

that Dmowski's political ideas and tactics have a share of the responsibility for the failure of the Duma experience regarding the Polish problem in the Russian Empire between 1905 and 1914?

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CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE PALE: THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE JEWISH WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN TSARIST RUSSIA. By *Ezra Mendelsohn*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970. xi, 180 pp. \$8.50.

Specialists on Russian Social Democracy have long been aware of its close relationship with the Jewish movement of Belorussia-Lithuania. However, thus far the Jewish movement has been examined exclusively through the prism of Russian sources and perspectives. The rich literature in Yiddish remained unused. Now with Mendelsohn's compact, informative book the internal history of the Jewish labor movement suddenly comes alive and takes on sharp new contours. The first chapter on the legal status, demography, and social-occupational stratification of Jews in tsarist Russia is in itself a valuable new contribution. Though the story of the shift from propaganda circles to economic agitation is well known, Mendelsohn provides a wealth of concrete details on techniques and associational forms which the Russian sources can scarcely convey. The author's use of his sources is so complete and circumspect that his portrayals will hardly be open to challenge, even though they often diverge from accepted notions. He brings out quite vividly and justly that the by-product of the movement (unintended at first) was a Yiddish-language culture distinct from both the traditional rabbinical culture and the Russian culture of assimilated socialist intellectuals. Mendelsohn accurately dissects the hostility toward socialist intellectuals generated by the transition to mass agitation in Yiddish—on the one hand, by the older worker elite who aspired to the Russian culture of the intellectuals and felt betrayed, and on the other, by the new worker cadres who were thoroughly at home in the Yiddish-speaking ghetto and resented the interference of their middle-class mentors.

Mendelsohn is eminently successful in achieving what he sets out to do, but it should be clearly understood that he consciously restricts himself to the artisan milieu and scarcely touches on the organizational history of the Bund or broader related aspects of Jewish and Russian history. The passing over of countless Jewish Social Democrats and even artisan workers to the Russian movement by migration to such centers as Ekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Kiev, and Odessa (a reflection of the original assimilationist, antinationalist bias of the movement) is not treated at all, nor is the later evolution of the movement toward nationalism, which in the process awakened working-class Zionist sentiment. Mendelsohn should have at least apprised his readers of such relationships in general terms, in view of the absence of any decent general work which can supply this context.

Despite Mendelsohn's thoroughness, a few omissions are surprising. Though the Kremer-Martov pamphlet *On Agitation* is quoted briefly, its historical importance is not acknowledged, and in the excellent chapter on the Yiddish underground press the first such organ, *Di Arbayershtimme*, and its energetic worker-founder Moisei Dushkan are not given their due. However, Mendelsohn did not

intend to compile a chronicle, but rather to give us an in-depth view of the Jewish working-class movement, and in this he has brilliantly succeeded.

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IN SWITZERLAND, 1914–1917. By *Alfred Erich Senn*. Madison, Milwaukee, London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971. xvi, 250 pp. \$12.50.

This book is one of the most impressive monographs published in recent years on the immediate background to the Russian revolutions of 1917, and at the same time is one of the most frustrating. The main cause of frustration is the author's effort to squeeze into a mere two hundred pages of text an account of everything that went on in Switzerland between 1914 and 1917 among political exiles from the Russian Empire and among other groups that had some relevance to events in any part of the former Russian Empire between 1917 and 1921. As the author himself confesses, his book "contains several themes which cross at times but merge finally only at the time of revolution in Russia in 1917" (p. xv).

Professor Senn's principal theme is the "defensist-defeatist" or "nationalist-internationalist" schism in the ranks of the S.D. and S.R. Russian exiles—a theme whose importance to events in Russia in 1917 and 1918 can scarcely be doubted. However, this theme sometimes almost disappears as he turns to examine the Polish political exiles and their relations with the Germans, Lenin's relations with various secondary non-Russian figures of the Second International and with the German government, Miliukov's brief visit to Switzerland in 1916, and so forth. As a result of these digressions, some of Senn's more important conclusions could easily be missed by the casual reader. With respect to Lenin, he denies that the founding father of Bolshevism and the Soviet state was inspired by German bribes to oppose the war, adding that "the German intervention among the emigrés was largely restricted to contacting representatives of the minority nationalities" (p. xv). He concludes that it was rather the successful German offensive against Russia in the summer of 1915 that caused Lenin, at Zimmerwald and Kiental, to try to organize the socialist internationalists against the war. Only at this point, he believes, did Lenin first show signs of forsaking his parochial Russian outlook and emerge as a genuine leader of international Marxist socialism. On the other hand, Senn is convinced that Zimmerwald and Kiental represented only a passing phase in Lenin's career. He concludes that after coming to power in Russia "Lenin abandoned the idea of revolutionary war, which he had advocated in his theses of September 1915, and instead advocated preserving the gains of the revolution in Russia by making a separate peace with Imperial Germany. . . . the interest of the new Bolshevik government in its own survival prevailed" (p. 234).

One could not praise too highly the research in both published and unpublished sources on which this book is based. Moreover, Senn's approach to the great range of problems with which he deals is rigorously objective. The fact remains that he has succeeded in proving that in a work of this scope it is best not to clutter up the story of the Russian revolutions of 1917 with the related, but separate, stories of Germany's aims in the First World War and their impact on the Russian subject nationalities, and the international effort inspired by that war among non-Russians to use it as the takeoff point for a new system of international relations.