

elimination of all political opposition, the reliance on the secret police, the unrestrained use of terror against large segments of the population, the manipulation of information, and the skillful use of rhetoric to achieve ends that often were incompatible with the ideological claims made by party propaganda.

Professor Keep exercises commendable restraint in passing judgment on people and events, though he does not conceal his own liberal-democratic position. Since a reviewer is expected to cavil at something in any book, one might express regret at the excessive use of the pronouns *this* and *that*, both in the singular and the plural (nine times on page 182, fourteen times on page 241). One might also disagree with the author's statement that the bird in the sentence "the *muzhiki* are destroying the squires' nests so that the little bird will never be able to return" is a euphemism for large-scale landed property in general. The *ptichka* is simply the *pomeshchik*, the squire (p. 213). Neither can one who is familiar with Russian idiom find anything curious about the title "commission for the unburdening of Petrograd" (p. 261); the Russian term *gruz* is both burden and load, *razgruzka*, "unloading," is applied regularly to the unloading of trucks, the lightening of a work load, or the decrease of the number of inhabitants in a locality.

Such minor lapses, of course, are of no consequence and detract nothing from the value of this careful, original, and thoughtful study.

FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH  
Yale University

THE BOLSHEVIKS COME TO POWER: THE REVOLUTION OF 1917 IN PETROGRAD. By *Alexander Rabinowitch*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1976. xxxvi, 393 pp. Illus. \$14.95, cloth. \$5.95, paper.

Several recent books have significantly deepened our understanding of 1917. Among these are William Rosenberg's *Liberals in the Russian Revolution; The Constitutional Democratic Party, 1917-1921* (1974), John L. H. Keep's *The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilization* (1977), and Alexander Rabinowitch's own *Prelude to Revolution: The Petrograd Bolsheviks and the July 1917 Uprising* (1968; described as a "splendid pioneering work" when reviewed in *Slavic Review*, 31, no. 4 [December 1972]). To this list we must now add Rabinowitch's companion volume, reviewed here.

Rabinowitch, professor of history at Indiana University, has now carried his story of Petrograd and the Bolsheviks through October 1917. In a long introduction and first chapter, the author states his major findings and briefly summarizes events through the July uprising; this is mostly a review of his earlier work. He then devotes four chapters to the aftereffects of the July Days—the sudden decline of the Bolsheviks, the ineffectiveness of government repression, and the rapid Bolshevik resurgence. The next three chapters treat the rise of Kornilov, his struggle with Kerensky, and the Bolshevik role in Kornilov's defeat. The last part of the book gives an account of the post-Kornilov period—the question of a new government, the mood of the masses, Lenin's campaign for an insurrection, the obstacles to Lenin's plan, the crisis in the military garrison, the formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the actions of the Kerensky regime, and the final seizure of power in October.

The author's primary aim was "to reconstruct, as fully and accurately as possible, the development of the 'revolution from below'" (p. xvii). In so doing, Rabinowitch comes to several conclusions: First, the Bolshevik program of land, peace, and bread had widespread support among the masses; he states that "as a result, in October the goals of the Bolsheviks, as the masses understood them, had strong popular support" (p. xvii; see also p. 311). Second, the Bolshevik program achieved this popularity precisely because of the inability—or lack of desire—of other political

parties to respond to these demands. Third, moderate socialist parties' continued support of Kerensky and the Provisional Government undermined their credibility in the eyes of the masses. And fourth, "In Petrograd in 1917 the Bolshevik Party bore little resemblance to the by-and-large united, authoritarian, conspiratorial organization effectively controlled by Lenin depicted in most existing accounts" (p. xvii); rather, the party was successful precisely because it was flexible and responsive to the moods of the populace, and Rabinowitch "would emphasize the party's internally relatively democratic, tolerant, and decentralized structure and method of operation, as well as its essentially open and mass character—in striking contrast to the traditional Leninist model" (p. 311).

The author's theses are supported by an impressive array of primary and secondary sources. He is particularly good at evoking moods, as demonstrated by his excellent description of the July 15 funeral of seven slain Cossacks (pp. 39–42). He clearly shows the differences among such organizations as the Central Committee, the Petersburg Committee, the Military Organization, the Soviet, the Petrograd inter-district soviets, and others. No one can read this book and then accept the view that the party was monolithic in 1917. The work is well written, and contains thirty-eight photographs and/or reproductions of newspaper editorial cartoons and contemporary documents. The footnoting is thorough and there is a comprehensive bibliography. In sum, this book is indispensable reading for the student of Soviet history.

SAMUEL A. OPPENHEIM

*California State College, Stanislaus*

RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNDERGROUND: A STUDY OF THE RSDRP IN THE UKRAINE, 1907–1914. By *Ralph Carter Elwood*. International Institute of Social History, Publications on Social History, vol. 8. Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum and Company, 1974. xix, 304 pp. Dfl. 65.00.

The development of Russian Marxism and the RSDRP in the centers of St. Petersburg and Moscow and as an émigré movement has been adequately treated in existing historical studies. However, the record of the activities of regional memberships and organizations within the Russian Empire has not received sufficient attention. This lacuna has been partially filled by the work under review dealing with the RSDRP's efforts to function in certain Ukrainian cities during the post-1907 reaction.

The work is especially valuable because of the author's utilization of the socialist émigré press and underground publications as well as the files of the Paris *Okhrana* office now at the Hoover Institution. However, it does not offer a chronological account nor a smooth narrative but, rather, a topical and fragmented treatment that is understandable in view of the discontinuities in the activities of the Social Democrats and the fact that their organizations were fragmented. Much attention is given to general developments in the RSDRP among émigrés and among Russians, including a discussion of journalistic enterprises, a detailed account of methods for preparing and reproducing illegal leaflets, and a description of smuggling operations for an expensive and uncertain system for delivery of political literature. There is much (incomplete) detail regarding party finances and a description of organizational features at the local level and the party's interaction with the *Okhrana*. Ties linking the Ukrainian Social Democrats with the émigré Central Committee were weak and consequently receive little attention; the émigré press was too intellectual and factionally oriented to attract much interest.

The work has a quasi-anomalous quality because it deals with a party whose members were Russians and Jews who (whether Bolsheviks or Mensheviks) were oblivious to, and divorced from, the ethnically Ukrainian mass of the population and