

But he believes that for various political reasons it should be studied in the socialist countries (apparently a new department in charge of such research has been or is about to be established in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences).

The article "Some Ideological Problems of Sociology" is perhaps the only interesting part of the book. In it the author argues that nothing is more erroneous than to reduce Marxist ideology to a theory of rational and efficient industrial organization. The main significance of Marxist ideology is its social ideal of equality and justice expressing the century-long aspirations of the wide masses of the people all over the world. Since 1945 this ideal has determined the construction of socialism in entirely changed conditions, which have presented to ethically motivated Marxism a great challenge and numerous new problems. A detailed analysis of these problems deals separately with the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, the Communist parties in the Western democracies, and the future of socialism in the Third World. The author pays more attention to political factors and to the distinctive social, national, and cultural characteristics of these countries than to differences in their economic development. He gives an implicit warning that nationalism is a centrifugal force in the socialist countries and that unless they undertake some remedial steps in their mutual relations and in their nationalities policies, serious consequences are unavoidable. The diversity of national and cultural conditions indicates that the social ideal of socialism cannot be realized in the same way everywhere. This diversity also accentuates the seriousness of the problems facing socialism in its new world-wide stage of development. But such problems are signs of the vitality of socialism, not of its crisis.

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POLSKO-FRANCUSKI SOJUSZ WOJSKOWY, 1921–1939. By *Jan Ciałowicz*.
Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970. 423 pp. 95 zł.

FRANCJA A POLSKA PO TRAKTACIE WERSALSKIM, 1919–1922. By
Józef Kukułka. Warsaw: Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, Książka
i Wiedza, 1970. 619 pp. 100 zł.

Two important books have come out of Poland on the subject of prewar French-Polish relations. The first of them is in many ways a pioneering study of the vicissitudes of the French-Polish military alliance between 1921 and 1939. Its author, a prewar army colonel, long interested in military history, had his work ready for publication ten years ago, but for reasons beyond his control the book did not go to press. Its publication some three years after the author's death explains a good deal about the character of the book. The first part (nine chapters), which goes up to 1936, had been enlarged and earned the author a Ph.D. degree at Cracow at the age of seventy. The second part (three chapters) has retained its original form. Consequently there is an impression of uneven treatment between the two parts. If the book had come out as planned, it might have been more superficial but would have been a real pioneering study. The author would also have been the first historian to print the full text of the secret Franco-Polish military convention of 1921.

The editor mentions in his preface that he had a difficult task in preparing

the volume for publication. I am sure this is true, but speaking of purely technical work one is not overly impressed with the results. There are far too many misprints, misspelled names (including Foreign Minister Zaleski in the index), and garbled dates. It is a great pity, because the book surely deserved a better treatment.

Colonel Ciałowicz used Polish unpublished materials extensively, especially from the military archives, to which he brought his intimate firsthand knowledge of the period and of the leading Polish personalities. He was particularly close to General Sikorski, from whom as well as from other generals and politicians he had obtained important written statements. These form a significant part of his sources. The author has his likes and dislikes (for instance, he is highly critical of Piłsudski), but does not let them interfere with his judgment, which is generally sound and balanced. His book emphasizes the inequality between the French and the Polish partners. Borrowing Ambassador Laroche's expression, he rightly calls Poland "a substitute ally" for France. This inequality was striking in economic as well as military fields, and Ciałowicz tends to blame the stronger country for virtually abandoning its ally in 1939 and thus contributing to its own defeat in 1940.

A short review cannot do justice to the wealth of information contained in this volume. Nor can one enter here into a discussion of several points which this reviewer would see or treat differently. The weakest parts are in the general European diplomatic field. Concentrating on French-Polish relations, Ciałowicz had to summarize briefly the international context, and these summaries are not always as penetrating as other passages in the volume. Again and again the reader must remember that the second part of the book was written ten years ago, and that the author could not have used many important studies that have appeared in the last decade.

Ciałowicz is at his best when dealing with military or military-political problems. There his judgment is sharp and his understanding of the subject profound. He brings out very well the different war strategies of France and Poland, and shows the lack of cooperation between the two general staffs. Although he often blames the French, he sees and condemns Polish errors. His book is no apologia but a genuine scholarly study characterized by knowledge and insight. This reviewer, who had the privilege of knowing the author, can only regret that Colonel Ciałowicz did not live to see his important work in print.

The second book is by Józef Kukułka, a historian long associated with the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw. It is a massive, in places almost too detailed, account of French-Polish relations during the first three years following the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Undoubtedly the most comprehensive study of the subject, the book is based on a vast array of sources. These include Polish foreign ministry and military archives, private collections, Czechoslovak archives, and German documents, and make this book an exhaustive reference work for historians of the period. Particularly important are the materials of the French military mission in Poland, Erazm Piltz's papers, and the economic documentation. It is a pity the author did not complete his impressive bibliography and failed to consult the so-called Belweder Archive (a collection of some forty thousand documents of the Polish High Command, 1918–22, deposited in the Piłsudski Institute in New York, and available on microfilm at Yale University) and the Public Record Office materials in London. Their absence is occasionally felt, especially in the treatment of the 1920 crisis.

For all its value and importance, Kukułka's work is somewhat less pioneering

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