

primary sources for the history of the Zaporozhian Sich. The editor, however, does not tell us about the other primary sources with which he is comparing the *Lassota Diary*.

Lassota was descended from a well-known Moravian noble family and had served the empire in several capacities as a valued observer and adviser on the affairs of Sweden, Poland, and Muscovy. From late February through September 1594 he occupied himself with his mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks. His diary is a compendium of detailed observations describing the rapids of the Dnieper as well as the population occupying that area. Coherently translated, *The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau* comprises forty-one pages with an additional seven pages of footnotes. There are six appendixes of English translations of other primary sources for this period which the editor thought advisable to include. A glossary is provided along with a bibliography and index. The editor provides the reader with a worthwhile lengthy introduction explaining the historical context of the diary within the cross-currents of eastern European history at that time.

The Ukrainian Historical Association, Inc. and the Ukrainian Academic Press should continue its English publications of primary sources of this quality in the future.

HERBERT H. KAPLAN
Indiana University

THE NATIONAL QUESTION: SELECTED WRITINGS BY ROSA LUXEMBURG. Edited and with an introduction by *Horace B. Davis*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1976. 320 pp. \$16.50. £9.25.

Lost causes have a certain appeal. Rosa Luxemburg, in eclipse for a number of decades, slipped back into a narrow prominence in the latter 1960s. To many, she was a more palatable Marxist—forever “young”—than those who had been in power for fifty years.

J. P. Nettl's 1966 volumes were followed by a tide of editions and commentaries, a tide now several years in the ebbing, and the present selection of articles is one of the last of these. It seeks to allow “direct study of Rosa Luxemburg's views, without having them filtered through Lenin's polemic.” This is commendable, especially in view of at least one pre-1956 German selection of Luxemburg's works, of which a considerable portion was devoted to Lenin's refutations of certain Luxemburg works which were not even included. The major work here translated, “Kwestia narodowościowa i autonomia” (The National Question and Autonomy), did not appear in any collection until 1959 (*Wybór Pism*, Warsaw) and is quite difficult to locate in its original, serial form in *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* (1908–9). Several shorter articles are also included, translated from Polish and German.

Unfortunately, the Davis collection is not the product of an academic effort, which would have benefited from a bit more distance, precision in annotation, and completeness. Its real audience appears to be those students of socialism who know no Polish and little of Poland (but who wish to have greater light shed upon their “German” subject) and those opponents and adherents of Luxemburg who seek material for yet another disputation. The collection will engender less interest among historians of Poland—as does, indeed, Luxemburg herself. Testimony for the former audience abounds: the editor himself, long a writer on topics of the Left; the publisher, an independent Marxist press; the exclusion of part 6 of “Kwestia” as an “extremely detailed discussion of the special problems of autonomy for Poland, . . . now [lacking] general interest”; and somewhat general footnotes introducing familiar events and personages in the history of Poland. Some rather remarkable and inconsistent spellings of Polish words mar the work, as witness “schlachta,” which betrays further the ac-

knowledgeable debt to Jürgen Hentze's *Internationalismus und Klassenkampf: Die polnischen Schriften* (1971). Placing the proofs for a single afternoon in the hands of any one of the able translators of the Polish works would have sufficed to eliminate this last problem.

Davis, in his introduction, argues a present relevancy for Luxemburg and her ideas which this reviewer—with all his respect for her as a historical personage—finds difficult to accept. That she was deserted by her masses in August 1914 is common knowledge; her dismay and despair at the prospect is also well known. Less familiar is a similar desertion by her Polish masses in the years following 1905. Her fulminations against the National Democratic Party and Roman Dmowski (pp. 177–82) can be viewed in light of the occurrence of these events only shortly before. Events would seem to have overtaken her ideas not only in Poland and Germany (“Peasants do not sink. . . .”) but elsewhere as well. Perhaps this is why the Dmowski of this period has—from Sir Bernard Pares onward—commanded a greater appeal to the English and American political mind than has Luxemburg.

The editor and translators have produced a consistently readable text and are to be congratulated on their common effort. A complete and scholarly edition, however, still eludes us.

ALVIN M. FOUNTAIN II
Raleigh, North Carolina

MARCH 1939, THE BRITISH GUARANTEE TO POLAND: A STUDY IN THE CONTINUITY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY. By *Simon Newman*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976. viii, 253 pp. \$14.25.

Simon Newman has written a detailed account of the British guarantee to Poland, which was issued on March 31, 1939. His well-documented study, based on the newly opened materials in the Public Record Office, is an important revisionist interpretation of the reasons and the circumstances which led to the guarantee.

To Newman, the guarantee stemmed from the decline in British power and from the frantic search for some means to preserve Britain's position. At the same time, there was the urgent need to halt German expansion in eastern Europe by all means short of war, and if necessary, by war itself.

Unwilling to grant Germany a free hand in eastern Europe, the Chamberlain government tried unsuccessfully to block the German drive to the east by economic means. Then Chamberlain's hopes for rapprochement with Germany, while maintaining the status quo in eastern Europe, were wrecked when Moravia and Bohemia were occupied on March 15, 1939.

In Whitehall, the reports of German pressure on Rumania to make economic concessions prompted concern for Britain's security because control of Rumania would enable Germany to evade a British blockade in wartime. As a result of these reports, Halifax and Chamberlain sought a public declaration from Moscow, Paris, and Warsaw to consult with London over offering joint resistance to any action which threatened the political independence of any European state. This four power declaration was never issued because the Polish government refused to be associated publicly with the Soviet Union.

Newman contends that Halifax, fearful that Britain's position would be ruined if the eastern European nations submitted to Hitler's demands, devised the unconditional guarantee of Poland. Such a guarantee would strengthen Polish resistance to German threats and prevent any German-Polish deal over Danzig. The guarantee was hammered out, Newman argues, at a time when no German threat to Poland existed.

Moreover, according to Newman, the guarantee was a direct challenge to Hitler,