

tionary career, "Adel'gaida," dated November 24, 1844—an item of purely biographical interest.

The Lavrov-Lopatin correspondence is certainly the most valuable body of materials in the entire collection. Aside from providing information about Lavrov's designs, hopes, victories, and defeats, the letters reveal—almost in the form of a journal at times—the trials of the group which published *Vpered!* This collection marks the first appearance in print of the Lavrov-Lopatin letters in their entirety, and the correspondence can be compared with Lavrov's contemporaneous letters to Elena Shtakensneider (which were published in *Golos minuvshago* in 1916), as well as with V. N. Smirnov's letters to Idel'son and others (published by Sapir in 1970) concerning the same events. Taken together, the Lavrov correspondence and the Smirnov correspondence enable historians to reconstruct both Lavrov's life during the *Vpered!* years, and the history of Lavrov and Smirnov's joint enterprise.

This is certainly one of the two most distinguished collections of documents on Russian revolutionary émigrés to appear outside the Soviet Union—Arthur Lehning's multivolume *Archives Bakounine* is the other. Sapir has now published, in four volumes of carefully edited and annotated documents, virtually all of the Lavrov materials preserved in the International Institute for Social History. Unfortunately, not all of the documents are valuable, and one wonders why Sapir chose to reprint some materials rather than others. Some of Lavrov's correspondence with Marx and Engels, for example, might easily have been included. Although rigorous selectivity is lacking, historians interested mainly in the émigré world of revolutionaries will find riches here, and students of the movement as a whole will encounter interesting additional information about well-known episodes (such as the Degaev affair) in the Russian revolutionary movement. Scholars will be delighted not only with Sapir's annotations, but with a voluminous index of names and periodicals included in the second volume.

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THE SOVIETS: THE RUSSIAN WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SOLDIERS COUNCILS, 1905–1921. By *Oskar Anweiler*. Translated from the German by *Ruth Hein*. New York: Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, 1974 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958, under the title *Die Rätebewegung in Russland 1905–1921*; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1972, under the title *Les Soviets en Russie 1905–1921*]. xx, 339 pp. \$15.00.

It is a pleasure to welcome the first English edition of Anweiler's pioneer work on the soviets, which has been required reading for students of the Russian revolutionary period since it first appeared in 1958. The continuing importance of his study emerges with particular clarity in his treatment of the impact of Western political traditions upon Russian socialists attempting to formulate a policy toward the soviets. Anweiler suggests that in 1905 and 1917, the Mensheviks insisted that even the best soviets had to give way to democratic institutions, which would represent both the bourgeoisie and the more exploited elements of the population. Their position is contrasted to that of the Bolsheviks, who argued that the soviet's permanent survival depended upon its policies as well as on the classes and parties

represented within it. While abundant evidence is presented to prove that political expediency governed Lenin's approach to the soviets, it is interesting that Anweiler's own description of Menshevik leadership of the soviets suggests a kind of "agonized" expediency in their attitudes and behavior as well. Menshevik principles did not preclude attempts to influence and lead the soviets; and the Bolsheviks, although they were more enthusiastic, did not generally treat the soviet as the answer to a revolutionary's prayer.

Anweiler does not explore the origin and development of soviets in relation to the old commune assemblies (*skhody*), although he does note that after 1917, soviets were often slow to take root in the countryside because they so resembled these assemblies (p. 236). His focus is on Russian Marxism and the triumph of a Bolshevik state, which destroyed the democratic aspects of the soviet movement. Unfortunately, in this account, the soviets never really emerge as popular democratic institutions; they seem to take on substance only as they are observed and organized by various left-wing political parties. Such an approach is especially problematic in dealing with the soviets of 1905 (which were not generally dominated by political parties), and it does not clearly illuminate the problems of policy and administration confronted by the inexperienced soldier and peasant delegates to the soviets in 1917 or afterward. On the other hand, Anweiler's approach becomes increasingly useful when he describes the Bolsheviks' growing monopolization of political power. The author's description of the connection between Lenin's unsuccessful efforts to check the bureaucratization of the soviets and Lenin's own models for political organization is particularly interesting. Concentration on Bolshevik attitudes and behavior provides a solid, if partial, explanation of the soviets' fate after 1917.

It is a pity that this study has not been revised to take account of recent scholarship. While the author claims that the book's overall conception, conclusions, and framework remain valid, reference to other studies could have added depth to his inadequate treatment of the soviet as an aspect of Russian—and not only Marxist—social and political history. Some of these studies include: Von Laue and Zelnik's work on the *artel'* and peasant traditions of Russian proletarians; the investigations of the Socialist Revolutionaries and anarchists carried out by Radkey, Pershin, and Avrich; and Moiseeva's work on peasant soviets.

All in all, the strength of Anweiler's work lies in his perceptive analysis of Marxist leaders in relation to the soviet; a study of the role of soldiers, peasants, or workers in soviets remains to be written.

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THE SEALED TRAIN. By Michael Pearson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975. x, 320 pp. + 8 pp. photographs. \$8.95.

The author, a British journalist, has attempted to write a popular history of the Russian Revolution, focusing on Lenin's role in the Bolshevik seizure of power. More than one-third of the volume is devoted to the "sealed" train episode—the trip which brought the Bolsheviks from Switzerland to Petrograd in April 1917—because Pearson's main point is the crucial role of the German government and German money in Lenin's rise to power. Commendably, the author, with the aid