

workers over a period of time. Subsequent chapters (5–9) describe the manner of recruitment of the labor force, management's attempts to ensure a stable and reliable labor supply, and the response of workers to attempts to impose labor discipline and paternalism. In this regard, the relative weakness of worker organizations (including unions and political parties), and the workers' resort to wildcat strikes, frequent job switching, migration, and absenteeism are of greatest interest. Underlying this whole conflict was an ethnic division between the Poles, who made up about 70 percent of the population of the industrial *Kreize* of Oppeln and constituted most of the unskilled and semiskilled workers, and the Germans, who held a disproportionate share of skilled and managerial positions. The author is able to weave these strands together in a readable narrative which also brings to Western readers a great deal of contemporary Polish research on the subject.

MICHAEL R. HAINES
Cornell University

COMMUNIST LOCAL GOVERNMENT: A STUDY OF POLAND. By *Jaroslław Piekalkiewicz*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1975. xiv, 282 pp. \$10.00.

This book, resulting from many years of research (including long stays in Poland), is guided by the proposition that "an understanding of communist politics will never be complete without an investigation of the political process at the local level" (p. 3). I fully agree. Some earlier studies, notably Jerry F. Hough's *The Soviet Prefects: The Local Party Organs in Industrial Decision-Making* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), demonstrated very well the importance of studying local level politics in a Communist system. Piekalkiewicz gives the Western reader information on the functioning of local government in Poland and clearly refutes the position that everything in the Communist system is centrally directed and nothing is left to local decisions and initiatives. He, therefore, justifies his own effort in studying this aspect of the Polish political system.

The study, unfortunately, suffers from many weaknesses. I am going to limit this analysis to the points that concern the author's research strategy and documentation, leaving aside differences of opinion on more clearly political and ideological issues. Quite obviously, when a Communist scholar reviews a book written by his émigré compatriot, readers must expect substantial disagreements of political opinions, but probably are not particularly interested in them. Methodological issues are, on the other hand, of general concern. Regardless of what the author and the reviewer may think about the character of Poland's political system, they can agree to certain rules of research, one of them being the exploration of all available material. Here, Piekalkiewicz's book presents a mystery. Although he quotes a number of Polish studies (particularly some of the studies carried out by the Institute of Legal Sciences under the direction of Professor Sylwester Zawadzki) and seems to be well informed about the state of research, other important studies are ignored. For example, number 2 of *Problemy Rad Narodowych* (with a synthesis of all-national studies on local government by J. Swiatkiewicz) is not cited, and no reference is made to the cross-national study of local leadership in India, Poland, the United States, and Yugoslavia (*Values and the Active Community*, New York, 1971), when the author speculates whether an increased

level of education correlates with differences in political opinions and behavior (p. 105). Finally, the author ignores important contributions by Western scholars on Polish local government, particularly a very good chapter on local politics by Ray Taras in David Lane and George Kolankiewicz, eds., *Social Groups in Polish Society* (New York, 1973).

Furthermore, some statements concerning research in Poland are untrue. When the author says that "in Poland there are only a few attitude studies—all concerning narrow groups as, for instance, the study of attitudes among Warsaw students . . . —which may be categorized as public opinion surveys" (p. 152), he is wrong. The Public Opinion Research Center has conducted several national surveys on attitudes toward domestic and foreign affairs, military traditions, levels of political knowledge, and so forth. On page 205, the author says that "there is in Poland no survey of public involvement and interest in the activities of the councils." This again is not true. Zygmunt Gostkowski has conducted such a study and reported it in *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23 (1959): 371–81. Maria Hirsowicz and Zbigniew Sufin also have published on this topic (*Studia Socjologiczne*, 1962, no. 1, pp. 204–9). It is true that neither of these studies was conducted on a national sample, but both included interesting data from selected cities.

The author, because of his selective use of existing Polish research, found it necessary to conduct his own "survey" to gather supplementary data. In this survey, eighty individuals were selected without using any of the generally accepted methods of sampling, and the author himself admits that his survey "is far from adequate." Unfortunately, he relies heavily on its results. In addition, I find some of the author's interpretations difficult to follow. He claims, for example, that the "upper class" of Polish society is composed of "top intellectuals and professional people" (p. 160), but he also claims that membership in the "upper class" is determined by education and Communist Party affiliation. Logically, then, it follows that "top intellectuals" are mostly members of the Communist Party. In fact, however, the majority of members of the Academy, prominent scholars, writers, and so forth, are not party members. The author also contradicts himself when he states (p. 155) that elections are "a grandiose fraud" in which everything is predecided by the Communist Party, and then develops a sophisticated interpretation of the fact that "the total percentage of the PUWP (among elected councilmen) does not come to the 50% designated by the key because of the party weakness in the countryside." Minor mistakes (for example, outdated information on the salaries of local officials [p. 61] or some irritating errors in dates—the author talks about a "workers uprising in December of 1971" [p. 116]) should have been corrected in the final proofreading.

Although Piekalkiewicz's book has serious weaknesses, it is still useful to those readers interested in the functioning of a Communist system of local government. The book's most important assets are rich factual material on how the councils function, an interesting presentation of public complaints raised in the local press (contradicting the stereotype that the press is nothing but an instrument of propaganda), and movement from a simplified interpretation of the Communist political system to the interpretation of this system in terms of an interplay of social groups and interests.

JERZY J. WIATR
University of Warsaw