

namely, absolute control of the party and of the state. Democracy and pluralism were merely in the eyes of the Western anti-Soviet beholders.

Unlike many English-language works on post-World War II Yugoslavia, Banac's pays considerable attention to the Slovenes, those within the republic and also Triestine and Carinthian Slovenes. The focus, of course, remains on Slovene Communists. Banac touches upon the Dolomite Declaration, the Črnomelj events which in February 1944 created a legislative body out of the Slovene liberation movement, and the Dachau Trials of 1948-49, which are covered in some detail. Banac concludes that the negligible number of Cominformists in Slovenia proper (fewer than in any of the other republics) was due to the belief that Slovene "aspirations could best be served within the tightly knit federal structure championed by Tito," (189). In other words, Cominformism was viewed as being in conflict with Slovene patriotism.

Ivo Banac teaches at Yale University and has won the Wayne Vucinich Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies for his book *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (1984). The volume under review here is the result of a project the author began nearly twenty years ago, using documents then available at the Hoover Institute. Returning to the project from time to time, he supplemented his research with interviews with émigrés, and also with American authorities of the postwar occupied territories of Trieste and occupied Carinthia. He has also made extensive use of Vladimir Dedijer's documentary opus, *Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tito*, three hefty volumes which have been published since 1980. Banac's *With Stalin Against Tito* is absorbing reading for its attempt at an investigation of the internal workings of Yugoslav Communist politics. It is a welcome beginning towards a new analysis of the subject. The work should also perk the attention of those who would claim to understand International Communism, especially in the immediate post-1945 era. One fascinating suggestion is that it was Tito's militancy in the mid-forties, not that of Stalin who was then apparently trying to get along with the West, that was responsible for the beginning of the Cold War. All in all this book is provocative reading.

Carole Rogel, The Ohio State University.

Irena Gantar Godina, *T.G. Masaryk in masarykovstvo na Slovenskem (1885-1914)*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1987. 175 pp., photographs.

Godina's purpose in writing this book is to examine the impact of Masaryk and his philosophy on Slovenes in the last two decades before World War I. Those Slovenes who came to be called Masarykites or Realists (after the name for the political party that Masaryk organized) had usually studied in Prague at Charles University's Czech branch. Some had direct contacts with Masaryk, many of them even studied philosophy. While in Prague, others learned of the esteemed Czech professor from Croats and Serbs, whose number at that university were far greater than the Slovenes. The Croat Stjepan Radić and the Serb Svetozar Pribičević, future leaders in inter-war Yugoslavia were among those who belonged to a South Slav Masaryk circle.

The heart of the author's study is contained in three major chapters of the book which deal with, first, Slovene Realists in general; then Realists who joined the JSDS (Yugoslav Social Democratic Party); and finally the National Radical Youth (NRD). Evolution of the thought and activities of prominent individuals within these groups, scant sources permit-

ting, are measured by adherence to the cardinal points of Masaryk's Realism.

For those Slovenes who are the authors principals—Dragotin Lončar, Anton Dermota, Ivan Žmavc, and Gregor Žerjav, among others—Clerical and Liberal politics had long ceased to work for the nation. They were attracted to Masaryk because Realism meant action, particularly as it addressed national issues. For him the national question was a social one requiring major efforts in furthering cultural awareness, education, and spiritual renewal among *all* Slovenes. It necessitated working with the people and politicizing the social issues which characterized their plight. Once those issues were resolved, the national question would take care of itself. Masaryk also favored a larger all-Slav effort in this direction.

The Slovene Masarykites were far from successful. They were few in number, and in an age of growing popular involvement in politics (the Vienna Reichsrat in 1907 was elected on the basis of universal suffrage) they were poor campaigners. Going to the people was a dismal failure. Their message of spiritual regeneration was too cerebral for the Slovene peasant. Godina demonstrates this well as she traces their political activities and philosophical meanderings over the years. Some Masarykites joined the JSDS, which was essentially a Slovene party with a designation intended to attract other South Slavs. But at least it was not orthodox Marxist and materialist, a position categorically abhorred by the Czech philosophy professor. The JSDS was revisionist, meaning it believed in evolution toward socialism and allowed room for spiritual interpretations of historical development. Other Slovenes who had studied in Prague, especially from the NRD, ended by joining the Slovene liberal political camp, thereby ignoring Lončar's warning that liberalism was dead. Some even began to lean toward clerical politics on the ground that Catholicism defined the spiritual character of Slovenes. Finally, various individuals within these groups abandoned Masaryk's affinity for an all-Slav movement, and chose Yugoslavism instead.

This, an expanded version of Godina's Master's work under Janko Pleterški, is a very good book on a subject which has been little explored. Its strength is in its documentation of the intense debates among Slovene intellectuals which resulted in ever-changing philosophical and political positions when addressing the issues of their time. Godina begins with an extensive bibliographical essay. For her own study she uses, primarily, journals, newspaper and occasionally correspondence. Also, the book is blessed with footnotes, so often lacking in publications from Slovenia, and it has photographs of some of the author's heroes. Finally, this book has some puzzling features. The conclusion is followed by biographical features of some Masarykites; yet some important figures are not included, while Ivan Žmavc, who lived exclusively in Prague and was hardly known in Slovene lands, is given the most thorough treatment. The book concludes with a twenty-five page debate between Masaryk and Janez Evangelist Krek, the popular cleric from the Slovene People's Party, on the freedoms of learning and conscience at universities; this seems out of place given that the book's focus is Slovene Masarykites.

Carole Rogel, The Ohio State University.

Karel Kaplan, *The Short March: The Communist Takeover in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1948*. New York: St. Martin's, 1987. xiv + 207 pp., maps, tables. \$29.95, cloth.

In February 1948 the Czechoslovak Communist Party provoked a governmental crisis