

MEMOIRS OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT: OUTPOSTS OF THE EMPIRE, 1893-1917. By *Andrew D. Kalmykov [Kalmykov]*. Edited by *Alexandra Kalmykov*. Yale Russian and East European Studies, 10. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971. xv, 290 pp. \$12.50.

Between 1893 and 1914 the Russian diplomat A. D. Kalmykov lived in such places as Tabriz, Teheran, Bangkok, Ashkhabad, Tashkent, Uskub (Skopje), Crete, and Smyrna. Although he never rose above the rank of general consul, his memoirs provide valuable information about the men who served Russia in the Asian Department at St. Petersburg and in diplomatic posts in Persia, Siam, Central Asia, and Turkey. At their best, these men were well trained and served their country's interests with uncommon skill and resourcefulness. Kalmykov himself was trained at the School of Oriental Languages of the University of St. Petersburg. He played an important role in negotiating peace between Siam and the French in Indochina; and during the First Balkan War his personal initiative and courage helped to prevent a massacre of the Christian population in Uskub.

Although Kalmykov's memoirs do not, as Firuz Kazemzadeh notes in his foreword, "lead to the revision of our views on great historical events and figures," they do reveal Kalmykov to have been an intelligent and perceptive observer. While the information he provides about Persian, Siamese, and Balkan affairs is particularly valuable for today's historian, Kalmykov is also worth reading for his views on European and Russian figures such as Paul Doumer, Charles Hardinge, N. G. Hartwig, A. P. Izvolsky, S. D. Sazonov, and Maxim Gorky. Generally well informed and sensible, he also offers the reader flashes of insight that often deserve to be quoted. For example, in referring to I. L. Goremykin, he speaks of "the immortality of the Russian bureaucracy," and says, "I wonder who has taken his place under the Soviets. Russia is unthinkable without a bureaucracy, which is proliferating in the USSR. Probably the Goremykins will multiply also" (p. 180).

Alexandra Kalmykov edited these memoirs of her father, who died in 1941. She and Yale University Press are to be praised for preparing a scholarly edition of these fascinating memoirs. They should be of particular interest to students of Asian and Balkan diplomacy and of general Russian history during the reign of Nicholas II.

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RUSSIAN POLICE TRADE UNIONISM: EXPERIMENT OR PROVOCATION? By *Dimitry Pospielovsky*. Foreword by *Leonard Schapiro*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, for the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1971. xi, 189 pp. £2.50.

This is the first monograph in English devoted to the *Zubatovshchina*, the most significant attempt within the Russian government before the revolution of 1905 to elaborate and implement a labor policy to come to grips with the burgeoning working-class movement and the challenge of revolutionary social democracy. No full-scale Soviet study has appeared since the works of Ainztaft and Bukhbinder in the 1920s.

Pospielovsky's book begins with a review of the Russian labor movement up to the twentieth century. The remaining chapters are devoted to the origins of the Zubatov movement, its leading figures, its history in Moscow, Minsk (among

the Jewish workers), and Odessa, and an appraisal of Zubatov's program. The author is favorable to Zubatov and his labor program, comparing him in approach and intent to Stolypin. Zubatov emphasized the limited value of repression and the need for measures to improve the material, educational, and moral status of the lower classes if the tsarist government was to retain their loyalty. Pospielovsky believes that if nonpolitical trade unions had been established throughout Russia as Zubatov recommended, social forces would have been released which would have strengthened the monarchy and forestalled revolution.

The *Zubatovshchina* failed because of a lack of understanding and support by Pleve and Witte, the withdrawal of the liberal academicians after initial cooperation, the unrelenting opposition of the Moscow industrialists, and the anti-Judaic policies of the government. The overall picture of Zubatov is of a loyal, intelligent, and enlightened bureaucrat striving to modernize and strengthen the autocracy in the face of ignorant and almost universal opposition from the government and society.

The contradictions within the *Zubatovshchina* are never clearly delineated. The Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism of the worker Fedor Slepov and the Grand Duke Sergei, Zubatov's most influential protector, were incompatible with efforts to seek the support of Russia's Jews. Moreover, the release of social forces would inevitably have led to escalating demands for constitutional liberties, destroying Zubatov's utopian vision of a pure monarchy.

Pospielovsky rarely touches ground to evaluate the impact on the factory workers of the Zubatov ideology and the labor unions. Almost totally ignored are a rich memoir literature on the Moscow movement, the legal press, and correspondent accounts in the émigré socialist periodicals. Neither Slepov's memoirs and writings nor D. N. Liubimov's memoirs are cited. The Social Democrats are rarely mentioned, although Zubatov's program was aimed at undermining their influence, causing Martov and Lenin to spend considerable time combating the *Zubatovshchina*.

Various points remain unproved, including the assertion that the idea of government-guided trade unions was adopted from the French example under Napoleon III. Many errors exist: Zubatov was born in 1864 not 1866; Meer Kogan was not known as Volin; Pleve received a deputation of workers on April 7, 1903, not in 1902; employers did become members of the Moscow Zubatov societies in their latter stages. The book is in need of thorough editing. It lacks cohesion and logical progression. There is sloppiness in documentation, and the footnotes are on occasion confusing, incomplete, or inaccurate.

In summary, Pospielovsky's book, although of limited value, adds to our knowledge and re-evaluation of tsarist labor policy. It will have served its purpose if it reawakens interest within the Soviet academic community.

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BURZHUAZIIA I TSARIZM V PERVOI RUSSKOI REVOLIUTSII. By E. D. Chermensky. 2nd revised edition. Moscow: "Mysl'." 1970 [1939 under title: *Burzhuaaziia i tsarizm v revoliutsii 1905–1907 gg.*]. 448 pp.

Professor Chermensky analyzes the policies and actions of all "bourgeois" elements, from Sviatopolk-Mirsky's "springtime" ministry to the dissolution of the Second