

Jay in *The Federalist* [1787] and Lincoln in his first inaugural [1861], that only a federation could keep states such as those of Yugoslavia from perpetual hostility.) As for not including Nedić's Serbia along with the Independent State of Croatia in my "tententious" account of recent history: perhaps I should also have included Vichy France. In regard to the "simple falsehood" of my reference to the language provisions of art. 12 of the Croatian constitution of 1990, the falsehood is in Knežević's misleading simplicity. That article does indeed have a second clause that permits the use, "in particular local jurisdictions," of another language and some other script, "under conditions established by statute" (my emphasis). Both the geographical qualification and the phrase emphasized are suspect. If jurisdictional boundaries are drawn in ways that ensure that Serbs or other minorities are nowhere a local majority, the constitutional "guarantee" is meaningless. But in any event, the subordination of a constitutional provision to ordinary legislation makes the supposed "guarantee" dependent on the will of whatever party is in power in the parliament. The logic of this position has been accepted by American constitutional lawyers since it was propounded by Chief Justice Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison* (5 U.S. 137 [1803]).

The last paragraph of the comment does raise an issue for clarification in regard to the destruction of the Yugoslav federation. My reference was to the constitutional structure of Yugoslavia, which was clearly doomed by the Slovenian amendments of 1989, as my paper cited in the article shows. That paper also discusses the political context in which the Slovenian steps were taken. Those who wish to pursue further the failings of the constitutional structures of federalism in Yugoslavia should look at the work of Slobodan Samardžić (*Jugoslavija pred iskušnjem federalizma* [Belgrade: Stručna Knjiga, 1990]; and "Dilemma of Federalism in Yugoslavia—Problem of Sovereignty in a Multinational Federation," *Praxis International* 11, no. 3 [1991]: 377–86). Since Samardžić is presumably a Serb, his analyses must be suspect to Knežević; yet I recommend them to those readers of this journal who believe that intellectual arguments must be evaluated primarily on the basis of their content rather than on the ethnic identities of their authors.

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To the Editor:

Space limitations preclude a detailed answer to Prof. Alice-Catherine Carls's criticisms of my annotated edition of Józef Beck's papers (*Slavic Review* 51, no. 4 [1992]: 831–33), but I would like to make a few comments. Prof. Carls's interpretation of Beck's papers is questionable. The *Fragments* are not an expression of his "bitter philosophy" in defeat but repeat his prewar criticisms of the League of Nations, the Locarno Treaties and the western powers' acceptance of Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland. (Polish readers can check Beck's published speeches, press interviews and other recorded statements.) The *Commentaries* are a brief account of diplomacy and war in 1939, not "an indictment of Britain's unwillingness to follow up on its many offers." In fact, Beck saw Britain's position as "almost irreproachable." (For an English translation, see Józef Beck, *Final Report* [New York, 1957], 233, pt. 3; for the French, see *idem.*, *Dernier rapport* [Neuchâtel, Paris, 1951], 353.) Prof. Carls poetically characterizes my interpretation of Polish policy in 1932–1939 as "the voice of the betrayed who attempt to break the wall of polite silence," and as a "symptom of unhealed wounds" caused by French and British behavior toward Poland. More prosaically, she charges me with trying to prove that Beck was always right and that he was a great statesman. In fact, I present Beck's foreign policy in broad contexts: western, German and Soviet policies; the problems facing Poland; and the real choices available. I cite evidence to show that French and British policy toward Germany was decisive for Warsaw's policy in regard to Austria and Czechoslovakia. In 1989, communism collapsed in eastern Europe. In May 1991, Józef Beck's remains were brought from Romania to Warsaw and reburied with honor. It is also high time to discard the old stereotype of the machiavellian, or at least the devious Colonel Beck, in favor of an image closer to Ranke's "history as it really happened."

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