

stantial overlap of those categories. Dziewoński offers a detailed account of the role of population problems in Polish regional economic planning, tracing the evolution of projection methods in the face of progressive realization of the complexity of the relationships involved. Kostanick surveys developments in southeastern Europe. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia receive detailed attention in other papers. Hoffman and Hatchett present a comparative study of the effects of regional development programs in those countries. They note that, at least when viewed at the republic level, investment policies favoring the less-developed areas in Yugoslavia have continued despite the reforms of the 1960s. Taaffe provides a provocative discussion of the remarkable speed and unusual pattern of urbanization in Bulgaria, suggesting that Bulgaria is indeed pursuing serious and effective urban development policies.

Although the bulk of the volume is concerned with internal migration flows and the causes and consequences of urbanization, the role of foreign tourism in the settlement pattern of the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia is evaluated by Poulsen, and the massive Yugoslav migration to northern and western Europe—with special attention to the ethnic origins of the migrants and their likely destinations—is analyzed by Baučić. A comparison of the regional migration patterns in the United States with the highly uneven movement of Yugoslavs abroad would have been interesting. Sanders provides a brief discussion of the effects of the passage of forty years on the families included in his *Balkan Village* volume.

Articles by Brumbaugh on a coastal village in Crete and by Clark on the density of Ankara expand the reader's view beyond the traditional boundaries of Eastern Europe, but they are not integrated with the remainder of the book and seem out of place.

Unfortunately, there is little discussion of the effectiveness of the regional development policies said to have been undertaken. Given the key role of employment opportunities in migratory movements and the role of the state in determining the location of new investments which would create employment, how and why does "excessive urban concentration" occur? Does it represent a "planning failure" or simply the fact that regional policy per se is a concern, but not a particularly important one?

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THE ANARCHISM OF NESTOR MAKHNO, 1918–1921: AN ASPECT OF THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION. By *Michael Palij*. Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies, Publications on Russia and Eastern Europe, no. 7. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1976. xiv, 428 pp. Photographs. \$14.50.

This useful monograph is an ambitious study of a glamorous and highly controversial personality who attracted widespread attention and support in the wake of the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd. A semiliterate peasant who embraced anarchism, Nestor Makhno displayed considerable charisma and amazing military skills as he led thousands of Ukrainian villagers against the Red Army, Ukrainian nationalists, the Austro-Hungarian army of occupation, and Denikin's and Wrangel's forces. Feared and hated by his rivals, he became an outstanding guerrilla leader and died a poor and embittered émigré in Paris in 1934.

Palij's book is based on a wide range of printed sources in Russian, Ukrainian, and other languages. The unpublished reminiscences of several eyewitnesses are also used. Unfortunately, the author does not appear to have done research in Austrian, British, or French archives, all of which contain interesting material on living conditions and the political situation in the Ukrainian countryside. Nor has he explored the collections of documents deposited by Russian anarchists in the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam.

The author approaches Makhno in the context of events in the Ukraine between 1917 and 1921. Much attention is paid to the Ukrainian struggle for self-determination and the vicissitudes of Ukrainian nationalists. He produces evidence to show that Makhno was not eager to fight the troops raised by Ukrainian governments in 1919–20 and that he became increasingly aware of the appeal of Ukrainian nationalism. He seems to regret Makhno's failure to join forces with those who advocated an independent Ukraine. In the opinion of this reviewer, Palij does not sufficiently stress Makhno's dislike of those of his compatriots who made major compromises to establish a viable state machine, an institution that was anathema to Makhno and his anarchist collaborators.

More disappointing is Palij's failure to examine in depth the dilemma of anarchists who had a large peasant following. The temptation to use arms in a revolutionary situation was great; equally great was the anarchists' failure when another social movement backed by the power of the state decided to brook no rivals in the countryside. The fate of Makhno—and of the anarchists in the Spanish Civil War—indicates that an anarchist armed force is at a distinct disadvantage when facing more ruthless opponents.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Palij has placed all students of agrarian revolt and libertarian socialism in his debt. Just as he was able to build on the less detailed studies of Makhno by Paul Avrich, David Footman, and Victor Peters, other scholars will draw heavily on the material that Palij has collected and on some of his interpretations in future attempts to explain why peasants on the left bank of the Dnieper fought so hard under the black banner of anarchy.

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PRASA DEMOKRATYCZNA WIELKIEJ EMIGRACJI: DZIEJE I GŁÓWNE
KONCEPCJE POLITYCZNE (1832–1863). By *Stawomir Kalembka*. Toruń:
Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1977. iv, 205 pp. 41 zł., paper.

The "Great Emigration" of the 1830s–1850s occupies an important place in Polish political and intellectual history. Among the exiles were some of the country's leading writers and politicians. Moreover, émigré groups were formed in France and England on the basis of programs more radical than any hitherto known in Poland. The most successful of these groups was the Polish Democratic Society, and Dr. Kalembka has already devoted a valuable monograph to the history of this group. He has now turned to examine the extensive left-wing émigré press: exiled radicals produced a large number of periodicals in Polish as well as a few journals in French and English. Most of these publications were, of course, ephemeral, but a few, such as the organ of the Polish Democratic Society (*Demokrata Polski*), lasted for many years.

The first part of the book is devoted to a history of the left-wing émigré press. In these chapters, the author discusses such topics as the financing of the various journals, their format, the honorariums of their authors, the number of copies printed and sold, relations with Western radical journalism, and so forth. The treatment is mainly factual, the information assembled here representing the result of painstaking research into archives and the files of dusty periodicals. During its first half-decade, the left-wing émigré press was primarily the outcome of individual efforts. From 1836, however, until the defeat of the revolutionary cause in 1849, the initiative came, in most cases, from organized groups such as the Democratic Society, the more moderate Union of the Polish Emigration (*Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej*), or the Utopian Socialists centered in Great Britain. From March to November 1849, the poet Adam Mickiewicz edited *La Tribune des Peuples*, which for a brief time became the organ of the European revolutionary movement. By the 1850s, however, the Polish radicals