

AUS DER GESCHICHTE DER OSTMITTELEUROPAISCHEN BAUERNBEWEGUNG IM 16.–17. JAHRHUNDERT. Edited by *Gusztáv Heckenast*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977. 535 pp. \$33.00.

The five hundredth anniversary of the birth of György Dózsa, leader of the peasant uprising of 1514 in Hungary, provided the material for this volume. Its fifty-three articles are grouped under subtitles of political, economic, social, and ideological history and historiography. There is no space here to evaluate every contribution; thus inevitable omissions by this reviewer must be forgiven.

The first section contains two especially noteworthy articles. In one of them, Lajos Demény relates the history of peasant movements in southern Europe to the existence of free peasant-warrior communities that stretched from Croatia to the Lower Don. He warns that popular movements in this area did not always represent attempts to change existing social conditions, and he stresses that national liberation struggles, often waged by these communities, may also have been fights against feudalism. But it is not clear whether one or the other aspect of these peasant movements was the dominant factor. In the other article, Gusztáv Heckenast reports that the business cycles of early capitalism had at least some effect on the 1514 peasant movement in Hungary. The crisis of 1512–13 produced high unemployment among the Hajdus, the traditional cattle drivers, and they were among the first to join Dózsa's army. In contrast, the mining towns were unaffected by the crisis; consequently, their population did not join the peasant rebellion.

In the section on ideology, Jenő Szűcs argues against the use of the term, "ideology," in relation to the revolt of 1514. What really existed, he maintains, was a set of notions, derived partly from Christian teachings on poverty (often spread by the Minorites), mixed with notions of social equality. There was also disappointment with the inaction of landlords in the face of the Turkish threat. The peasants even suspected that the landlords were in alliance with the Turks. When they revolted in 1514, they considered themselves fighting against both domestic and foreign "infidels."

Of the numerous other novel contributions one must mention those by Ferenc Szakály, Vera Bácskay, and János Buza. Szakály expands on the theme raised by Szűcs; Bácskay and Buza discuss the relations between peasant movements and the Turkish presence in the region. Ervin Pamlényi provides a masterful summary of the historiography of the subject, and Sándor Kovács describes the writings of humanist eyewitnesses. The summary of the conference by László Makkai stresses the most important lesson to be drawn from the meeting, namely, that peasant movements in East Central Europe were dichotomous in nature. Because peasants were small proprietors as well as workers, their movements seldom followed clear-cut aims.

Peasant studies are currently enjoying great popularity the world over. The publication of this volume adds considerably to our knowledge of sixteenth and seventeenth-century peasant movements, and not only in East Central Europe. The volume should, therefore, be warmly welcomed by all serious students in the field.

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BRÜCKEN NACH POLEN: DIE DEUTSCH-POLNISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN UND DIE WELTMÄCHTE 1939–1973. By *Volkmar Kellermann*. Stuttgart: Verlag Bonn Aktuell, 1973. 227 pp. Paper.

Herr Kellermann relates and fully documents all the important events in German-Polish relations, beginning with the tragic story of Polish sufferings under the wartime German occupation (pp. 11–14) and ending with the year 1972. He rightly

thinks that the main bone of contention between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland was the existence of the Polish Oder-Western Neisse frontier. The successive Christian Democratic governments stubbornly maintained the claim to the restoration of the 1939 frontiers. They never explained how those frontiers could be restored in the face of Soviet opposition.

The results of elections in 1969 allowed the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats to form their own government. This new government, headed by Chancellor Willy Brandt, was willing to sacrifice the unrealistic demand for a return to the 1939 frontiers. The author recounts the story of negotiations between Bonn and Moscow and Warsaw, which ended with the signature in 1970 of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties. The Federal Republic of Germany recognized in these treaties the Polish frontier on the Oder and Neisse, at least for the duration of the FRG's existence. This meant that a reunified Germany could reopen the territorial problem at some future time. This reservation did not evoke any uneasiness in Warsaw, however, because Poland knew that the USSR would not allow the German Democratic Republic to join the FRG. Thus, the FRG abandoned the former claim to the restoration of the 1939 frontiers, an action which the Weimar Republic would have considered unthinkable.

One must quarrel with the author when he espouses the view of the nationalistic organizations of German refugees and expellees from the territories east of the Oder-Neisse frontier, that from 800,000 to one million former German citizens continue to live in Poland (p. 52). If one would deduct from that figure only the ethnic Poles who had been German citizens prior to 1945, his estimate would still remain far-fetched. The probable estimate would be from 200,000 to 250,000 ethnic Germans still living in Poland. The author does not take into account the mass flight of Germans in 1944-45 in fear of the advancing Soviet troops, their mass expulsions in the following years, and finally, their emigration to both German states. He himself states that 450,839 ethnic Germans emigrated to the FRG from 1950 to 1972 (p. 75). This emigration continues to the present day.

The book is on the whole friendly to the Poles and is thus a bridge toward a better West German understanding of Poland's position on the Oder-Neisse frontier.

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DEUTSCHE MILITÄRVERWALTUNGEN 1938/39: DIE MILITÄRISCHE BESETZUNG DER TSCHECHOSLOWAKEI UND POLENS. By *Hans Umbreit*. Beiträge zur Militär- und Kriegsgeschichte, vol. 18. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1977. 296 pp. DM 48.

During the German occupation of both Czechoslovakia and Poland, the German military administration was supplanted almost immediately by a "civil" administration appointed by Hitler and dominated by Nazi party leaders and party organizations. Consequently, the army was never given the opportunity to exercise supreme administrative authority for any period of time adequate to demonstrate what kind of administration it might have established and how its rule would have differed from that of the Nazi authorities. Dr. Umbreit's book thus deals with an extremely limited subject.

In his first chapter, Dr. Umbreit describes plans which the army had drawn up before the war for administering conquered territories, but because these plans were never put into effect they are of no practical importance. His subsequent discussion of the military administration in the Sudetenland and the Czech provinces (as well as in Austria) is very brief, but covers adequately what there is to say on