

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-

tural, political, economic—is rooted in, and inconceivable without, socialist self-management. Moreover, through the workings of self-management, a unique Yugoslav nation is coming into existence. In other words, Kardelj's thoughts are parts of a whole: peaceful coexistence, nonalignment, socialist self-management, and national equality all go together. Of course, all of this has intellectual roots in the old Habsburg Empire, where the nationality issue in particular was debated for nearly a century (Kardelj, a Slovene schoolteacher, teathed on such issues), but that is another story:

The book was prepared for participants of a United Nations seminar on the Protection of the Human Rights of National, Ethnic and Other Minorities held in Ohrid, Yugoslavia in 1974. It is clearly a promotional piece, praising Yugoslavia's method of dealing with a multinational, multiethnic society. At no point is there an attempt to assess in real terms the success of Yugoslavia's policy. The eleven essays generally make for tedious reading: they are doctrinaire, repetitive, for the most part poorly translated, and filled with typographical errors. Several essays are of interest in spite of the above drawbacks. One (by Breznik and Sentić), a statistical demographic study, analyzes the composition and development of Yugoslavia's population in terms of nationality. Essays of particular interest with regard to how the theoretical position is developed include Gvozdenov and Hoxha's essay on the Vojvodina and Kosovo, autonomous provinces with significant Hungarian and Albanian populations, respectively, and Putivatra's article on the Muslim element in Bosnia-Herzegovina and how it emerged as a "nation" (it is definitely not a religious unit). The authority on the Muslims is again Kardelj, who first mentioned their national uniqueness in his 1939 book.

Selected constitutional provisions and party and statutory documents are reproduced in the second part of the book. Also included in that section is an extensive bibliography (nearly one hundred pages long), which excludes non-Yugoslav writers, however.

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GEORGI STOIKOV RAKOVSKI: BIOGRAFIJA. By *Veselin Traikov*. Sofia: Bŭlgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 1974. 407 pp. Illus.

Veselin Traikov is one of the leading scholars of the national liberation movements in southeastern Europe. This admirable study sets the activity and intellectual development of Georgi Rakovsky (1821–67) in the context of the vast revolutionary socio-economic, political, and cultural transformations which were taking place in his native Bulgaria in particular and in Europe in general. After editing the archives of Rakovsky and writing an excellent study on Rakovsky and the Balkan peoples and numerous articles and books on the national liberation movements in southeastern Europe, the author has produced a balanced, full-length scholarly study of one of the most interesting figures of the Bulgarian national renaissance.

Rakovsky's name is inextricably linked with the struggle of the Bulgarian people for religious freedom and national independence. The book under review is a straightforward intellectual biography presenting Rakovsky's intellectual development and activity in a chronological order. Although his private life and personality are described, the work is chiefly concerned with Rakovsky's public activity, his rise to leadership in the national revolutionary movement, and his writings. The recurrent theme is that of Rakovsky as a great seeker. He is correctly depicted as a man of great significance for Bulgarian and Balkan history, because throughout his life the Bulgarian revolutionary attempted to wrestle with problems crucial to the Bulgarian people—how to create an ideology of liberation, formulate a program, and establish an organization which would guide and lead the national liberation movement to