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Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe

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publisher claims, "the first book to be released to the general public that reveals in detail how the Western democracies are beginning to win the war against international terrorism." However, the interesting items are anecdotal in nature and most of the data have already been published in the press, journals, and other books. The rash of terrorism in Europe in the wake of the Middle East crisis of 1982 causes me to wonder how well the "winning" is actually progressing.

I have taken much issue with the publisher's attempt to convey to the buyer that the book is more than I believe the authors intended, for the publisher's attempt detracts from the efforts to truly come to grips with terrorism. Firm data based upon accurate research is a must.

Terrorism, to be discerned from other forms of violence, requires a close examination of all available evidence. It always has a purpose, often beyond the immediate manifestation of a particular act. The creation of intense fear is at the very core of terrorism; its use is to weaken or overcome resistance to the terrorist's purposes. While many forms of criminal activity induce fear in their victims, fear is incidental to the criminal's true purpose. The terror felt by the victim of a criminal act is no less real and is instrumental to the accomplishment of the crime (i.e., rape, robbery). However, once the objective is obtained the terror generally serves no further purpose. With terrorism, fear is continuous. Both the purpose and the fear involved in the terrorist act must be directed toward the resolution of a social conflict. Politically inspired terrorism is employed in an attempt to gain control of (to usurp) public powers. To the terrorist, if the ultimate end is believed correct, then the means chosen is right. But to others, one

man's freedom fighter can well be the same man's terrorist. The freedom fighter's goal may be laudable but his tactics damnable. Such an understanding of terrorism is not to be found in this book.

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Staar, Richard F. *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe*. 4th ed. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1982. 392pp. paper \$9.95

This volume constitutes the third updating of *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe* since Professor Richard F. Staar published the first edition of his book in December 1967. Successive versions of the original work then made their appearance in print at the Hoover Institution Press in 1971, 1977, and now 1982.

The changes made by Dr. Staar in these texts have been and are, amply justified. The best reason for the publication of this fourth edition of his book is the political change endemic within the client states of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe. Besides, all previous editions of Staar's book are now out of stock.

Distinct differences between portions of the texts of all four editions of *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe* reflect, in most instances, abrupt changes in the Soviet Union's policy toward the satellite nations on its western frontiers. For example, the rise of the "Solidarity" movement in Poland led to the dismissal by the Polish *Sejm* (parliament) "of three consecutive premiers: Piotr Jaroszewicz, replaced by Edward Babiuch (18 February 1980); Babiuch by Jozef Pinkowski (24 August 1980); [and] Pinkowski by Wojciech Jaruzelski (9 February 1981)." Unfortunately, the fourth edition of

Staar's book emerged from the press too early in 1982 for him to give us a complete treatment of more recent and cataclysmic events in eastern Europe.

The author has changed his angle of approach to his central theme according to the political situation in Europe early in 1982—that is to say, in contrast to what it had been in 1977, 1971, and 1967. For example, the third edition of Staar's book highlighted the strength and disposition on European soil of the armed forces of Nato and the Warsaw Pact countries. What Professor Staar appears to be showing in his latest edition is a widening discrepancy between fact and fiction within the client states of the USSR.

Staar reminds us that "historically, Soviet leaders have maintained a belief that whoever controls the East European countries will ultimately dominate all of Europe." As a corollary to this, he declares, Poland holds the key to the unity of all the eastern European nations, for it is the most important member of the Pact outside of the Soviet Union.

The present Polish constitution dating back to 1952 is based on the one which Stalin formulated in 1936 for the USSR. The former document describes the Polish state as imitative of the "historical experience of the victorious socialist constitution in the USSR, the first state of workers and peasants."

In this context, Staar makes clear, the Polish United Workers' Party, representing about 8 percent of the population, enforces a Marxist dictatorship in the name of the working class which itself has only a representation of 44.7 percent in the ruling party. When the new Communist regime of General Jaruzelski imposed martial law to curb the rising strength of the "Solidarity" movement of millions of organized workers and peasants, it reached the end

of a dialectical process of an exotic kind. It found itself obliged to turn its massive engines of coercion, including its army and secret police, against the very social classes on whose behalf it supposedly spoke.

In a sense Staar's analysis is prophetic, for he reveals the basic underlying cause of the still unresolved political crisis in Poland. Accordingly, the reader is not surprised to find similar evidences of scholarly detachment and a patient search for the truth elsewhere in the pages of this fourth edition of *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe*.

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Mason, Francis K. *Harrier*. Cambridge, England: Patrick Stephens Limited, 1981. 185pp. \$18.95

In flight, a modern airplane appears to have severed all connection with the ground below, and freely roams the sky limited only by the excellence of the men who built the craft and the skill of the pilot in command. This airborne freedom is relatively short-lived however. The aircraft must soon come to rest on some surface. This is done only with the aid of thousands of feet of paved runway or, at sea, the steel deck and elaborate arresting gear of a massive aircraft carrier.

In future battles, combatants can be expected to focus a great deal of attention on destroying these "airstrips," which may prove to be the weakest link in the airpower "chain." In light of this fact, it might be expected that the development of technology which could overcome this vulnerability would be welcomed with open arms. The history of the vertical-lift Harrier aircraft, as told by Francis K. Mason in his book *Harrier*, shows this to be far from true.