

GERMANY'S OSTPOLITIK: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. By *Lawrence L. Whetten*. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1971. x, 244 pp. \$6.50, paper.

The purpose of this study is "to trace the transition in West German relations with the Warsaw Pact countries by examining the positions of the principal states on the key divisive issues of the previous two decades"—that is, 1950–70. In line with this objective the author surveys the ups and downs of Bonn's *Ostpolitik*, culminating in the signing of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw in the second half of 1970.

Although the events leading up to the two historic treaties are not unfamiliar and have been ably analyzed by others, Professor Whetten performs a useful task not only in bringing together the various elements in the complex matrix of East-West negotiations but also in focusing primarily on West Germany as the key actor in the crucial period 1966–70. In this sense his study complements Fritz Ermarth's perceptive analysis of Soviet intentions regarding West Germany (*Internationalism, Security, and Legitimacy: The Challenge to Soviet Interests in East Europe, 1964–1968*). Moreover, the author, who apparently knows at least six East European languages, is able to cite original Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Rumanian, Slovak, and Soviet sources, thus presenting a fairly comprehensive coverage of the views and attitudes of the Warsaw Pact members in addition to those of West Germany and its allies.

So much for the plus side. On the minus side, the study is largely descriptive, and whatever analysis there is tends to be convoluted and often confusing. One possible reason is that judging from the documentation the book was written in a hurry, presumably to make it "current" and "relevant." Furthermore, despite the author's disclaimer that his intention was "not to establish guidelines or models for predicting behavior," he cannot resist the temptation to look into his crystal ball. But he succeeds only in raising more questions than he answers. Moreover, by focusing primarily on West Germany he tends to exaggerate the importance and influence of the Federal Republic at the expense of the United States and France, whose policies toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe get rather short shrift. It is one thing to emphasize Bonn's independent foreign policy, which to be sure represented a major change from the past, and another to disregard similar "bridge-building" initiatives of at least three American presidents and Charles de Gaulle, all of which in a sense legitimized the *Ostpolitik*.

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ICH BIN BÜRGER DER DDR UND LEBE IN DER BUNDESREPUBLIK.  
By *Barbara Grunert-Bronnen*. Munich: R. Piper, 1970. 129 pp. DM 6.

REISE NACH ROSTOCK, DDR. By *Erika Runge*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1971. 342 pp. DM 8.

HONECKER: PORTRÄT EINES NACHFOLGERS. By *Heinz Lippmann*. Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1971. 271 pp. DM 20.  
HONECKER AND THE NEW POLITICS OF EUROPE. By *Heinz*

*Lippmann*. Translated by *Helen Sebba*. New York: Macmillan, 1972. xii, 272 pp. \$7.95.

DIE GESELLSCHAFT DER DDR, EINE DEUTSCHE MÖGLICHKEIT?: ANMERKUNGEN ZUM LEBEN IN ANDEREN DEUTSCHLAND. By *Hermann Rudolph*. Munich: R. Piper, 1972. 138 pp. DM 8.

Books on East German society and politics are becoming increasingly available in the West. The relation between domestic political stabilization and the apparent upsurge of scholarly interest in the German Democratic Republic beyond West German political and academic circles is an obvious one. Peter Christian Ludz's *Parteielite im Wandel* (Cologne and Opladen, 1968) represents the most advanced conceptualization of GDR developments in the West. This work has additionally— if not causally—triggered the development of East German research in the United States as well as West Germany. Four recent treatments of sociopolitical developments in East Germany, all by West German authors, are especially worthy of attention.

Barbara Grunert-Bronnen's *Ich bin Bürger der DDR* and Erika Runge's *Reise nach Rostock, DDR* represent the "human interest" side of Western scholarship on the GDR. Bronnen attempts to reconstruct the impressions and attitudes of former residents of East Germany through a series of open-ended interviews. Although the sample is somewhat restricted, as the author admits in her introduction, the twelve respondents do provide a fascinating glimpse into the lives of refugees who have attempted to come to grips, albeit imperfectly, with the ambiguous nature of their relationship with the GDR. In almost every case the respondents continued to identify with the "socialist" value system of East German society, with its stress on collective responsibility, while rejecting its authoritarian features. In a word: life is "freer" in West Germany; life is "warmer" in the GDR.

Runge's perspective on East German society is different on two counts. During her travel to Rostock in the summer of 1970, and in her subsequent conversations with members of various strata of its adult population, she focused on how GDR citizens view their society on a day-to-day basis. Unlike Bronnen's book, Runge's has an aura of immediacy in its attempt to explore what is popularly called "GDR consciousness" (*DDR Bewusstsein*). Second, while Bronnen constructed an image of the GDR based on interviews with just a few persons, Runge was able to tape-record a number of direct conversations during her three-week trip. However, the advantages she enjoys over Bronnen evaporate on closer examination. Not only does she fail to develop an integrated perspective of East German society, but her interviews do not meet minimal scholarly requirements. For example, she never mentions that her respondents might have felt they were under pressure to say overwhelmingly favorable things about their regime. Indeed, she seems to accept the validity of every response, and fails to uncover even the slightest nuance of dissatisfaction toward the government—unlike Hans Apel in an earlier study (*Ohne Begleiter*, Cologne, 1965), who encountered a wide variety of opinions.

Despite weaknesses in these accounts, especially Runge's, both contributions represent a healthy tendency in West German writing on the GDR. Though ignorance about East Germany will continue to exist to the degree its regime shies away from direct scholarly contact with the West (a problem which may be resolved when the GDR begins to develop a sense of confidence about its role in

Central Europe), both works have at least contributed to the softening of antagonistic attitudes toward the GDR in West Germany.

