

the institutional foundations of Slavic studies in Czechoslovakia—universities, academic as well as other scientific institutes, and learned societies—and a listing of periodicals which specifically serve the field or are hospitable to it. It concludes with a survey of all pertinent congresses and conferences organized in Czechoslovakia and abroad insofar as the latter profited from the contributions of the country's scholars.

The remaining chapters analyze scholarly activities in Slavic studies according to individual disciplines: linguistics (chapter 3, pp. 137–212), literary study, literary criticism, and folklore studies (chapter 4, pp. 213–316), archaeology, ethnography, history of the Slavs and Eastern Europe, and legal history (chapter 5, pp. 317–422), and philosophy and history of art and music (chapter 6, pp. 423–33). The sequence of chapters 3 through 6 reflects the hierarchy of the various disciplines as it was understood between the two wars.

The bibliographic information assembled in this book is extraordinarily rich. All major works by Czechoslovak Slavists are mentioned either directly in the text or in numerous footnotes, which offer not only basic biographical data but also references to periodicals where one can find anniversary evaluations or obituaries of individual scholars as well as their bibliographies, partial or complete. Although the book covers only the period between 1918 and 1939, bibliographical and biographical information for scholars whose activities fall at least in part within the interwar period have been brought up to 1975 and 1976, respectively. A detailed index (pp. 445–69) and other material conclude the volume.

In sum, this represents a most thorough and reliable contribution to the history of Slavic studies in the Czech lands, Slovakia, and—since 1918—Czechoslovakia. It is a useful companion to *Československé práce a jazyce, dějinách o kultuře slovan-ských národů od r. 1760: Biograficko-bibliografický slovník* (Prague, 1972), compiled by two of the same authors. The remaining volumes, intended to cover the subject from the second half of the eighteenth century through World War I and after World War II, will be worth waiting for.

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DIE TSCHECHOSLOWAKEI AUF DER SUCHE NACH SICHERHEIT. By Adolf Müller. Politologische Studien, vol. 8. Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1977. 407 pp. DM 40, paper.

The volume under review is a survey of Czechoslovak foreign policy from the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 to the beginning of East-West détente in the 1970s. Wedged between Germany and Russia and surrounded by smaller neighbors, most of which are hostile to her, Czechoslovakia is in an extremely exposed strategic position. Consequently, concern for security has always been the basic motive of the government's foreign policy. After 1918, Edvard Beneš, Czechoslovakia's first foreign minister and second president, sought to solve this difficult problem by orienting Czechoslovak foreign policy toward the Western powers which were the victors in World War I. When the expansion of Nazi Germany threatened Czechoslovakia's existence, however, France and Britain abandoned her to Hitler's tender mercies at the Munich Conference in 1938. Therefore, as head of the wartime Czechoslovak exile government in London, Beneš gradually reoriented Czechoslovak foreign policy toward the Soviet Union. As he hoped it would do, the Soviet-Czechoslovak alliance treaty, which he signed in Moscow in December 1943, aided Czechoslovakia's restoration in 1945. Contrary to his expectations, however, the treaty did not prevent Czechoslovakia's communization in 1948.

Beneš's successor as president, the Communist leader Klement Gottwald, assured the Czechs and Slovaks that Czechoslovakia's security problem had been solved

"once and for all by our alliance with the Soviet Union and the rise of the first democratic state on German soil [that is, the East German Democratic Republic]." Presumably, this happy situation made further Czechoslovak foreign policy unnecessary. Indeed, the long-time (1953–68) Communist foreign minister, Václav David, declared: "Our role must simply be to support the efforts of Soviet foreign policy wherever we have an opportunity to do so, through our traditional relations or new contacts." The Czechoslovak Communist reformists thought differently however. When they launched the "Prague Spring" in 1968 and proceeded to define their program of domestic reforms, they also sought to formulate a distinct Czechoslovak foreign policy—within the broad guidelines of Soviet policy. Their efforts were cut short by the Soviet invasion in August 1968. Gustáv Husák, Czechoslovakia's current president and Communist Party chief, undertook to "normalize" Czechoslovak foreign and domestic policies. This did not simply mean a return to the *status quo ante*, however. For example, when East-West détente began in the 1970s, the Soviet government permitted Husák to respond to Willy Brandt's efforts to "build bridges to the east" by concluding the Czechoslovak-(West) German treaty on December 11, 1973.

Müller devotes the bulk of his study to a discussion of Czechoslovak foreign policy after 1945. He is well qualified to do so. During the 1950s and 1960s, he was an official of the Czechoslovak foreign ministry and an associate of Prague's Institute of International Politics and Economics. In 1969, in the aftermath of the "Prague Spring" and Soviet invasion, he forsook communism and left Czechoslovakia for West Germany, where he is currently a staff member of the Institut für Ostrecht of the University of Cologne. Outside observers often find East European policy declarations obscure to the point of meaninglessness. But thanks to his experience in Czechoslovakia and training in Marxian dialectics, Müller has a sharp ear for subtle meanings and policy shifts in Czechoslovak policy declarations. His book constitutes a valuable guide to the understanding of postwar Czechoslovak foreign policy.

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SOCIALIST OPPOSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE: THE CZECHOSLOVAK EXAMPLE. By *Jiri Pelikan*. Translated by *Marian Sling* and *V. and R. Tosek*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976 [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1973]. 221 pp. \$12.95.

What could be a better example of political immobility than Czechoslovakia over the last ten years? Soviet troops are still there, the intellectuals of the "Prague Spring" are still in uncompromising opposition, the Czechoslovak population as well as the political forces of the West are still unreconciled to the situation but unable (or unwilling to take the risks) to do anything about it. And yet, the fate of this book itself testifies to the fact that something *is* moving. Published in French in 1973, it had to be considerably enriched by J. Pelikan in 1975 for the English edition in order to take into account the successive initiatives of the socialist opposition (like the statement of the Socialist Movement of Czechoslovak Citizens of August 1973, the letter of Jaroslav Sabata—one of the newer and most impressive exponents of resistance and victims of repression—to the Central Committee of July 1973, or Alexander Dubček's letter on the occasion of Josef Smrkowsky's death), the new trials and mistreatments to which they are submitted by the regime, or the reactions of the West European Left.

Read in 1978, all this new material itself looks like a preface to subsequent developments of the same nature but of a different order of magnitude: the Charter 1977 movement, the effects of Eurocommunism and of the Helsinki agreement, the impact of Soviet dissidents (particularly Solzhenitsyn) upon the West, the emergence of an active and partly successful opposition in Poland, the Committee for the Defense of