

PROGRAMY STRONNICTW LUDOWYCH. Edited by *Stanisław Lato* and *Witold Stankiewicz*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969. 685 pp.

ZARYS HISTORII POLSKIEGO RUCHU LUDOWEGO, vol. 1. By *Stanisław Kowalczyk* et al. Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963. 324 pp.

ZARYS HISTORII POLSKIEGO RUCHU LUDOWEGO, vol. 2. By *Jan Borkowski* et al. Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1970. 602 pp.

One of the less-researched, little-known, yet important subjects of pre-World War II East European political and social history is the role played by organized peasant movements in these largely rural societies. Aside from David Mitrany's well-known *Marx Against the Peasant*, George D. Jackson's *Comintern and Peasant in East Europe, 1919-1930*, and a recent collection of articles edited by Ghița Ionescu entitled *Populism*, relatively little has been published which clarifies the specific programs and positions of peasant parties in their respective prewar East European political systems. In several of these states, notably Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Poland, where peasant movements were widely supported and, during certain periods, politically influential, the absence of better information and understanding of such groups limits a proper appreciation of the problems facing the prewar societies.

Thus it is notable that in recent years attempts have been made within certain East European states themselves to turn attention to the prewar peasant movements. In Poland a great deal of interesting historical research has been carried out since 1956 under the auspices of the Historical Institute of the Peasant Movement, an agency of the Polish United Peasants Party. Significantly, this institute has not limited its research efforts to study only prewar pro-Communist peasant groups, from which much of the early postwar UPP leadership sprang. Rather, it has directed a great amount of attention toward the non-Communist liberal and conservative elements of the movement, which completely dominated prewar peasant thought and politics. Much of the work of the institute has been published, since 1959, in the annual *Roczniki dziejów ruchu ludowego (Yearbook of Peasant Movement History)*.

Programy stronnictw ludowych (Programs of the Peasant Parties) stands out as a good example of another type of research useful to the student of modern East European history. Included in this work is a collection of forty-six party programs of Polish peasant parties existing from 1886 to the present. Arranged chronologically, the work affords one the opportunity of comparing changes in party policies over time while noting differences in policy outlooks among competing regionally based organizations. The 1935 radically populist program is included, as is that of Stanisław Mikołajczyk's postwar Polish Peasant Party. Of interest, too, are the widely differing statements of UPP policy before and after the collectivization effort. The book also provides a number of additional texts, such as the prewar and postwar land reform acts.

Of greater interest perhaps to the reader familiar with Polish is the two-volume history of Polish peasant politics, the first covering the period between 1864 and 1918, the second ending in 1939. The first volume, concerned with the origins of peasant parties prior to national independence, takes up the development of the movement in each of the three regions of partitioned Poland. The second volume

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.

DONALD E. PIENKOS
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

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