

PREFACE

RESEARCH on this book began ten years ago when, after struggling with a comparative analysis of international regional organizations for a graduate seminar at Indiana University, I decided that nothing worth reading had been written in English on the Warsaw Pact. Since that time some excellent but scattered articles have appeared along with brief chapters in broader studies of Soviet-East European relations. However, the sparseness of information on Communist coalition politics remained. There are volumes written on NATO. Fewer works, but still a substantial number, are devoted to the Organization of American States. A handful of well-researched studies have appeared on the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity. Therefore this book has been written to help fill a gap. It is not a definitive study. It is, I hope, a modest step in the right direction. It was written for general students of international relations as well as for students of communism in a style intended to be readable. I may not always have succeeded, but I wrote with the firm conviction that it is an author's responsibility to present material so that it can be understood by any reader who regularly keeps informed on world affairs, rather than the reader's responsibility to figure things out.

My research was based on the assumption that efficiency in the operation of any political alliance, indeed any institution, whether it be a school board, the US Supreme Court, the United Nations, or the Catholic Church, depends upon an accurate assessment of the adjustments that must be made and the ability to make them. There is always a struggle between the cost of adjustment and the cost of attempting to alter the environment in order to make adjustment unnecessary. There is always a lag between perceiving the changes that must be responded to and the ability to respond. This is a study of how a Communist regional defense

alliance responded to conflict among its member states. It has been written with an awareness that, given the nature of Communist ideology, much of the relationship between Communist states depends upon party activities rather than joint institutions. Yet this does not make it impossible to analyze such institutions. Both party and state relations among Communist states respond to the same external phenomena.

Nor do I subscribe to the theory that there are not enough data available on Soviet-East European organizations to be meaningful. There is, in fact, almost too much information to handle, most of it unfortunately not in English. In this sense, I have been extremely lucky. First, this is true because the bulk of my research was done in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which meant that I had the files of Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for International Studies Project on Communism, Revisionism, and Revolution in the next room and the Harvard Russian Research Center library fifteen minutes away. Second, I was able to work with assistants who knew Albanian, Czech, German, Polish, and Rumanian.

Any book that involves so many countries and languages is of necessity a collective effort. Thus my acknowledgments are long. I am grateful to William E. Griffith, director of the M.I.T. Project on Communism, Revisionism, and Revolution, both for his encouragement and his comments on the draft manuscript. I greatly benefited from conversations with Walter Clemens, Stephen Fischer-Galati, Michael Gamarnikow, Robert Hunter, Malcom Mackintosh, Peter R. Prifti, Stanley Riveles, William Zimmerman, and a number of Czech and Slovak scholars who because of the unhappy events of August 1968 must remain anonymous. Albanian materials were checked in the original by Peter R. Prifti, Czech and Slovak by Michael Berman, German and Rumanian by Rodica Saidman, Hungarian by László Urban, Polish and Russian by Irena Mauber Skibinski. My writing was made much easier by the general research assistance of Mary Patricia Grady. The manuscript was typed by Mrs. Lila Fernandez and prepared for press by Mrs. Elizabeth G. Whitney, who tirelessly retrieves documents from M.I.T. project archives.

I am appreciative of the aid and comfort given by the Harvard Russian Research Center during the early phases of my research, 1961-1963, and to the Belgrade Institute of International Politics and Economics, where I am currently on an academic exchange, and to the Institute of Strategic Studies in London, for assisting in the revisions inevitable after August 1970.

Finally I am grateful to the Center for International Studies and to its late director Max F. Millikan, and its present director, Everett Hagen, for their support in this study. Its publication has been made possible by a generous grant to M.I.T. by the Ford Foundation for research and teaching in international affairs. However, neither the center, the foundation, nor any of those whose suggestions or assistance contributed to this book is responsible for the book's contents or errors. That responsibility is mine alone.

Robin Alison Remington

Belgrade, Yugoslavia
April 21, 1971