

RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, THE MENSHEVIK MOVEMENT: A BIBLIOGRAPHY [in Russian]. By *Anna Bourguina*. Hoover Institution Bibliographical Series, 36. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1968. 391 pp.

The name of Miss Anna M. Bourguina is well known to students of the international socialist movement. She has given quite a number of them professional assistance and rewarding bibliographic advice, first in Paris, then in New York, and finally in Palo Alto, California. And now, by compiling and putting in their hands a listing of Menshevik writings, she has placed them further in her debt. Indeed, her bibliography represents a most valuable research tool, bringing to the attention of interested scholars a wide range of scattered material that previously lacked bibliographic control.

In the pursuit of her task Miss Bourguina has proved to be a diligent investigator and an indefatigable detective. She ingeniously traced and studied the pertinent legally and illegally circulated books, pamphlets, journals, symposia, newspapers, and sometimes mimeographed sheets in libraries and collections on both sides of the Atlantic, with the result that the impressive number of entries and data presented in the volume will facilitate an authentic study of the history of the Menshevik party, its dogma and principles, shifts in positions taken, groupings, actions, and expectations. It is regrettable, however, that the locations of these materials are not indicated precisely.

The bibliographic guide, organized alphabetically within each chronological chapter, spans almost two-thirds of a century of writing from the beginning of the movement in 1903 until the end of 1965. All the prominent leaders of the party turn up in the opus together with the minor actors, including even such temporary party members as, for instance, Alexandra Kollontai, the future Communist ambassador in Norway, Mexico, and Sweden. Apparently out of reverence and for reasons of ideological genesis, entries for writings of the elders of the movement, Paul Axelrod, Vera Zasulich, Iulii Martov, and Alexander Potresov, dating from the pre-1903 period are also listed in the opening chapter of the volume.

Miss Bourguina's bibliography was prepared under the auspices of the Inter-University Project on the History of the Menshevik Movement, and appeared as number 36 of the Hoover Institution Bibliographical Series, but it seems that the late Boris Ivanovich Nicolaevsky was the guiding spirit of this particular volume. In any case, as a lifelong Menshevik and a distinguished historian with a unique knowledge of revolutionary movements, Mr. Nicolaevsky right from the beginning had taken an active interest in the organization of the undertaking that gave impetus to the progress of the project. He assisted it, as the German saying goes, "with counsel and deed." He made available for pertinent exploration his extraordinary archival collections, now at the Hoover Institution. One of the many meritorious features of the bibliographic guide is the identification of the pseudonyms profusely used by Menshevik writers, and here again Mr. Nicolaevsky's aid was invaluable. Incidentally, with the eight assumed names he used he bests most of his fellow Mensheviks, being outnumbered only by Martov (seventeen pseudonyms) and Valentinov (fifteen).

The bibliography has two titles, which unfortunately differ in wording. The Russian title, "The Social Democratic Menshevik Literature: A Bibliographic Guide," rightly reflects the compiler's aim of listing exclusively the writings of the Mensheviks themselves. On the other hand, the English version of the title, *Russian Social Democracy, The Menshevik Movement: A Bibliography*, leads one to expect complete coverage of the subject by authors of different nationalities,

belonging to various political camps, and representing both friendly and inimical views of the movement. Such, however, is not the case.

As a matter of fact, even the coverage of Russian Menshevik writings is comprehensive only up to a point. The compiler herself forewarns the user of the volume that of "the Menshevik literature published abroad in later decades, only those works which relate to the past history of the socialist movement in Russia are included." The reason for this decision is not stated. Miss Bourguina most likely desired to keep the material to manageable proportions, and this is quite understandable. Many of the Mensheviks were notoriously prolific writers; Solomon M. Schwarz, today eighty-six, still writes unabatedly. Yet this self-imposed restriction is rather regrettable. At least the inclusion of the most important pronouncements and comments on events taking place in the Soviet Union published abroad in the central organ of the party, *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik*, would have been welcome, since this would have established a concise overview of the development of Menshevik thinking from the inception of the movement up to the most recent days.

The printing of Miss Bourguina's introduction both in English and in Russian is indicative of the legitimate desire of the author and publisher to have this guide used with equal profit in the Soviet Union. Included in the volume are special listings of Menshevik periodicals; underground Social Democratic publications that appeared in Soviet Russia during the 1920s; the political organs of Plekhanov, Trotsky, and the Paris Social Democrats; the Russian-language publications of the Bund; and organs of trade unions in which Mensheviks played a leading role. These listings are found either in the second part of the bibliography or in the appendixes.

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MY LIFE (MOIA ZHIZN') [in Russian]. By *Noah Zhordania* (Noi Zhordaniia). Translated from the Georgian by *Ina Zhordania*. Preface by *Leopold Haimson*. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1968. xv, 131 pp.

This slim volume of memoirs by one of the leaders of Georgian social democracy is a disappointment. Noah Zhordania's life as a student radical, labor organizer, revolutionary, nation builder, and political exile was rich and full. He could have told a great deal about the history of the Social Democratic Party both in the Caucasus and in Russia proper; he could have thrown much-needed light on the complexities of the civil war. Unfortunately, he chose to do none of these things. Instead he has given unrevealing reminiscences that only occasionally provide new and significant information. The most interesting part of the book is the section dealing with the formation of an independent Georgian state once again after an interval of more than a hundred years.

The memoirs are amazingly free of bitterness and recrimination. Though Zhordania at various times had to fight a host of domestic and foreign enemies, he managed to preserve a humane and decent attitude toward most of them. As one would expect, in his account the Bolsheviks come out the worst, not only because of their victory but also because of the methods they used to achieve it.

Professor Leopold Haimson, who directs the Columbia University Menshevik Project, deserves the thanks of all who have an interest in the history of Russia,