

departs from this approach, its authors discussing peasant party activities in a strictly chronological fashion within the framework generally accepted in postwar Polish historiography.

Both the Kowalczyk and Borkowski volumes show great sensitivity in discussing the personality and political career of Wincenty Witos (1874–1945), the three-time peasant premier of Poland, who rose from regional politics to national leadership as the symbolic head of the entire peasant movement during the 1930s and the Nazi occupation. Though Witos draws the expected criticism for his part in the Lanckorona agreement, his democratic opposition to the Piłsudski regime, which resulted in his Brześć trial in 1931 and subsequent Czechoslovak exile, is viewed in a highly favorable fashion.

What is of greatest value, however, in both histories of the peasant movement is the general effort made by all the authors to place detailed descriptions of programs, politics, and personalities within a broader context. A great amount of well-organized information about economic, cultural, and political conditions shaping the growth and development of the various peasant parties is presented throughout both works. In addition, the authors generally strive to point out the role of peasant party members in the agricultural circle movement, in rural savings institutions and cooperatives, and in local government and education. Thus the picture gained from these studies is not simply a narrow analysis of the largely unsuccessful efforts of peasant leaders to direct Poland's national affairs. In fact, these broad and rich social histories keying on the activities of peasant parties provide one with much more: a better grasp of prewar Poland's problems and an insight into the inherent difficulties which faced the illiberal postwar Communist regime in the countryside during the Stalinist period.

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W SŁUŻBIE IDEI: FRAGMENTY PAMIĘTNIKA I PISM. By *Janusz Jędrzejewicz*. London: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy, 1972. 355 pp. \$7.00, paper.

Janusz Jędrzejewicz (1885–1951) served as Polish minister of education from August 12, 1931, to February 22, 1934, and prime minister from May 10, 1933, to May 13, 1934. What is more important, together with Sławek, Prystor, Miedziński, and Beck he belonged to the small group of closest confidants of Marshal Piłsudski. For that reason we expected much from the recently published volume of his reminiscences. However, far from being complete and homogeneous, this book as a whole is rather disappointing. True, it contains a few beautiful and moving glimpses of Ukrainian countryside and Polesian hunting grounds, as well as scattered historical episodes. Its forte is a detailed account of the ambitious and grandiose reform of the Polish educational system, on which the author embarked in 1931. Yet the most important chapters relate to the author's encounters with Marshal Piłsudski. Jędrzejewicz claims that his picture of the marshal, which he believes to be true, is completely different from the picture left by General Składkowski in his *Strzepy meldunków*, which he believes to be wrong. To be sure, Jędrzejewicz's approach is more human and less brusque. Nevertheless both pictures of Piłsudski seem to be complementary and true. Jędrzejewicz idealizes a spurious democracy devoid of democratic institutions, and he does not hesitate to scold political parties of the opposition for boycotting the general election of 1935

as a revolutionary act unheard of in West European countries (p. 219), passing over in silence the new electoral law which introduced a network of "pre-electoral assemblies" entitled to affirm or veto the candidates, something which the electorate rightly took for an offense and responded accordingly. Similarly, he naïvely believes that since conquering space and developing speed in action have been essential in warfare, and since Poland could not afford a motorized army and columns of panzers, she had to have recourse to cavalry (p. 193). After the death of Piłsudski in 1935 Jędrzejewicz sided with Colonel Sławek, the closest personal friend of the defunct marshal, now spurned by President Mościcki and General (later Marshal) Rydz Smigły. Jędrzejewicz has been greatly mistaken in assuming that Sławek's idea of a General Political Organization (POP) would be more salutary to Poland than the elitist Camp of National Unity (OZN), launched in 1937 under the auspices of Rydz Smigły. It is a confession of a man who, having sinned and made the final reckoning, finds himself and his like righteous and sure of their correctness. However, if an insight is needed into the mentality of the Piłsudskists' wing which after the marshal's death used to pay their allegiance to Sławek, here it is. Needless to say, for different reasons, both wings failed.

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PEOPLE'S POLAND: GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS. By *Alexander J. Groth*. Chandler Publications in Political Science. San Francisco, Scranton, London, Toronto: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972. vii, 155 pp. \$3.95, paper.

This is a useful little book, with no pretension to a novel theoretical approach. Its main objective is to serve as an introduction to Poland's politics, and it contains a comprehensive survey of political, economic, and social developments in that country from the Communist takeover in 1944 until Gierek's ascendancy to power in 1970. A good balance is maintained in describing political institutions and processes—domestic as well as external.

The book is quite informative. The author obviously knows the subject well and has selected his material judiciously. The presentation is lucid and the argumentation persuasive. On the whole he maintains strict objectivity, but is not devoid of compassion. The discussion of the attitudes of the Polish people toward the Communist system is particularly well presented.

Nevertheless there are some factual errors, especially concerning recent events. For instance, in March 1971 Piasecki was not elevated to the Cabinet (p. 77) but to the Council of State; Switała was appointed minister of the interior in July 1968, not January 1971 (p. 76). Moczar was not head of the Security Police from 1945 until 1956 (p. 69); he did serve in the security apparatus in the postwar years, but in the early 1950s after Gomułka's fall he also went into eclipse and was transferred to other duties. He returned to the security apparatus only in 1956, as deputy minister; in 1964 he became minister. This last mistake is especially regrettable, since it colors the author's entire treatment of the political role of Moczar, which is presented in a distinctly one-sided way.

The bibliographical essay has some omissions. Important articles on Polish politics have appeared in *Survey*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Canadian Slavonic Papers*—