

The author approaches Makhno in the context of events in the Ukraine between 1917 and 1921. Much attention is paid to the Ukrainian struggle for self-determination and the vicissitudes of Ukrainian nationalists. He produces evidence to show that Makhno was not eager to fight the troops raised by Ukrainian governments in 1919–20 and that he became increasingly aware of the appeal of Ukrainian nationalism. He seems to regret Makhno's failure to join forces with those who advocated an independent Ukraine. In the opinion of this reviewer, Palij does not sufficiently stress Makhno's dislike of those of his compatriots who made major compromises to establish a viable state machine, an institution that was anathema to Makhno and his anarchist collaborators.

More disappointing is Palij's failure to examine in depth the dilemma of anarchists who had a large peasant following. The temptation to use arms in a revolutionary situation was great; equally great was the anarchists' failure when another social movement backed by the power of the state decided to brook no rivals in the countryside. The fate of Makhno—and of the anarchists in the Spanish Civil War—indicates that an anarchist armed force is at a distinct disadvantage when facing more ruthless opponents.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Palij has placed all students of agrarian revolt and libertarian socialism in his debt. Just as he was able to build on the less detailed studies of Makhno by Paul Avrich, David Footman, and Victor Peters, other scholars will draw heavily on the material that Palij has collected and on some of his interpretations in future attempts to explain why peasants on the left bank of the Dnieper fought so hard under the black banner of anarchy.

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PRASA DEMOKRATYCZNA WIELKIEJ EMIGRACJI: DZIEJE I GŁÓWNE KONSEPCJE POLITYCZNE (1832–1863). By *Stawomir Kalembka*. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1977. iv, 205 pp. 41 zł., paper.

The "Great Emigration" of the 1830s–1850s occupies an important place in Polish political and intellectual history. Among the exiles were some of the country's leading writers and politicians. Moreover, émigré groups were formed in France and England on the basis of programs more radical than any hitherto known in Poland. The most successful of these groups was the Polish Democratic Society, and Dr. Kalembka has already devoted a valuable monograph to the history of this group. He has now turned to examine the extensive left-wing émigré press: exiled radicals produced a large number of periodicals in Polish as well as a few journals in French and English. Most of these publications were, of course, ephemeral, but a few, such as the organ of the Polish Democratic Society (*Demokrata Polski*), lasted for many years.

The first part of the book is devoted to a history of the left-wing émigré press. In these chapters, the author discusses such topics as the financing of the various journals, their format, the honorariums of their authors, the number of copies printed and sold, relations with Western radical journalism, and so forth. The treatment is mainly factual, the information assembled here representing the result of painstaking research into archives and the files of dusty periodicals. During its first half-decade, the left-wing émigré press was primarily the outcome of individual efforts. From 1836, however, until the defeat of the revolutionary cause in 1849, the initiative came, in most cases, from organized groups such as the Democratic Society, the more moderate Union of the Polish Emigration (*Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej*), or the Utopian Socialists centered in Great Britain. From March to November 1849, the poet Adam Mickiewicz edited *La Tribune des Peuples*, which for a brief time became the organ of the European revolutionary movement. By the 1850s, however, the Polish radicals

had lost much of their earlier élan, although the Democratic Society (since its expulsion from the European mainland) had found a new home in London. There it succeeded in reviving its journal, the last issue of which appeared in December 1862, on the eve of a new insurrection in Poland which broke out the following month.

The second—and more readable—part of Dr. Kalemka's book deals with ideological problems discussed in the columns of the radical émigré press. He has selected four questions for special treatment: To what causes did the radicals assign the partitions and the subsequent failure to achieve independence by armed action? What methods did they consider to be most effective for regaining their country's lost freedom? How did they view the role of the emigration in the life of the Polish nation? And, finally, how did they envisage the frontiers and sociopolitical regime of Poland after the planned insurrection, which they all believed would be fought to a successful conclusion? These were all topics which were fiercely disputed not only between the émigré left and right, but often within the ranks of the left wing itself.

The book includes both a useful appendix listing bibliographical data concerning each of the left-wing émigré publications and a summary in French, but it lacks an index. It is also unfortunate that the print is rather ugly and the general appearance of the volume unattractive. Even taking into account the rising costs of book production, I cannot help thinking that the publishers might have produced a more comely volume to encase the results of Dr. Kalemka's research on a subject of considerable importance for nineteenth-century Polish history.

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POLSKA-JUGOSŁAWIA 1934–1939: Z DZIEJÓW STOSUNKÓW POLITYCZNYCH. By *Anna Garlicka*. Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Historii. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1977. 225 pp. Paper.

Anna Garlicka's study of the foreign policy of Poland and Yugoslavia and the mutual relations between the two countries emerged from her doctoral dissertation. She relies primarily on the archives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, supplemented by the Central Archives of the Ministry of the Interior and the archives of the Polish general staff and War Ministry. The author was unable to gain access to Yugoslav and Czechoslovak archives, but has made good use of the Polish and Yugoslav press, memoirs, and key monographs. The book is a significant contribution to the history of East European relations between the two world wars, for Garlicka adds the Polish dimension for those already familiar with J. B. Hoptner's *Yugoslavia in Crisis 1934–1941* (New York, 1962). It is also of interest to those working in the field of Italian and German foreign policy and, to a lesser extent, French and British policy at this time.

The study deals with Polish-Yugoslav aims and relations, but always within the context of the policies of the Great Powers—Germany, Italy, France, and Britain. Relations between Warsaw and Belgrade were friendly for most of this period, but they were never close, because each country faced threats from different quarters. Thus, whereas Poland feared German and Soviet expansion at her own expense, Yugoslavia's main fear was Italian expansion combined with, or followed by, Hungarian expansion. Their reactions to the growing might of Hitler's Germany were similar. Observing French weakness and British conciliation of Germany, they sought to normalize their relations with the latter. Poland did so by signing a declaration of nonaggression with Germany in January 1934. Yugoslavia went much further. Economic needs and the desire to balance Italy with Germany led to almost total eco-