

remote parts of Russia and Siberia. Ochmański thus also seems to be avoiding facts which are generally left unmentioned in Eastern Europe. His bibliography, however, is impressive throughout. Unlike comparable books published in Lithuania now, his work encompasses all important Lithuanian sources published in the West.

Needless to say, there are a number of points of interpretation with which Western-trained scholars may not agree. In his treatment of the 1926 crisis, for instance, Ochmański takes a rather deterministic approach and insists that, parliamentary democracy having bogged down in a hopeless quagmire, only two political solutions were feasible: a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or a dictatorship of the working class. Since the workers had not yet been well organized, the political power fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Whether Smetona was indeed a fascist, as Ochmański asserts (he uses the term very broadly), is another point open to dispute among Western fascistologists. All in all, it is obvious to this reviewer that the merits of the book far outweigh the deficiencies. *Historia Litwy* is a distinct contribution to the knowledge of Lithuanian history, and Professor Ochmański must be highly commended for having undertaken this task.

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THE EMANCIPATION OF THE POLISH PEASANTRY. By *Stefan Kieniewicz*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969. xix, 285 pp. \$11.75.

During the academic year 1967–68 the University of Chicago had among its visiting faculty Professor Stefan Kieniewicz of the University of Warsaw. One of Poland's outstanding historians, whose chief interest has been the Polish insurrections of the nineteenth century, Professor Kieniewicz lectured at Chicago on the Polish peasantry. It is this course of lectures, in "a slightly revised version" (to quote from the author's preface), that constitutes the book under review. The title does not do justice to the contents. To be sure, the main theme is the emancipation of the Polish peasantry, but the book is in fact a history of this class from the end of the eighteenth century to the restoration of Poland at the close of World War I. During that century and a half the Polish peasant had traversed the long, hard road from serfdom and compulsory labor to personal freedom and landownership.

Legally, the Polish peasant gained his freedom as early as 1794 when Kościuszko issued the Polaniec Manifesto. Napoleon granted freedom to the peasant again when he established the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807. In reality, however, it was only as a result of the revolutions of 1848 that serfdom was abolished in Prussian and Austrian Poland, and not until 1864, following the January Uprising, in Russian Poland. Granting of land accompanied granting of freedom, but the amount of land was everywhere insufficient and it was paid for dearly in heavy taxation. Only permanent or seasonal emigration made life tolerable for those who remained in the Polish village, for more land became available to the latter and funds from abroad were often received by them.

Professor Kieniewicz has given us an exceptionally readable book. Its language is both precise and concise. No footnotes distract the reader. Any doubt regarding

scholarship is quickly dispelled with one glance at the extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources, almost exclusively in Polish. A unique and most valuable feature of the book is the appendix of legislative documents. In a brief space of fifteen pages, the pertinent excerpts from important legislation summarize the emancipation of the Polish peasantry.

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SOZIALISMUS UND NATIONALE FRAGE IN POLEN: DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER SOZIALISTISCHEN BEWEGUNG IN KONGRESSPOLEN VON 1875 BIS 1900 UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER POLNISCHEN SOZIALISTISCHEN PARTEI (PPS). By *Ulrich Haustein*. Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1969. xvi, 304 pp. DM 44.

This is a detailed, richly documented, and copiously annotated study of the antecedents, origins, and early years of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), one of the more wayward and less known constituent parties of the Second International. Dr. Haustein's work is based on a great variety of sources, including those collected and published in the decade since the Polish "Spring in October" by Polish labor historians associated with the journal *Z Pola Walki* and its editor Dr. Feliks Tych.

Starting with the Paris Unification Congress of 1892, Haustein focuses on the progressive polarization and schism in Polish socialism in the 1890s. At the nationalist extreme were Józef Piłsudski and Stanisław Wojciechowski, leaders of the PPS, who fought single-mindedly against Russian domination and for Polish independence, combining hatred for tsarism with contempt for all things Russian, including Russian socialism and liberalism. At the other, ultrainternationalist, extreme one finds Rosa Luxemburg and Julian Marchlewski and their small but colorful band of Social Democrats of the Kingdom of Poland (SDKP), who sneered at Polish independence and preached, to Poles who smarted under tsarist oppression and Russification, the blessings of "organic incorporation" (*organiczne wcielenie*) into the Russian economy and state.

Haustein carefully documents the inability of the PPS to understand and come to terms with the national aspirations of the Jewish Bund and of the Lithuanian Social Democrats. Although the author has treated the leaders of the PPS and the SDKP evenhandedly and sympathetically (even Leon Jogiches-Tyszka emerges relatively unscathed), he is rather hard on Ludwik Kulczycki, one of the few serious theorists of Polish socialism: Kulczycki is labeled a "traitor" (p. 271) on what seems to this reviewer insufficient evidence (pp. 176, 179)—his major historical works (including his pioneer *Geschichte der russischen Revolution*) are dismissed as a mere "Faktenkompilation" (p. 53), while his perceptive critique of PPS anti-Russian nationalism is given short shrift (p. 190). Yet for all his shortcomings, Kulczycki and his Second and Third "Proletariat" command serious attention and respect as the consistent exponents of that middle course (later represented by the PPS-Lewica) which tried to wage a struggle against tsarism and for Polish autonomy and independence in alliance with the Russian revolutionary movement and rejected Piłsudski's orientation and gamble on a major European war.

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