

consequences of Khrushchev's antireligious campaign and the Church's reaction to it, the persecution of the clergy, the suppression of monasteries and seminaries, destruction of parish life, and reactions of the rank-and-file believers. The remaining sections contain protest documents written by the Moscow diocese priests Eshliman and Iakunin, Archbishop Ermogen, and Anatolii Levitin-Krasnov, and accounts of the tribulations of Archpriest Shpillar and his Moscow parish. An epilogue offers additional excerpts from protest writings of Boris Talantov and Reverend Zheludkov, a *samizdat* account of the Leningrad trial of members of the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for Liberation of the People, and a moving prayer composed by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. In bringing together from many dispersed and often little-accessible sources, in translating and annotating the most significant documents on the regime's persecution of religion, the relations between the Soviet authorities and the Russian Orthodox Church, and the ferment in the Orthodox ranks, Reverend Bourdeaux has made a major contribution to the rather neglected field of the study of religion in the Soviet Union.

There are indeed very few shortcomings in this volume that need to be pointed out here. I feel that it may be an overstatement to consider a single reference by Archbishop Ermogen to the Baptist system of electing their leaders in a general assembly as a legal precedent for the election of the Synod at regular Sobors as a "proof" of a "cross-fertilization" between the Baptist and Orthodox protest movements (pp. 11, 245). In listing publications of the Russian Orthodox Church, the author should have mentioned also the Ukrainian-language *Pravoslavnyi Visnyk* (*Orthodox Herald*) (1945 to 1962-63; publication resumed from August 1968). Levitin-Krasnov may have overstated his case by arguing that the governmental registration of the clergy was "in direct contradiction" to the April 1929 Law on Religious Associations (pp. 263-64); while it is true that the 1929 law said nothing about this matter, the editor should have pointed out that such registration was made mandatory by the NKVD instruction (no. 328, par. 6) of October 1, 1929, augmenting the above law. In reading the documents in the collection, one is somewhat inconvenienced by the relegation of the dates and sources of these documents to notes at the end of the volume. These few critical remarks are not meant to detract from the many merits of Reverend Bourdeaux's book, which will be read with intense interest by specialists and laymen alike.

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ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND TRACTORS: THE MTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTROLS IN SOVIET AGRICULTURE. By Robert F. Miller. Russian Research Center Studies, 60. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970. xv, 423 pp. \$12.50.

In some ways this is "an exceptionally thorough book" (a jacket commentary). There is much detail to be found. Unfortunately, much that is assertedly new will not stand, or is actually a repetition of previous scholarly findings.

The work of scholars who have labored long in the field of Soviet agriculture is largely ignored. There is no bibliography of their contributions, and not a single textual (or a footnote) consideration of the writings of Hubbard, Karcz, Maynard, Mitrany, Nove, Schiller, and Volin. Naum Jasny does receive three footnote credits for the loan of his hard-won statistical analyses, but no textual consideration of his analyses. True, there are two other footnote references to Western scholars who

misunderstood the role of the *zampolit* (p. 264) and to those who "have tended to accept Soviet clichés about the political role of the MTS too much at face value" (p. 194). Perhaps. Yet two lines later we read: "Nevertheless, it is certainly true that the MTS were centers of substantial Party activity, especially in comparison with other institutions in the village."

In the author's attempt to provide a historical background, Lenin's views are seriously distorted. There is no appreciation of his profound post-1905 realization of the peasants' role in any future (e.g., 1917) revolution.

The author has not totally ignored economic reality. However, he never seems really to appreciate that the MTS-kolkhoz system was essential to Stalin's resolve to steal as much as possible of the peasants' produce to finance the rapid construction of industry. Similarly, could Khrushchev really have abandoned the MTS in 1958 had there not been the bumper grain harvest of 1956, and a hope for a repeat performance in 1958? Although the weather was bad in 1957, at that time total grain production was second only to the 1956 record.

On the political side, Professor Miller did not discover that when Khrushchev called for thirty thousand party member volunteers to offer themselves as candidates for kolkhoz chairmen in the early 1950s (p. 81), only some twenty thousand volunteers actually came forth. Moreover, later in the book, these volunteers (still thirty thousand) are described as primarily technicians and managers (p. 314). They were mainly trusted *apparatchiki* who would assure a new party presence on the farms. The twenty thousand, plus the amalgamation of the smaller farms into new Leviathans, guaranteed a party member chairman and a party unit on every farm, and the MTS became redundant as a center for controls over the kolkhoz peasants and their produce.

Nowhere is there a full appreciation that the peasant response to forced collectivization required controls of a kind made possible by the MTS. True, enough MTS to serve all the farms were not created in the beginning, and their full potential for control over the villages was not realized for a number of years. But Professor Miller completely misses the important fact that instead of having tractors many of the early stations *depended mainly on horse power*. Stalin, however, knew that control over the "means of production" put the kolkhozes at the mercy of Moscow.

In sum, the book ignores the work of pioneers in the field, much is out of focus, and what is new is largely detail. Most Russian Research Center Studies have made a significant contribution to the field. Unfortunately, this book does not meet the Center's usual standard.

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SOVIET COMMUNISM AND AGRARIAN REVOLUTION. By Roy D. and Betty A. Laird. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1970. 158 pp. \$1.25, paper.

The Lairds are neo-Malthusians, like many of us these days. They also believe that Soviet-style agricultural organization is disastrous for agricultural productivity, and suspect that many Communist misconceptions about agriculture—unqualified faith in bigness and mechanization, and mistrust of peasant initiative—are shared by urban bureaucrats and intellectuals the world over. They fear that developing countries may follow the Soviet example, thus aggravating world food problems.

One may respect the authors' intent to write a rousing tract against collectiv-