

than Ciałowicz's. Kukułka profited from the many excellent studies in diplomatic history published in the last decade, and used extensively this reviewer's book on French-Czechoslovak-Polish relations. Although he is highly critical of the latter, I cannot see in what significant ways his book is either a major revision of or a departure from my own interpretation.

Kukułka has given us a well-balanced and detailed picture of Franco-Polish relations, and I would disagree with only some of his minor points. He has added a great deal of useful information on military and economic aspects of these relations, and shows convincingly their complex nature. His strong point is in gathering and analyzing the material. He is on somewhat weaker ground when it comes to putting forward original and thought-provoking interpretations. For instance, when he says—and rightly so—that French big business exercised great influence on diplomacy, he makes no attempt to assess how great in fact this influence was. Was it decisive at any point, and if not why not? Granted the importance of military ties between Poland and France, it would surely be interesting to speculate about, if not to try to assess, the actual influence of the French military establishment on France's foreign policy. What role did political parties play in the formation of French diplomacy? These are hard questions, but they ought to be asked. In his short concluding chapter Kukułka states that Piłsudski did not conduct a "really independent policy," but he does not explore the larger question whether any medium-size country could have conducted such a policy. Surely this is a question of degree, and in fact one can see from Kukułka's volume the degree of independence that Poland in general, and Piłsudski in particular, actually possessed.

To sum up, Kukułka's book is a comprehensive, detailed, and eminently useful account of French-Polish relations in the years 1919–22. At the same time its value and originality would have been enhanced if the author had shown a greater aptitude for conceptualization and a more profound or sophisticated view of the nature of international relations.

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DIE RECHTSSTELLUNG DER DEUTSCHEN STAATSANGEHÖRIGEN  
IN DEN POLNISCH VERWALTETEN GEBIETEN: ZUR INTEGRA-  
TION DER SOGENANNTEN AUTOCHTHONEN IN DIE POL-  
NISCHE NATION. By *Christian Th. Stoll*. Frankfurt am Main and Berlin:  
Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1968. xiii, 278 pp. DM 38, paper.

The problem of the Oder-Neisse frontier has been one of the critical issues of postwar relations between East and West, in both the cold war and recent rapprochement periods. The problem has many aspects—military, political, geographic, economic, and simply human ones. Although the mass transfer of population that was a consequence of this issue was probably its most painful aspect from the humanitarian standpoint, there is no question that it was a historical necessity.

There are two chief elements in this volume. The first is a legal and factual description of the Germanized, originally Slavic inhabitants of the disputed territories. This part is an accurate and fair account of Polish intentions and laws. The second concerns the citizenship of this indigenous population. Here the author concludes that they should be regarded as German citizens, not Polish. In an analysis of such a controversial question the juridical problems can easily become

confused with the political ones. Unfortunately the political outlook of this author completely overshadows his juridical analysis. Mr. Stoll's theses in this connection are that the act of unconditional surrender of the German forces was neither a legal nor a political act, but only a purely military one without any political or legal consequences, and that the Potsdam Agreement is a *res inter alios acta* to which the Germans are in no way bound. On the basis of these theses the author concludes that the transfer of the German population from the territory east of the Oder-Neisse Line was illegal and that all those who remained in Poland should be regarded as German citizens, despite any formal expression on their part that indeed they considered themselves to be Poles.

Stoll has disregarded certain facts, legal and historical, greatly to the detriment of his study. The main one is that "unconditional surrender" was never considered by the Allies to be a "purely military" act. The Allies assumed supreme authority over the territory of Germany as a consequence of the total German defeat; the German signature beneath the act of capitulation was no more than a formality. The Potsdam Agreement is a legal and formal expression of the supreme authority of the Allies, in this case determining future obligations of the Germans regarding denazification, reparations, and so forth. The Potsdam provisions concerning the Oder-Neisse Line therefore simply implement the decision of the Allies to transfer the German population from the Western Polish territories. Finally, the "right to the Heimat" should hardly be denied to the Poles born during the last twenty-five years in their new "Heimat."

Stoll's conclusions seem best classified according to H. Rasch's formula: Juridical Legends. Yet legends, including the juridical variety, are not capable of solving problems.

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SOKOL UND ARBEITERTURNVEREINE (D.T.J.) DER WIENER TSCHECHEN BIS 1914: ZUR ENTWICKLUNGSGESCHICHTE DER NATIONALEN BEWEGUNG IN BEIDEN ORGANISATIONEN. By *Monika Glettler*. Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, vol. 23. Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1970. 116 pp. DM 18.

DER DEUTSCH-TSCHECHOSLOWAKISCHE SCHIEDSVERTRAG VON 1925 IM RAHMEN DER LOCARNO-VERTRÄGE. By *Manfred Alexander*. Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, vol. 24. Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1970. 212 pp. DM 25.

DIE DEUTSCHEN IN DER SLOWAKEI IN DEN JAHREN 1918-1929: EIN BEITRAG ZUR NATIONALITÄTENPROBLEMATIK. By *Egbert K. Jahn*. Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, vol. 25. Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1971. 186 pp. DM 23.

These monographs, originally doctoral dissertations, form part of a current in German scholarship that is subjecting Czech and Slovak history to increasingly dispassionate scrutiny. The first volume, by Monika Glettler, examines the Czech community in pre-1914 Vienna, when the imperial capital, growing into a modern metropolis, offered jobs to laborers from Bohemia and Moravia. The Vienna Czechs