

the security concerns not only of West Europeans but also of East Europeans, indeed, of all Europeans.

But his book also suffers from the fact that its data and interpretations may quickly become dated. One sees a significant discrepancy between Coffey (p. 26) and Erickson (in *Soviet Strategy in Europe*, p. 182) on whether Soviet tactical nuclear warheads are stored in Eastern Europe, and in what magnitudes. Comparing these two authors further, one wonders whether the analyst who is unable to use East Europeans' languages can ever cover their literature and feel their political cultures so as to assess accurately their security policies. (Erickson uses not only Russian but original German, Polish, and Czechoslovak sources.) And although Coffey is encyclopedic on arms and arms control—at least as they are understood in the West—his book is almost atheoretical.

Both books have their uses, but I would not trade them for Thucydides and *Khrushchev Remembers* in tandem.

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MULTIPLE EXPOSURE: AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR'S UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE ON EAST-WEST ISSUES. By *Jacob D. Beam*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978. 317 pp. \$10.95.

Jacob Beam had a distinguished career as a diplomat, capping it with a tour as ambassador to the USSR in the years when détente was bursting into flower. Unlike his more widely known colleagues in the Foreign Service who had held that post—Kennan, Bohlen, and Thompson—Beam had had a series of prior assignments in other Communist capitals: Belgrade, Warsaw, and Prague. This was the multiple exposure. It gave him perspectives on the Soviet Union's problems of empire and on the diversity of communism in different national environments that those whose focus was on Moscow did not have. He was in Yugoslavia during the critical years after Tito's break with Stalin; he was ambassador to Poland in the early years of the Gomulka regime when, after a confrontation with the Russians, limited freedom bloomed and then faded; and he was ambassador to Czechoslovakia in 1968 when hopes for a freer and more human type of socialism turned to dust after a showdown with the Russians.

Ambassador Beam has written neither a detailed historical account of these events nor a broad disquisition on their meaning. Scholars will not find much that throws new light on American foreign policy or on developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The book was not written for specialists searching for bits of evidence to flesh out a footnote or prove a theory, but for the general reader, for whom he gives the background of the issues he dealt with in Washington and in the field, recounts episodes that illustrate a point or reveal a personality, and does it all with urbanity and a touch of humor. He has a good chapter on the negotiations with the Chinese in Warsaw from their beginning in 1958 to the time he left that post in 1961.

Beam was a diplomat's diplomat, a good negotiator, cautious and discreet, giving his best counsel to his government and carrying out its instructions. Now that he has retired, he permits himself the expression of some personal views on those with whom he had to deal, including a number of secretaries of state of the United States and Richard Nixon (who personally chose him for the Moscow post). He was a member of the U.S. delegation at the Nixon-Brezhnev summit meetings of 1972, and he played a constructive role throughout that period, never losing touch with the realities and the limitations of détente. Unfortunately for him and for readers of this book, how-

ever, his embassy was not the main channel for top-level communication between the two powers, for Nixon and Kissinger preferred to go through Ambassador Dobrynin in Washington.

The book is marred by occasional signs of editorial carelessness, and for some reason many Russian names are transliterated in Polish or Yugoslav forms.

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THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY IN TRANSITION: PCF-CPSU RELATIONS AND THE CHALLENGE TO SOVIET AUTHORITY. By *Annette Eisenberg Stiefbold*. New York and London: Praeger Publishers, 1977. xii, 155 pp.

The term "Eurocommunism" has come to signify the collective identity of certain West European Communist parties in asserting their independence from Soviet authority. Of critical importance in the Eurocommunist phenomenon have been the efforts of the French, Italian, and Spanish Communist parties to disavow the limited parameters of Soviet orthodoxy in order to develop more useful lines of revolutionary strategy for their own political settings. Within this collective identity, however, there are significant areas of diversity. Only by grasping the unique identity of each party in the Eurocommunist movement can one begin to appreciate fully the complex forces currently at work in international communism. Annette Stiefbold's study provides a superb examination of the uniqueness of French Communist revolutionary strategy as one specific component of the Eurocommunist challenge to Soviet authority.

The evolution of the revolutionary strategy of the PCF spans more than a decade. Specifically, the strategy is designed to establish a regime of "advanced democracy" as a transitional stage toward the realization of "socialism in the colors of France." Starting from what the author terms the "watershed year" of 1968, she shows that, in elaborating its revolutionary strategy, PCF statements have presented an increasing challenge to Soviet teachings on both the political role of Communist parties in left alliances and the political foundations of socialist society. Moreover, the author points out that, in addition to its ideological challenge to Soviet authority, PCF revolutionary strategy has raised another important issue in PCF-CPSU relations. To the extent that the PCF model of advanced democracy is expressly designed to lead France to socialism, the PCF has expressed considerable concern that Communist revolutionary interests in France not be compromised by Soviet-American superpower diplomacy as it relates to the political foundations of détente. It is in this overall framework, which includes the PCF position on the relationship between peaceful coexistence and the class struggle, that the author examines the Berlin Conference of European Communist Parties in 1976, both with respect to PCF-CPSU relations and as regards the attitude of the PCF toward regional solidarity with other West European Communist parties.

Present research is faced with a formidable task in analyzing the complex basis of the Eurocommunist challenge to Soviet authority. Annette Stiefbold's work, however, has enormously advanced our understanding of the role of PCF-CPSU relations in this challenge. She offers a well-organized and penetrating analysis of PCF-CPSU relations over the past decade.

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