

as if they were semantic and conceptual innovations of the Khrushchevian period, whereas they were, in fact, lifted bodily from the vocabulary of the Leninist era. For some reason, he refers repeatedly to the Theses of the Comintern's Sixth Congress, as if they constituted the only noteworthy earlier source upon which Khrushchevian Third World ideology could draw. In fact, of course, the 1928 Sixth Congress, following immediately upon Moscow's Chinese fiasco, signaled a sharp revision and partial *abandonment* of the Leninist and early Stalinist policy of intimate collaboration with colonial nationalist leaders (initiated at the 1920 Second Comintern Congress)—the same policy Khrushchev was subsequently to revive.

These limitations notwithstanding, Professor Taborsky's diligent and lucid work makes a useful contribution to the field and will have to be numbered among the basic handbooks on the topic.

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THE U.S.S.R. AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Edited by *Michael Confino* and *Shimon Shamir*. The Russian and East European Research Center and the Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University. A Halsted Press Book. New York and Toronto: John Wiley and Sons. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1973. xxii, 441 pp.

This volume is a symposium of papers presented at an international conference held at Tel Aviv University in December 1971 and devoted to an examination of the Soviet presence in the Middle East. The purpose of the meeting, as noted on the jacket, was "to [attempt to] evaluate the extent of the Soviet deployment in the . . . [region], the interests which motivate it, the dilemmas it is facing, and its impact on local countries."

The limitations of a review make it impossible to do justice to symposia—this particular one contains twenty papers by Western and Israeli scholars—hence no attempt will be made to analyze them in individual detail. In sum, it is a remarkable exposition of the "state of the art" that should be read by all seriously interested in the subject. However, the book is significant not only for its contents but also as an illustration of the limits of our understanding of Soviet motives and objectives after almost twenty years of Moscow's active involvement in the region. Given the lack of information on the Soviet decision-making process, the vicissitudes of the Middle Eastern political setting in which the USSR must operate, and the constantly changing nature of the international environment, these limitations come as no surprise. Nevertheless, in light of the Kremlin's obvious determination in the mid and late 1960s to neutralize the Sixth Fleet and *Polaris* submarines, it is astonishing to find in papers dealing with Soviet policies and with superpower rivalry only a few scattered references to Moscow's desire to acquire air and naval bases in the Mediterranean. Yet this relatively simple fact goes a long way toward explaining Russia's exceptional preoccupation with Egypt both before and after the 1967 war. Similarly incomprehensible is the widespread attachment to the notion that Khrushchev's and Brezhnev's policies in the Middle East are intrinsically an extension of the historic southward drive of Russia's imperial governments.

On the positive side, the volume contains much that is new, thought-provoking, and enlightening. One is particularly impressed by the quality and thoroughness of the work being done at the Tel Aviv, the Hebrew, and Haifa Universities. Chap-

ters on communism in a number of Arab states in particular are among the best in the book. In short, this is an important volume which ought to stimulate more intensive scholarly analyses of this important, timely, but as yet vastly "underdeveloped" field.

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THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN UNIVERSAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: A POLITICAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS OF SOVIET STRATEGIES AND ASPIRATIONS INSIDE ILO, UNESCO, AND WHO. By *Chris Osakwe*. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1972. xvi, 194 pp. \$12.00, paper. Distributed by Humanities Press, Inc.

In the foreword we are told that the author "spent eight years at Moscow State University, completing his work for the degree of Candidate of Legal Sciences in 1970." A long time, considering the results. This study might more appropriately be titled "A Soviet View of Soviet Participation in . . ." Almost a panegyric, this book is certainly not scholarship. The author's main purpose is "to examine the mechanism of the close interplay of international law, international politics, and ideology in the zigzag process of Soviet participation in universal international organizations" (p. xi). The "mechanism" appears to be the writings of Soviet scholars, notably Professor G. I. Tunkin, under whom this thesis was written. The three specialized agencies selected for examination are the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, and UNESCO.

Chapter 1 tortuously sets out the Soviet juridical view of universal international organizations and concludes that Soviet participation is "halfhearted" because the USSR "cannot, by definition, take upon itself the full membership obligation . . . because such an obligation will sharply conflict with its dedication to the concepts of 'inevitability of ideological class warfare' and 'the possibility of (hot) war between the East and the West'" (p. 39).

The final three chapters deal successively with the ILO, WHO, and UNESCO. The handling of the ILO is typical: of the thirty-nine pages, nine discuss the role of trade unions in the USSR, eight deal with the Soviet boycott of the 1919-34 period, sixteen are about the Soviet position on credentials and conventions since 1954, and fewer than five are concerned with political infighting in the organization. More attention is devoted to the constitutional status of trade unions in the USSR than to actual Soviet policy in the ILO. The behavior and impact of the Soviet Union are not evaluated in any meaningful way. There is little evidence of any searching examination of the official proceedings of ILO. Instead the text is larded with quotations from Soviet legal texts, asides on peaceful coexistence, and reiteration of the tactical basis of Soviet participation and Moscow's use of the ILO "to reach the heart of the international proletariat" and demonstrate the superiority of Soviet "socialism."

Most of the research was completed by the mid-1960s; the analytical content is minimal; the footnoting is uneven; and the bibliographical citations are not systematically presented. It can be safely stated that this pedestrian work will not find a place on any active bookshelf.

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