

YEARBOOK ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AFFAIRS, 1973. Edited by *Richard F. Staar*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973. xvii, 651 pp. \$25.00, cloth. \$9.50, paper.

Like the preceding volumes, the seventh *Yearbook* provides a reference work of the highest order, and henceforth will be indispensable to all those who are interested in the evolution of different components of the world Communist movement. In this volume the editor has prefaced the accounts of individual Communist parties and subsidiary international organizations with an introduction in which he concisely summarizes the chief trends exhibited within the movement in 1972. It is a happy innovation that deserves to be further developed.

The book gives an impression of the consolidation of the influence, not to say the hegemony, of the Soviet party over the whole movement, with the obvious exception of China and a few parties that remain loyal to it. Certainly, as Staar notes and as it appears clearly from the substantial article on the Soviet party, the latter experienced numerous domestic problems of an economic, political, social, and national kind. But in order to respond to these problems the Soviet leadership demonstrated a remarkable dynamism. Along with the strategy of *détente* and cooperation with the West, which achieved the successes of which we all are aware, the Kremlin undertook sizable efforts to perfect the ideological training of militants and to strengthen party control over all sectors of Soviet society. Unlike the observers who allow themselves to be fascinated by the repressive side of such efforts, the authors of the article on the USSR pay close attention to what is being done to make it a "model of developed socialism" and to stress "more sophisticated tools of social engineering and system maintenance." The hour of the manager has sounded in the Soviet Union, and the bureaucratic regime assumes a more and more technocratic hue. The slogans of the moment are efficiency, personal initiative and responsibility, integration of science and politics.

It seems that the methods employed to strengthen the cohesion of the movement have been similarly perfected. Thanks to a complex strategy combining repression and concession, firmness and flexibility, the Kremlin has succeeded in calming the rumblings set off by the Czechoslovak invasion, arresting centrifugal forces, and establishing a *modus vivendi* with the foreign parties which for reasons of either conviction or tactics have opted for autonomy. The compromise reached in Moscow in 1969 has proved durable and fruitful. Since that time the USSR has had no major problems with other parties in power, aside from the conflict that continues with China, and that has become stabilized to some extent. There have been some transitory difficulties with Hungary on account of the audacities of Kádár's economic reform and relatively liberal cultural policy, but they were overcome in a manner that satisfied Moscow. (The chapter dealing with the Hungarian party and its unique course is particularly successful.) As in Hungary but even more so, in Yugoslavia internal national and social tensions have favored Soviet policy. As for Rumania, it seems that the Kremlin is beginning to accommodate itself to her ambiguous status.

The chapters devoted to the French, Italian, Japanese, Indian, Chilean, and the various Arab parties deserve the closest attention of the reader, who will find there the background necessary to comprehend recent developments. The electoral success achieved by the Japanese party in December 1972 is justifiably attributed to "the soft and independent party line, the extraordinary organizational strength of the

party, the power base established in local assemblies and the reputation for achievement on the local level." The analysis of the Chilean party's policy, which was intended to be very realistic, gradualist, and moderate, is skillfully nuanced.

In general the work has the merit of not minimizing the gains made by the Communist parties in several sectors and the strengthening of Moscow's authority over almost all of the parties which, even when they have reservations about the Soviet Union's domestic policy, support its foreign policy. The reinforcement of Moscow's influence might appear surprising if one considers that on the level of ideology the Soviet Communist Party seems to be executing an about-face. However, for a long time the fate of the various Communist parties has been settled not on the level of ideology but rather on the level of organization, in accord with the political realities of the country concerned.

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THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF COMMUNISM. By *Richard C. Gripp*. New York and Toronto: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1973. xi, 209 pp. Paper.

Professor Gripp compares political structures and processes of fourteen Communist states, employing five hypotheses as organizing principles: intent to institute a Communist society, domination of the Communist Party, introduction of public-socialist ownership, provision for popular participation, and establishment of foreign policies supporting Communist states and revolutionary movements and opposing capitalist governments. Employing these five touchstones, he attempts to gauge the degree to which there exists a common core of Communist political systems and to discern divergences from the generalized model.

The eight concluding pages sketch a common pattern of evolution of Communist systems and rank the fourteen states accordingly. Within this broad framework the volume is predominantly descriptive, drawing somewhat eclectically on a variety of sources to survey thematically the nature of the Communist states. This is a formidable task, and it is only partially successful. The volume does provide a kind of introductory overview to Communist political institutions and practices, and Gripp has sought to think broadly about the essence of Communist regimes. But the brush strokes are necessarily very broad, especially in a book of this size and character. Much of the dynamics, cause-and-effect relationships, and richness of the mosaic are obscured, and there is necessarily a mechanical quality about the comparisons and contrasts.

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SOVREMENNYI ANTIKOMMUNIZM: KRITICHESKIE OCHERKI. By *E. D. Modrzhinskaia*. Moscow: "Pedagogika," 1972. 256 pp. 47 kopeks.

What is the stuff that anticommunism is made of? It includes, according to the broad definition of this book's author, active opposition to Marxism-Leninism, to socialist nations, to the international worker's movement, to national liberation movements, to humanism, and to the Soviet Union. Anticommunism as practiced in the West, and especially in the United States, promotes imperialism, Zionism, counterrevolution, the doctrine of convergence, and Western pluralist democracy.

Many names of Western "anticommunists" (for example, Raymond Aron,