

The attractive and lively fashion in which Kostić presents the huge amount of material should also be mentioned. He is especially good at depicting the personal life of Ragusans in England, and, although he correctly points out that "what has been lost forever is probably more valuable than what we can save from oblivion" (p. 256), he still manages to bring quite a number of those important and interesting individuals to life.

Kostić's book is a work of the highest quality. It contains an enormous wealth of useful information and exhibits an imposing breadth of vision. It is a volume of great interest to all historians of England, Dubrovnik, and the Mediterranean, as well as to economic historians of the period in general. One can only hope that it will be translated into English forthwith.

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THE YUGOSLAVS. By *Dusko Doder*. New York and Toronto: Random House, 1978. xiv, 256 pp. \$10.00.

Good journalism has a meaningful place in the study of society and politics. Journalistic accounts of foreign countries have the potential of giving readers, scholars included, a broad and realistic perspective, an intellectual backdrop against which discrete phenomena acquire added meaning. *The Yugoslavs* is such a book. Illuminating and entertaining, it describes the real patterns of authority, major social processes, and the essentials of politics in contemporary Yugoslavia. For example, it discusses the *veza* as a central feature of an "alternative bureaucratic system . . . of networks of clan and family links, old friendships . . ." (p. 75). Doder is intelligently critical in an open and direct way. His style is fresh and crisp, and he never loses a realistic empathy (perhaps sympathy) for the Yugoslavs and their unique country. The author is well qualified. He has had several domestic and foreign assignments for the *Washington Post*, serving as its reporter in the State Department and also its Moscow correspondent. These assignments, his reporting from Cuba, the Middle East, and elsewhere, as well as his early childhood years spent in Yugoslavia, have given him a good comparative base for writing about that country, where, more recently, he lived for three years in the 1970s while covering Eastern Europe.

*The Yugoslavs* deals with several of the crucial, possibly contradictory, issues facing this unique land: national identity and the "ethnic key," socialist ideals and private goals, modernity and tradition, breadwinners abroad and dependents in Yugoslavia, political dictatorship and self-management, constitutionalism and a president for life, an arrangement with the Soviet Union and General People's Defense, a real degree of freedom of expression and a cowed intelligentsia's legal struggle with "repression with a human face." Doder deals with all of this on both an intellectual and a common sense level, presenting the true state of the country through rational, factually supported arguments and references to individual human situations. What emerges is a picture of a pragmatic regime unable and unwilling to move forward toward actual political change that could match the capabilities and aspirations of contemporary Yugoslavia. According to Doder, "constant motion and activism" is evident (p. 239), but advancement is not. He states that "Yugoslavia today is a country without an ideology," and that practical policies constitute the legacy of Tito, the "first Marxist king" (pp. 235 and 240). Even the ethnic issue, in his opinion, may be partly a product of the leadership (p. 244). The phrase "sugar-coated communism" occurred to this reviewer.

I have no quarrel with the author's judgments. They reflect a much needed sweeping aside of the fog of pseudo-Marxist and naïve liberal obfuscation often shrouding Yugoslavia. Particularly striking, however, is the well-expressed sensitivity to the continued operative meaning of traditional values and mass (ethnic)

cultures in Yugoslav politics. The author's presentation of tendencies in Croatian ethnic feeling is highly reminiscent of the conversation between Valetta and Constantine in Rebecca West's classic, *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon*, written almost forty years (three regimes) ago. Moreover, the section on migrant workers recalls Louis Adamic's *The Native's Return*: revolutions often accomplish less than they promise.

The parallels and interconnections between religion and Yugoslav communism are also revealed, most interestingly in the author's illuminating discussion of his talks with Djilas. I even found several societal parallels between Yugoslavia and the United States, such as "profound social turmoil and . . . the advent of an urban, cosmopolitan world," and the absence of longstanding bureaucracies and aristocracies (pp. 196, 227, 238, 240). Although perhaps the author has awakened in me images he did not mean to convey, a good book can say more than was intended.

Unfortunately, there are at least twelve misprints. Errors of fact in *The Yugoslavs* seem few and insignificant, however. While the book lacks the map which the non-specialist American reader requires in a book on Yugoslavia, the bibliography is good.

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NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES OF YUGOSLAVIA. Edited by *Nada Dragić*.  
Belgrade: Međunarodna Politika, 1974. 548 pp.

For many "Yugoslavia" experts in the 1960s there was little doubt that Edvard Kardelj would be Tito's successor, but Kardelj, nearly twenty years younger than Yugoslavia's president, died in February 1979. Kardelj's legacy to post-World War II Yugoslavia, however, may be more enduring, although charismatically of less importance, than that of the old war hero. Kardelj, a member of the Communist underground in the interwar years and a close comrade of the "old man," as Tito was known by intimates, became the apologist and chief ideologue of the Partisan movement and of the postwar regime. In the early 1950s, he helped initiate Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment. Later he took on the Chinese, challenging their doctrinal assertion that war was inevitable if socialism were to triumph (see Kardelj, *Socialism and War: A Survey of Chinese Criticism of the Policy of Coexistence* [New York, 1960]). Kardelj also provided the term and the theoretical framework for socialist self-management after Milovan Djilas had stated—rather too bluntly for his own political well-being—that an emerging bureaucratic-managerial class was incompatible with the ideal of a workers' democracy. Moreover, it is Kardelj's ideas, published under a pseudonym in 1939, that constitute the basis for official Yugoslavia's attitude toward its nations and national minorities. (Sperans, *Razvoj slovenskega narodnega vprašanja* was first published in January 1939. The latest issue, the fourth, came out in 1977 and was published by Državna založba Slovenije.)

Although Kardelj is not one of the contributors to the volume under review, he is frequently quoted and paraphrased, and his reading of the Marxist-Leninist position regarding nations and nationalities prevails. In Yugoslavia his ideas have been constitutionalized. The authors elaborate: Yugoslavia is an "international state" comprised of sovereign nations and national minorities, each having a right to cultural and political self-determination. Neither bourgeois parties of the interwar Yugoslav kingdom, nor Stalinist centralists acknowledged this right; snipes are taken by various authors at both groups. The Yugoslav Communists alone understood the mission, although they experienced some confusing moments in the late 1940s. Thereafter, with the introduction of socialist self-management and administrative decentralization, Yugoslavia truly guaranteed national and nationality rights. With regard to other states, Yugoslavia finds its nationality position a cornerstone of its "policy of non-alignment and active peaceful coexistence" (p. 284). Internally, national self-expression—cul-