

the origins and moral dimensions of the *smychka*, "factory patriotism" and syndicalism, and the debate over mob justice in the revolution. Among the more interesting and suggestive phenomena of workers' moral sensibilities are their occasional rough-and-ready fusion of socialist egalitarianism with Christian imagery, strikingly illustrated by the factory committee which greeted the Easter holidays with an act of distributive justice and by the workers' Ten Commandments and similar syncretic manifestations; their insistence upon didacticism in revolutionary theater; their anti-alcohol clubs resembling the temperance tearooms of earlier years; and their spontaneous use of shame and ostracism instead of physical punishment, a recurrent element in utopian speculations since Mercier's *L'an 2440* (1771).

Unfortunately, although the material is fascinating, the level of analysis is not high. There is almost no demographic or economic context and the organization is loose. A student would do well to have a recent book on Russian workers in 1917 (such as Baevskii, Rabinowitch, or Sobolev) close at hand. Shishkin's proletarian morality is Bolshevik morality pure and simple. Lenin is almost the only theoretical authority adduced; and far too much of Shishkin's behavioral evidence is drawn from John Reed and Albert Rhys Williams. Resolutions often seem to be cited simply because they contain the word "moral." And there is little of the immediacy that one finds in the workers' biographies recently published by Korolchuk and by Zelnik. There is also an excess of rudimentary narrative and gratuitous commentary. Bias and lack of rigor make the author exaggerate equal treatment of women by workers, reduce "unmoral" behavior to the un-Bolshevik actions of the "backward element" of the proletariat, and focus on the enclaves of workers' self-discipline, often ignoring the torrents of anarchic disorder raging around them. Close students of the subject will find the sixteen pages of notes useful.

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TSERETELI—A DEMOCRAT IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *W. H. Roobol*. Translated from the Dutch by *Philip Hyams* and *Lynne Richards*. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Studies in Social History, 1. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976. xii, 273 pp. Illus. 80 Dglds.

In contrast to the exciting and gripping historiography of the revolutions of 1789 or 1848, the serious books on "1917 and all that"—surely one of the most dramatic set of events in the twentieth century—are striking in their dullness and repetitive artificiality. On a superficial level the reasons for this state of affairs are twofold: the significant actors of the revolution were charismatic orators whose words lose their dramatic quality once they are set down on paper; and they themselves become shadows once they step down from the rostrum. Furthermore, circumstances precluded positive accomplishments, so that their activities easily boil down to rhetoric, a rhetoric which, couched in narrow ideological and "alienated" language, makes for repetitive and dull reading.

Thus there are only a few decent biographies of the main actors of 1917, especially those outside the victors' camp. Gradually, however, this gap is being filled. We already have studies of G. Plekhanov, P. Aksel'rod, and Iu. Martov; now comes a book devoted to the public life of the most popular and prominent Menshevik leader and orator of 1917, the Georgian Irakli Tsereteli. The biographer of Tsereteli faces three handicaps: Anyone who has been privileged to know Tsereteli personally (as this reviewer has), is aware of his extraordinary charm, wit, culture, and nobility, which did not desert him even in his last years of illness and disillusionment. But these

charismatic qualities are not readily conveyed by the chronicler's pen. A man of few personal records revelatory of his feelings and inner thoughts, Tsereteli's personal life is almost completely undocumented and unknown. The second difficulty stems from the fact that Tsereteli was an outsider by origin and choice and cannot be squeezed into the mold of traditional political and cultural categories. A Georgian, conscious and proud of his national heritage, he was yet culturally Russified and a true cosmopolitan at heart. Humane, tolerant, and uninterested in ideological questions, he did not readily fit into the dogmatic, narrowly partisan milieu of Russian socialism. Finally, he belongs to the vanquished, and it is notoriously difficult to write about those who did not succeed, especially if there are no dramatic personal aspects to compensate for historical failure. Mr. Roobol has not managed to overcome these limitations in his workmanlike study.

The highlight of Tsereteli's political life—and naturally the *pièce de résistance* of Mr. Roobol's book—came in 1917. The well-known events are related from the perspective of Tsereteli's participation, that is, his efforts to guide the Petrograd soviet and the Provisional Government along the path of cooperation, mutual trust, and democratic, moderate socialist goals. In spite of his tactical talents, his diplomatic skill, and the charisma of his oratory and personality, Tsereteli failed for two main reasons: his "revolutionary defensism" precluded him from advocating Russia's immediate exit from the war, and his fear of a counterrevolution from the right blinded him to the danger of the left. These were errors of vision that Tsereteli shared with all moderate liberals and socialists. Unlike so many of his comrades, Tsereteli did acknowledge this error with characteristic honesty in 1929: "They [leaders of the Soviet majority] were not ready for the extraordinary situation created by the Russian revolution, when for the first time in the history of all the world's revolutions the leading role was given to the socialists, but with the greatest danger to liberty coming from the left" (pp. 148–49). The epilogue of Tsereteli's active political career was equally tragic in its failure. After Lenin's disbanding of the Constitutional Assembly, at whose only meeting Tsereteli pronounced one of his most dramatic and moving speeches, he returned to his native Georgia. There he found himself a "reluctant nationalist" and soon lost contact and influence with his own party as the latter veered to intransigent nationalism as a result of foreign threats and the Soviet takeover.

Mr. Roobol has been very diligent and successful in mining all accessible published and unpublished sources (the latter include Tsereteli's letters and recorded conversations at the Hoover Institution and the International Institute of Social History). He has chronicled Tsereteli's public life fairly and clearly. As always, specialists may quarrel with details and disagree with some judgments. The general reader, however, will be disappointed that the noble and attractive Irakli Tsereteli does not come to life. He remains a shadowy figure flitting on the screen of history.

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THE UNKNOWN CIVIL WAR IN SOVIET RUSSIA: A STUDY OF THE GREEN MOVEMENT IN THE TAMBOV REGION 1920–1921. By *Oliver H. Radkey*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1976. xiv, 456 pp. \$12.95.

The author proposes in this book an interesting and still unknown topic: the "green" partisans who operated during the civil war, between the "red" and the "white" camps, sometimes against both of them, sometimes switching sides. There was also an additional stage, after the civil war, which lasted from about the end of 1920 till