

foreign policy is a formidable task. But the skillful introductions to the various sections of the book and the concluding chapter of analyses by outstanding experts demonstrate that it is possible to understand Soviet foreign policies.

But these selections of divergent interpretations and Professor Rubinstein's own judicious introductions, which present the views of others in addition to his own, reveal to the student that there are no easy answers. It is fortunate, indeed that our first book of readings on Soviet foreign policy for the college student is such a good one.

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G. D. EMBREE. *The Soviet Union Between the 19th and 20th Party Congresses, 1952-1956*. Pp. ix, 365. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959. Guilders 22.80.

In the period between 1952 and 1956 there were significant developments in both internal and foreign policies in the Soviet Union. Beginning with the convening of the Nineteenth Party Congress in 1952 and ending with the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, George D. Embree has collected and collated a large amount of information taken from Soviet press and periodical literature. Relying heavily on the translations of Russian literature in *The Current Digest* of the Soviet Press and supplementing these with an extensive canvass of American, British, and German books and articles, the author has put together an impressive amount of information. The book has the semblance of a doctoral dissertation. It contains a Bibliography, Footnotes, long quotations, and documentation. Like most studies in current Soviet history, Embree's book is filled with a recitation of events as reported in *The New York Times*. He retells the story of the accomplishments of the Nineteenth Party Congress of 1952, the events which preceded the death of Stalin, the "Doctor's Plot," the situation confronting the party and the government after Stalin's death, the changes in internal policy, the machinations of Beria

and his purge. There is an eighty-two page chapter in which the new foreign and domestic policies are discussed. Starting with the interregnum in which Malenkov shares power with Khrushchev, Embree develops the story of the new collective leadership and of the economic changes and foreign policies which were the culture for the seed of Khrushchev's power to take hold and sprout in many directions. He goes into considerable detail in discussing Khrushchev's rise to power. Merle Fainsod, Bertram Wolfe, and a few other distinguished scholars have written on this topic in a more trenchant and penetrating manner, but young scholars like George Embree should be encouraged to replow the ground so that they may have the exercise and experience of collection and interpretation of data.

The penultimate chapter is a factual description of the events of 1955 concerning Soviet foreign policy, and the final chapter discusses the Twentieth Party Congress of February 1956. Starting with the decision in 1954 to embark on a program of foreign economic aid to underdeveloped countries, the Soviet Union continued in 1955 to extend its posture before the world in a different manner than during the Stalin era. The realignment of power in the Kremlin in February 1955 with the "resignation" of Malenkov and the appointment of Khrushchev's puppet, Bulganin, as prime minister brought the role of Khrushchev as the spokesman of Soviet foreign policy very much to the front of the stage. The year 1955 ends with Khrushchev and Bulganin "peddling their wares" in South Asia. Embree finishes his book with an account of the party and the economic changes wrought by the Twentieth Congress. He documents the story of the denigration of Stalin, the problem faced by Khrushchev to stave off an attempt to move him aside, and shows how Khrushchev was preparing the maneuver to weaken Malenkov and Molotov.

All these events are well known, but they make interesting repetitive reading. Dr. Embree might consider a sequel study of the following four years, from 1956 to 1960, and attempt to trace through the

last four years the events which consolidated Khrushchev's power. Such another volume would be of considerable value. The large print of this book makes it easy reading from the optical point of view, but next time an attempt should be made to prevent the inordinate number of typographical errors.

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SERGE A. ZENKOVSKY. *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*. (Russian Research Center Studies, 36.) Pp. x, 345. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. \$6.75.

The twenty million or so Turkic speaking Muslims—Tatars, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kazakhs, Bashkirs, Azeris, and others—of Russia constitute the largest non-Slavic and non-Orthodox population of the Soviet Union today. In the days of Jingiz Khan and his Golden Horde successors, Turkic nomads established their rule over much of what today is Russia. With the conquest of Kazan by Ivan the Terrible, the trend was reversed, and in the mid-nineteenth century the partly Turkic populated Caucasus region and solidly Turkic Central Asia became the last major territories to be incorporated into the ever expanding tsarist realms.

The advent of liberal, constitutional, and nationalist ideas to Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was bound to stir the Tsars' Turkic subjects into new political consciousness. The tsarist collapse of 1917 briefly seemed to present the alluring prospect of national independence; yet it is doubtful whether any of the essential prerequisites of nation-statehood were present. Religious consciousness competed with ethnic loyalty. The culturally more advanced Tatars in the West were scattered over a wide area—from the Crimea to Baku and Kazan—inhabited by Great Russians and other non-Turkic populations. The region of solid Turkic settlement from the Caspian to the Altai mountains was on a far more primitive social and cultural level. In addition, the energies of Turkic political

leaders during the climactic years of the Russian Civil War were consumed with quarrels over basic political ideals, such as that between the centralist Tatars of Kazan and the federalist or separatist Bashkirs of the Southern Ural, and over tactics in the fight against the resurgent Bolsheviks. By 1922 the Red Armies had fully re-established Russian control throughout the area.

Dr. Zenkovsky has provided us with the first detailed study of political developments among Russia's Turks during the crucial period from the 1905 Revolution to the Civil War. The merit of the book, however, lies far more in the choice of subject matter than in its treatment. The author labors under the decisive handicap of being unfamiliar with the languages of the Turkic peoples whose aspirations and activities he examines. He has obtained assistance in securing translations of excerpts of a few original documents—notably the Proceedings of the Muslim Congresses of 1906 and 1917. Otherwise, the bulk of his material is derived from secondary sources in Russian and other European languages. That Turkic names and citations, including references to these key sources, are hopelessly garbled, at times beyond recognition, is only to be expected under the circumstances. What is more surprising is that even the material from western sources suffers from this. For example, the author cited on p. 299, n. 8 is Jean Deny, not "J. Denis"; the nineteenth-century poet Namik Kemal has evidently been confused with Ataturk (see pp. 30, 341); there are no references to the important works bearing on Ottoman Panturkism by E. E. Ramsaur, Bernard Lewis, and others; Nabih Amin Faris (p. 277) is not an "authoritative Moslem thinker" but a Christian.

In fairness to Dr. Zenkovsky it should be stated that the inaccuracies in which the book abounds are the result of carelessness rather than of deliberate distortion. Indeed, in a subject that could easily give rise to charged emotions, partisanship, and wishful thinking, he has maintained a commendable detachment of point of view. Nor has he attempted to fit his data into any explicit theoretical scheme.