

chapter 5 covers thoroughly "The Development of the Navy and the Emergence of Soviet Interventionary-Type Forces; The Soviet Navy's Acquisition of Global Capabilities and Perspectives."

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THREE FACES OF MARXISM: THE POLITICAL CONCEPTS OF SOVIET IDEOLOGY, MAOISM, AND HUMANIST MARXISM. By *Wolfgang Leonhard*. Translated by *Ewald Osers*. New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974. xiv, 497 pp. \$15.00.

This translation of Professor Leonhard's lengthy work (the original German appeared in the spring of 1970) provides a good introduction to the more strictly political aspects of contemporary Marxist thought. His subtitle is *The Political Concepts of Soviet Ideology, Maoism, and Humanist Marxism*. The first third of the book is devoted to an account of the political aims of Marx and Engels, of Lenin, and of Stalin; and the second half to Soviet political doctrines since Stalin, to the political concepts of Maoism, and to the development of humanist Marxism (the longest section). Within this general framework the author has further deliberately circumscribed his subject by dealing with the *political* side of Marxism in the narrow sense of the word and not with philosophical, economic, or historical aspects. Those ideas, moreover, are viewed in isolation from the Marxist movement in general and from the practical problems of Marxist parties. The author also concentrates exclusively on Marxist ideas and not on other socialist or revolutionary doctrines. Within this compass he has a very straight approach: his book is divided into short sections; he uses only original texts with no reference to secondary material; and he aims at clear expositions with a minimum of comment. Each part is prefaced with a useful section mentioning the major writings of Marx, Lenin, Mao or whoever may be under discussion. The result is a readable and reliable account.

Of course it is not difficult in a book of this scope to find minor faults: it seems, for example, strange to treat Marx and Engels as though they had identical views on these questions; and sometimes one has the impression that Professor Leonhard takes what his protagonists are saying (Marx and Engels on the Communist League, for instance) too much at face value. More importantly, there are omissions in both approach and content. Methodologically, although it is legitimate to concentrate on the political aspects—as opposed to the philosophical or economic aspects—of Marxism, one cannot help feeling that understanding of the political ideas would be enhanced by additional reference to philosophical or historical context (for example, in deciding how many of Lenin's notions were based on the native Russian revolutionary tradition and how many strictly on Marx). As for the content, there could be some treatment in a book of this length (almost 500 pages) of the German Social Democrat version of Marxism. It is also curious that there is no treatment of Trotsky's ideas—rather than only his criticism of Stalin. Trotskyism is surely a force in Marxist politics. Again, although there is a good section on Mao Tse-tung, there is nothing on other Third World Marxist movements, for example, Latin America; nor on Marxist movements in the West.

But to point to these omissions is perhaps to say only that the focus of the book is narrower than it might at first appear. Indeed, half of it is devoted to

postwar political doctrines in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, and it is here that its strength undoubtedly lies. One particularly welcome feature is an extensive bibliography covering the fields mentioned in considerable detail. All in all, this is a useful introduction.

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BREZHNEV: THE MASKS OF POWER. By *John Dornberg*. New York: Basic Books, 1974. 317 pp. \$10.00.

This book is less a work of scholarship than it is a product of journalistic craftsmanship. Dornberg has skimmed the cream of the best available Kremlinological expertise on the inside story of Brezhnev—how he rose to prominence and gained the position of power he presently occupies in the apparatus of the Soviet party-state. The book is bare of any footnotes whatever. By itself this is no scandal, but there are a number of places in the narrative which cry out for a fuller indication of sources or for some authoritative support for a number of the author's key judgments. Anyone who has read the regular political analyses of Christian Duevel (of *Radio Liberty*) over the years soon recognizes the debt Dornberg owes to this acute observer of the workings of Soviet leadership politics—a debt briefly acknowledged in the book's preface. The chapters dealing with Brezhnev's incumbency since Khrushchev's fall generally follow Duevel's interpretations of Politburo politics and the signs of high-level factionalism that has accompanied Brezhnev's movement into primacy among the leaders.

Dornberg's drawing together of a cumulation of discrete Kremlinological analyses into a single continuous and unified account of the Brezhnev leadership is useful, however. The book shows that the relative stability of the Politburo oligarchy has been the consequence neither of fervent devotion among the leaders to a notion of "collective leadership" nor of formal "institutionalization" of leadership processes, as has been often suggested. Rather, it has resulted from a fluid counterbalancing of the forces at work in the higher echelons of the party-state. Brezhnev has played a careful game of coalition politics in the oligarchy, in contrast to Khrushchev's pattern of maneuvers. The latter repeatedly used "surprise attack" tactics to upset vested interests and to prevent them from congealing into a common front to resist his reform attempts. Brezhnev, on the other hand, has won a steady accretion of power and influence through glacial tactics. According to Dornberg's account, Brezhnev's strength has undergone a series of ebbs and flows, instead of the pattern of dramatic quick advances and retreats that characterized Khrushchev's leadership. Accurately and well-told also is the story of the factional moves and countermoves in the crucial 1970–71 period, as Brezhnev sought to build a platform of decisive strength for the Twenty-fourth Party Congress. The account here probably owes something to Michel Tatu's, as well as Duevel's, analyses of the unsettled situation in the Politburo preceding the postponed and then rescheduled party congress.

Though not a solidly scholarly political biography, Dornberg has written an able account of Brezhnev's career. He has not, by any means, removed all the "masks" of Brezhnev's power. Much remains to be done in deepening our political