

Part 3, "The Crimean Tatars in the USSR," describes mainly the tragic fate of the Tatars during and after the Second World War. Accused collectively of "treason" and "collaboration" with the Germans, deported in 1943 to Siberia and Central Asia, rehabilitated after Stalin's death—but not allowed to return to their homeland, Crimea, now entirely occupied by Slav settlers—some four hundred thousand Tatars currently live in their places of deportation and are condemned to assimilation by the local population. The pathetic and seemingly hopeless struggle of this small community against the Soviet state is the subject matter of the last chapter of this book, which is based primarily on *samizdat* material.

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SOVETSKII TATARSTAN: TEORIIA I PRAKTIKA LENINSKOI NATSIONAL'NOI POLITIKI. By *Tamurbek Davletshin*. London: Our Word Publishers, 1974. 392 pp. Illus. DM 28, paper.

Davletshin's work traces the history of the Volga and Ural Tatars under Russian hegemony from the Muscovite conquest of Kazan' through the February and October Revolutions, the civil war, and the period of Soviet rule. More than one hundred pages are devoted to events of a single year, from the end of tsarist rule to the establishment of the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic in March 1918. Especially detailed is the author's treatment of the First All-Russian Congress of Muslims (held in Moscow, May 1–11, 1917), in which some eight hundred delegates participated. He quotes extensively (in Russian translation, evidently his own) from the protocols of the congress as published in Tatar in Petrograd the same year. Appendixes include translations from Tatar of other documents of the period.

The importance of the national culture in Tatar history is reflected throughout. A separate chapter traces the rise, especially in the nineteenth century, of indigenous education and Islamic reform movements, guided by an intelligentsia deriving its inspiration from both Oriental and Western sources. The last part of the book deals with cultural problems under Soviet rule. Paradoxically, it is perhaps the weakest section, omitting mention of the work of contemporary Tatar authors whose development of nationalistic themes has attracted attention in the West.

Although the author, a Tatar émigré with a background in Soviet law, does not conceal his basic aim of indicting Soviet policies, his book is much more than a propaganda diatribe. It contains a great deal of documentary material, copious footnotes, and a bibliography listing nearly one thousand titles.

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POLISH REVOLUTIONARY POPULISM: A STUDY IN AGRARIAN SOCIALIST THOUGHT FROM THE 1830s TO THE 1850s. By *Peter Brock*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977. viii, 125 pp. \$10.00.

This is the third published collection of Peter Brock's numerous articles and essays on aspects of nineteenth-century Polish intellectual history. The four essays, reprinted here with some stylistic revisions, originally appeared between 1959 and 1961 in Canadian, British, and Italian journals and in the *Festschrift* for G. D. H. Cole. The notes and bibliography have been updated, and Brock has rearranged portions of the essays to provide a connected account of the varying expressions of Polish revolutionary agrarian socialism—both in West European exile and in the partitioned homeland—in the two decades that followed the suppression of the 1830–31 insurrection. In

republishing these essays on the little-known first phase of East European populism, Brock has frequently substituted the Russian term *narodnik* for “[agrarian] socialist” in the original version in order to accentuate “the fact that it was the Poles, and not the Russians, who were the innovators of this development” (p. vii).

The first two essays discuss the emergence of agrarian socialist ideas among the extreme left of the Polish exiled community. The propitious coalition in 1835 of two groups of exiles—a handful of revolutionary noblemen living on the island of Jersey and a group of peasant-soldiers whom fortune had deposited in Portsmouth—resulted in the *Grudziąż* section of the Polish People (*Lud Polski*). Various influenced by extreme Jacobin, *babowiste* currents and the French utopians Cabet and Fourier, these exiled revolutionary populists developed an eclectic program of agrarian socialism heavily colored by the messianic strains of Poland’s redemptive mission in molding a new world order. The remaining essays describe the activities of the indigenous *narodniki* in partitioned Poland in the 1840s, notably, the abortive plots of the priest Piotr Ściegienny in the Congress Kingdom, the organizing of artisans in Poznań by Walenty Stefański, and Edward Dembowski’s tireless efforts to foment social revolution in all three divisions of Poland. Although Polish revolutionary populism was effectively silenced with the setbacks of 1846, Brock devotes special attention to the nonviolent, reformist version of agrarian socialism which emerged in eastern Galicia in 1848 in the writings of Leon Rzewuski, a descendant of the Polish *magnateria*.

The Polish populists, however, generally agreed that agrarian socialism could not be introduced until Poland was free from foreign domination. But in this struggle they would have to rely on the gentry no less than the peasantry. Nevertheless, as Brock notes, in both the manor house and the cottage, any hint of collectivism, communal ownership of the land, was anathema. Thus the Polish *narodniki* often played down this theme. Therefore, Brock concludes, “agrarian socialism, despite its interesting beginnings, never took root in the intellectual tradition of the Polish left—perhaps in part because, unlike in Russia, there were no communal institutions among the Polish peasants and artisans, no *mir* or *artel* on which populists could pin their hopes and their illusions” (pp. 89–90).

Did revolutionary Polish populism influence its later and more vital cousin *narodnichestvo*? While there is no direct evidence to link the two movements, Brock endorses the earlier view of Boris Nicolaevsky: that Herzen, especially through his association with Bakunin, was probably exposed to some of the ideas of the Polish émigrés, particularly to Lelewel’s views on the primitive Slav commune.

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TADEUSZ KOŚCIUSZKO AND THOMAS JEFFERSON: KORESPONDENCJA (1798–1817). Compiled and edited by *Izabella Rusinowa*. Translated by *A. Glincańska* and *Józef Paszkowski*. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1976. 157 pp. 50 zł.

The most outstanding American and Pole of the epoch became intimate friends as proven by the forty-one letters assembled (and faithfully translated) in this important little book. It concludes with Kościuszko’s never executed last will of 1789 authorizing Jefferson as his proxy to “bye out of my money so many Negroes and free them, that the restant Sum should be Sufficient to give them education and provide for their maintenance” [*sic*]. In a fourteen-page introduction, Izabella Rusinowa emphasizes the private financial services scrupulously performed by Jefferson on behalf of his exiled friend. This reviewer was especially impressed by the political trust which the third president placed in the Polish revolutionary with regard to delicate domestic and