Unlike the human interest accounts, Heinz Lippmann's *Honecker* and Hermann Rudolph's *Die Gesellschaft der DDR* devote attention to broad patterns of change in East German society. Although Rudolph's analysis deals with this phenomenon in a more explicit manner, Lippmann's fascinating biography of Erich Honecker is as much a study of East German society as it is an informed and objective discussion of the present leader of the GDR's ruling Communist Party.

Lippmann's examination of Honecker was, to use an appropriate German adjective, *zeitgemäß* (timely). Published five months after he had gained control of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), the book is a superb synthesis of personal biography and sociopolitical developments. Beginning with the period of Honecker's youth in the Saar, Lippmann carefully traces his career from the late 1940s through the early 1970s. Perhaps the most impressive aspect of his analysis is the section at the end which contrasts the personality traits of Honecker and his predecessor and former mentor, Walter Ulbricht. Although Ulbricht tended to be secretive and distrustful of sustained personal contact, Honecker is much more direct. While Ulbricht had a penchant—if not an obsession—for unwieldy scientific jargon, culled from cybernetics theory, Honecker invariably uses simple and direct language. The result, so Lippmann contends, is a more pragmatic approach to political and economic problems. One theme implicit in the author's examination is that as East German society has become more stabilized and self-confident, its political elite, epitomized by Honecker, have learned to discuss its problems and goals with greater candor. From this perspective, the rise of Erich Honecker mirrors the evolution of the GDR from an unstable satellite of the Soviet Union to a respected country in the East European bloc system.

Rudolph's *Die Gesellschaft der DDR* is a solid work in the art of prognosis. Instead of looking at individual or group profiles, he examines the subtle relations between social and political dynamics in the GDR. Though Rudolph does not acknowledge Ludz's influence, his attempt to understand the uses of what I would call "symbolization" in East German society bears a direct relation to Ludz's earlier work on the GDR's social structure. (See Peter Christian Ludz, "Soziologie und empirische Sozialforschung in der DDR," in his *Studien und Materialien zur Soziologie der DDR*, Cologne and Opladen, 1964, pp. 327–418.)

Rudolph has the ability to pose questions of sociopolitical development from an insider's perspective. As a former resident of the GDR, he analyzes East German society, and how it conceptualizes and deals with its problems, in a way that is different from the approach of those who have tended to rely on concepts and language derived from Western assumptions. (This tendency has been less pronounced since the late 1960s, when Western knowledge of the GDR began to break away from an earlier tradition of impressionistic, and in many cases unreliable, analysis.) Rudolph also makes a number of predictions about the future evolution of the GDR. His strongest point is one which has been sorely understressed in Western (primarily West German) studies of the GDR: Despite periods of population alienation from the regime, the working assumptions of East German society reveal a "continuity," so Rudolph contends, "which reaches from the hour zero (1945) to the present" (p. 19). Not only is the GDR becoming "permanenter and permanenter," as Gerry Livingston suggests, but it has produced a new generation of citizens who have been taught to live and work in the "new"

German society. (For a comparative look at generational change in the two Germanys see Gebhard L. Schweigler, *Nationalbewusstsein in der BRD und der DDR*, Dusseldorf, 1973.)

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AGRARNYI KRIZIS I RASPAD AGRARNOGO BLOKA STRAN VOSTOCHNOI I IUGO-VOSTOCHNOI EVROPY (1930–1933 GODY). By M. M. Goranovich. Moscow: "Nauka," 1971. 222 pp. 1.37 rubles.

During the Great Depression those countries in Eastern Europe for which agricultural exports were important made several attempts to save themselves by joining forces. In this book a Soviet scholar tries to provide a detailed study of those efforts. The author is eminently qualified for this task, having already published an interesting study of the Green International in Prague. The scope of the book is somewhat narrower than the title would suggest, since the author makes it clear at the outset that he will not devote much attention either to the nature of the agrarian crisis or to the internal agrarian policies of the reigning political movements in Eastern Europe.

The book is a brief and convenient account of the effect of the Depression on East European trade, and of the unsuccessful attempts by East European states to organize a united front against the outside world in order to obtain preferential treatment for their agricultural goods in Western Europe. When Goranovich turns, however, from description to explanation, the results are somewhat less satisfying. He is content with Marxist clichés about the greed of capitalist powers and the inherent instability of capitalist economic systems. In any case, it would be impossible to explain the behavior of leading politicians in Eastern Europe without sorting out their personalities and their party ideologies, and the distinctive internal problems of each country. The author provides something unusual in Soviet monographs, a critical bibliographical essay at the end. Although he does refer to many of the most useful Western documentary sources, he does not include any relevant English-language studies, such as those by Vondracek and Svennilson, but instead recommends most highly the rather superficial works published by the International Agrarian Institute in Moscow in the thirties.

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HUNGARY. By Paul Ignotus. Nations of the Modern World Series. New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972. 333 pp. \$11.50.

Although not an historical survey in the traditional sense, Ignotus's *Hungary* is a work that should be read by everyone interested in Hungarian history and culture. The two main reasons are the author himself and his tendency to treat topics usually left untouched by standard one-volume syntheses.

The son of one of the great literati of Hungary of the late dualist age (ca. 1900–1918), and an important left-wing liberal intellectual himself, Ignotus has produced in this book a work that is perhaps too selective and impressionistic, yet at the same time is enlightening and refreshing. Thus his coverage of Hungarian history—particularly the pre-nineteenth-century period—is arbitrary, and his