

received little from their contacts in the government beyond the mutual confidence that develops from satisfactory working relationships. The British government regarded the subject nationalities of eastern Europe as instruments of warfare rather than as vital elements of a future peace. As the author shows at every turn, their utilization was determined by military exigencies, unobscured by political or ideological commitments to national self-determination. British policy was an opportunistic blend of using the émigrés to fight the war while leaving open the option of ending it through a peace negotiated with their enemies. The emphasis at any particular moment was dictated by the strategic situation. Thus, when Austria-Hungary became the focus of British efforts to divide the Central Powers, neither the wartime cooperation with the Czechs and South Slavs nor the treaties with Italy and Rumania precluded exploratory talks toward a separate peace with the Habsburgs. It was the Austrians who refused to consider British probes for a separate peace in 1917–18. British officials were determined to avoid any commitments to the future shape of eastern Europe that would close the door on the possibility of a negotiated peace. In this connection, Calder's account sheds some light on what might be termed "official pacifism" on the Allied side.

Calder's work is most useful where it illustrates the operation of the bureaucracy in its exploitation of the subject nationalities, that is, in fighting the war. While the last chapter is entitled "Commitment by Implication," the author's discriminating treatment of British policies shows Britain's commitment to the "New Europe" to have been tenuous indeed. On the émigré side of this wartime partnership, Calder distinguishes clearly among the respective political positions, military advantages, and working methods of the Czechs, the Poles, and the South Slavs.

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US FINANCING OF EAST-WEST TRADE: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GOVERNMENT CREDITS AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST. Edited by *Paul Marer*. Studies in East European and Soviet Planning, Development, and Trade, no. 22. Bloomington: International Development Research Center, Indiana University, 1975. xiv, 442 pp. Tables. \$12.50, paper.

EAST-WEST TRADE: A SOURCEBOOK ON THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THEIR LEGAL ASPECTS, vol. 1. Compiled and edited by *Dietrich André Loeber*. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1976. 1, 424 pp. \$37.50.

In recent years, the total borrowing of Eastern Europe and the USSR in the West has accelerated even faster than the growth in East-West trade—a situation precipitated by the rising import demand of these countries and the disappointing growth of their export earnings in hard currency areas. The borrowing requirements have been met partly by loans provided by the private sector (mainly by commercial banks), but also through the so-called Official Credit Support programs (OCS) of Western governments.

The existence of OCS has provoked an interesting controversy in the United States concerning particularly the role and effectiveness of Eximbank, the principal institution of the official U.S. program. The major issues of that controversy are dealt with in Professor Marer's book. Marer has skillfully edited various papers presented at a panel discussion on "The Political Economy of Subsidized Credits in East-West Trade" (December 1974, San Francisco) together with comments made during the round table and other contributions of topical relevance.

OCS programs are controversial because officially supported export credits may involve long-term interest charges and payment terms which are more advantageous than commercial rates offered for export activities of comparable risk. According to some experts, OCS facilities do involve an element of subsidy, which leads to market distortion cost. Thus, a justification for OCS policies can be made only if they are accompanied by even greater public benefit. This book includes a number of well thought-out arguments both in favor of and against the OCS program. It is to the credit of the editor that the views not only of well-known economists (Kindleberger, Leontief, Bronson), but also of other experts—from the governmental banking and business communities, as well as from the U.S. Congress (Senators Proxmire and Stevenson)—are given serious attention.

Unfortunately, the debate is confined to a question which is narrow and impractical: Should the United States government provide OCS facilities or not? The question is narrow because it offers no policy guidance in the absence of suitable alternatives for export promotion. (As suggested by Professor Kindleberger, alternatives might include a U.S. attempt to enforce the Bern Agreement.) It is impractical because no acceptable methodology exists to measure the effects of OCS programs on the magnitude and distribution of direct and indirect costs and benefits among numerous economic and political groups. Moreover, even apart from the difficulties in calculating domestic opportunity costs of OCS policies, there is no political consensus on what should be considered as the criterion for "national interest" (see the paper by Hardt and Holliday, and the accompanying discussion). This last point represents, perhaps, the main difference between the much more pragmatic foreign policies of the West European countries and the policies of the United States, in their approach to East-West trade.

