». (9).

*Revolution in Central Europe, 1918-1919* is by no means a comprehensive history of the immediate post-World War I revolutions in Germany, Austria and Hungary; in fact, the reader without a solid background in not only the general history of the period 1917-1920 but that of the major forces and events of the revolutions themselves will at times find this book difficult reading. The first eight chapters (1-246) constitute a detailed study of the founding and functioning of the workers', soldiers', workers' and soldiers', and peasants' councils in urban and rural Germany and Austria. The revolutions in Hungary (52-4, 234, 238-46) and Czechoslovakia (49-52) are discussed, but very briefly, and are based on no primary research, other than in regard to the influence of revolutionary events in Hungary on the course of the revolutions in Austria and Bavaria.

About equal space is devoted to the brief history of the council movements in Germany and in Austria. Carsten's researches carry him beyond Berlin, Munich and Vienna to include glimpses into the make-up and functioning of the workers' and soldiers' councils in such diverse places as Innsbruck, Villach, Klagenfurt, Bruck, etc. in provincial Austria, while in Germany the composition and various roles played by the councils are investigated in the Ruhr, Bavaria, the Southwest, Saxony and even the Northeast marches. The tremendous wealth of information here compiled offers the basis for only a first tentative evaluation of the movement as a whole. Much of the material, often from diverse, sketchy sources, cannot yet be brought together, but the outlines begin to take shape.

In Germany the major question, according to Carsten, was whether the revolutionary

councils would be able to dominate the new national and state governments and the remnants of the old army and bureaucracy, or whether the councils would be subordinated to the old institutions. On the local, state and national levels the councils competed with these old institutions for final authority. The Ebert government, especially after the Spartacist uprising in January, 1919, but even earlier on certain issues, such as demobilization, chose to rely on the Free Corps and old state bureaucracies to maintain order and consolidate power. The Social Democratic government in Berlin made these decisions even though the «large majority of the (workers' and soldiers' councils were dominated by the moderate Social Democrats». (60) .

In some ways the researches into the council movement in Austria are aimed at corroborating the interpretation that the outcome of the struggle between councils and government in Germany could indeed have been different. While taking full cognizance of the many differences in the Austrian situation (complete collapse of the Imperial army, more unified and radical Social Democratic Party, greater antagonism between Vienna and the provinces), Carsten cites the example of the organization of the Austrian *Volkswehr* units in arguing that Ebert's reliance on the old German High Command and Free Corps was not definitely necessary; the formation of a reliable Social Democratic oriented defense force was an alternative. In fact, a few such units were actually formed: in Baden, Württemberg, and elsewhere. (65-66).

Chapters 9, 10, and 11 have only a tenuous relationship to the earlier sections dealing with the council movements. Chapter 9, «The Extreme Right» (247-70), is a close look at some of the new anti-Semitic groups in Germany and Austria (but not Hungary) in 1919, and does not discuss the extreme right in general. Chapter 10, «The National Issue» (271-98), is a rather incongruous addition, touching upon the frontier problems of Germany and Austria in 1919, and is only indirectly related to the study of the council movement. Chapter 11, «Moving to the Right» (299-322), surprisingly focuses more on the end of the coalition government in Austria, than on the decline of the left in Germany, which was certainly the more important development.

An excellent concluding chapter, «A Revolution Defeated» (323-35), recapitulates Carsten's solid criticism of the tactics and judgment of the extreme left in Germany and attempts to argue the case once more for the unfulfilled possibilities of the council movement, that «genuine popular initiative from below» (49) during the revolution in Central Europe.

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William R. Kintner and Wolfgang Klaiber, *Eastern Europe and European Security. A Foreign Policy Research Institute Book. Foreword (by) William E. Griffith*. New York: Dunellen, 1971. xx, 393 pp.

The primary purpose of this rather loosely organized work is that of explaining the dynamics of change in Socialist Eastern Europe. A concluding chapter brings in security considerations. Kintner and Klaiber express the opinion—or is it a hope?—that the rate of transformation of Socialism may outpace the decline of NATO, and especially the unilateral withdrawal of U.S. forces, thus preserving the strategic balance between East and West by accident. Within this context, Western Germany's Ostpolitik is to be understood as an effort to reduce the danger of Soviet aggression against Western Europe even though this policy raises the possibility of Soviet domination of that crucial area by peaceful means.