The book contains other firsthand and interesting information on various aspects of the OCS program in the United States. Perhaps the most valuable contribution is Professor Wolf's study comparing the U.S. OCS facilities with those offered by the major competitors. Mr. Lambert's paper, dealing with the specifics of financing U.S. exports of agricultural products through the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC), is also of general interest. Unfortunately, many details concerning the activities of Eximbank and the CCC are scattered throughout the book, resulting in some repetition of historical and organizational descriptions of the OCS program. Since no index is provided, the reader would be well advised to start with the excellent summary of the controversy prepared for the volume by the editor.

The source book on East-West trade compiled and edited by Professor Loeber will be useful primarily to legal experts on East-West trade and to anyone interested in the organization of foreign trade systems in socialist countries. The volume, first of an impressive undertaking, is concentrated on two principal subjects: the organization of intrasocialist and East-West relations, and the equality and discrimination in East-West economic relations.

The selection of materials (which are drawn mainly from primary sources) is based on two interesting criteria. First, Professor Loeber concentrates on "hard-to-get" information. His aim is to fill an important gap in the rapidly increasing amount of information on the subject. Second, and most laudable, he attempts to cover fourteen socialist countries in Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

At present, the first criterion may create some difficulties because not every potential user of the source book is familiar with what information is "hard-to-get." Consequently, the reader's orientation among the various subjects in the book may be impaired, although this will undoubtedly be improved with the eventual publication of the bibliography and the index. As for the second criterion, a better coverage of the less "popular" socialist countries would be desirable. The book, as with any

similar attempt, obviously will require a regular updating. The general cutoff date for the purpose of the volume was January 1, 1975.

With these reservations in mind, however, readers will be on perfectly safe ground. Moreover, thanks to the editor's success in including a large number of details on the less publicized aspects of East-West and East-East relations, this volume can be highly recommended as a basic reference.

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AGRARPRODUKTION IN DEN MITGLIEDSLÄNDERN DES RATES FÜR GEGENSEITIGE WIRTSCHAFTSHILFE (RGW). By *Andreas Kurjo*. Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, series 1. Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, vol. 64. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot in Kommission, 1975. 221 pp. Tables. Paper.

This volume presents and comments upon a broad range of agricultural production data drawn from seven CMEA members. Its value lies in its potential as a convenient reference work. More than 100 of its 221 pages are given over to the presentation of data on agricultural production in CMEA nations. There is very little analysis, and the bulk of the narrative simply points out highlights and trends in the data. There is almost nothing in Kurjo's account which one could not deduce easily from an examination of the data he presents.

Several factors limit further the value even of the raw data. First, the period of analysis is only from 1960 to 1972. Collectivization was nearly complete for almost all CMEA nations (except Poland) by 1960, and there is consequently no opportunity to examine comparatively the impact of collectivization upon production. Second, CMEA data are compared with world averages of agricultural production. Kurjo concludes that CMEA nations have done slightly better than the world in improving production for the period in question. But world averages have little meaning and one wishes that a comparison had been made instead with Western Europe or a climatic analogue. Third, there is no attempt to control production data for such factors as soil quality or climate. Thus the "comparative" value of the data is reduced severely. In fact, the most useful analytic comparison in the volume is a reproduction of the findings of a more systematic 1970 study by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

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MARXISM AND RELIGION IN EASTERN EUROPE: PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE BANFF INTERNATIONAL SLAVIC CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 4-7, 1974. Edited by *Richard T. DeGeorge* and *James P. Scanlan*. *Sovietica*, vol. 36. Dordrecht, Holland and Boston: D. Reidel, 1976. xvi, 181 pp. Dfl. 65. \$25.00.

A brief review cannot do justice to a volume as rich in substance as is this one. The subject matter is both timely and exciting, and the high level of scholarship found here does not detract from the work's immediate interest. What does flaw this collection of essays, however, is a certain incongruity between the first and second parts. The section devoted to contemporary manifestations of Marxist philosophy in Eastern Europe, and even to some intrinsic aspects of Marxist thought without much reference to its application in any definite politico-geographic region, is, on the whole, analytical, critical, and systematic. The section dealing with religion, and especially the unsatis-