

parties to respond to these demands. Third, moderate socialist parties' continued support of Kerensky and the Provisional Government undermined their credibility in the eyes of the masses. And fourth, "In Petrograd in 1917 the Bolshevik Party bore little resemblance to the by-and-large united, authoritarian, conspiratorial organization effectively controlled by Lenin depicted in most existing accounts" (p. xvii); rather, the party was successful precisely because it was flexible and responsive to the moods of the populace, and Rabinowitch "would emphasize the party's internally relatively democratic, tolerant, and decentralized structure and method of operation, as well as its essentially open and mass character—in striking contrast to the traditional Leninist model" (p. 311).

The author's theses are supported by an impressive array of primary and secondary sources. He is particularly good at evoking moods, as demonstrated by his excellent description of the July 15 funeral of seven slain Cossacks (pp. 39–42). He clearly shows the differences among such organizations as the Central Committee, the Petersburg Committee, the Military Organization, the Soviet, the Petrograd inter-district soviets, and others. No one can read this book and then accept the view that the party was monolithic in 1917. The work is well written, and contains thirty-eight photographs and/or reproductions of newspaper editorial cartoons and contemporary documents. The footnoting is thorough and there is a comprehensive bibliography. In sum, this book is indispensable reading for the student of Soviet history.

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RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNDERGROUND: A STUDY OF THE RSDRP IN THE UKRAINE, 1907–1914. By *Ralph Carter Elwood*. International Institute of Social History, Publications on Social History, vol. 8. Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum and Company, 1974. xix, 304 pp. Dfl. 65.00.

The development of Russian Marxism and the RSDRP in the centers of St. Petersburg and Moscow and as an émigré movement has been adequately treated in existing historical studies. However, the record of the activities of regional memberships and organizations within the Russian Empire has not received sufficient attention. This lacuna has been partially filled by the work under review dealing with the RSDRP's efforts to function in certain Ukrainian cities during the post-1907 reaction.

The work is especially valuable because of the author's utilization of the socialist émigré press and underground publications as well as the files of the Paris *Okhrana* office now at the Hoover Institution. However, it does not offer a chronological account nor a smooth narrative but, rather, a topical and fragmented treatment that is understandable in view of the discontinuities in the activities of the Social Democrats and the fact that their organizations were fragmented. Much attention is given to general developments in the RSDRP among émigrés and among Russians, including a discussion of journalistic enterprises, a detailed account of methods for preparing and reproducing illegal leaflets, and a description of smuggling operations for an expensive and uncertain system for delivery of political literature. There is much (incomplete) detail regarding party finances and a description of organizational features at the local level and the party's interaction with the *Okhrana*. Ties linking the Ukrainian Social Democrats with the émigré Central Committee were weak and consequently receive little attention; the émigré press was too intellectual and factionally oriented to attract much interest.

The work has a quasi-anomalous quality because it deals with a party whose members were Russians and Jews who (whether Bolsheviks or Mensheviks) were oblivious to, and divorced from, the ethnically Ukrainian mass of the population and

ignored Ukrainian claims although they readily ate Ukrainian bread. Elwood neglects such ethnically Ukrainian Marxists as Volodymyr Zaton'skii and Mykola Skrypnyk. He does not utilize Lev Iurkevych's (Rybalka's) work, *The Russian Social Democrats and the Nationality Question*, published in Geneva in 1917, although he does allude to the disagreement between Iurkevych and Lenin, and Lenin's mendacious efforts to discredit Iurkevych. Elwood concludes that "Lenin's attitude toward Ukrainians probably should be suspect" (p. 263).

The author recognizes that the Ukrainian Nationalists outnumbered the Russian Social Democrats who were incapable of thinking "in Ukrainian terms" and had nothing to offer the Ukrainian nation or its peasantry. They published nothing in the Ukrainian language and lived in their own urban world. The fact that RSDRP membership in the Ukraine declined to three hundred in 1909 indicates the basic weakness of its position, although it was able to make slight gains after 1911 by shifting to "legal" activities and the use of front organizations. Elwood's book provides a valuable supplement to Arthur Adams's *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine* in explaining the circumstances and attitudes that led to the failure of Lenin's policies in 1917–20. The author also demolishes certain myths that have been assiduously cultivated and propagated in Soviet party historiography.

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SOTSIAL'NO-POLITICHESKOE RAZVITIE GORODOV BELORUSSII V XVI-PERVOI POLOVINE XVII V. By Z. Iu. Kopysskii. Minsk: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka i tekhnika," 1975. 189 pp. 95 kopecks.

This work complements the author's earlier economic analysis of Belorussian towns and urban institutions. The prime focus is on urban self-government, which Kopysskii postulates as the most important feature of urban development, especially with the development of Magdeburg Law. This emphasis puts him squarely in the tradition of European urban scholarship—with Pirenne, Rörig, and Weber—and defines the character of his study.

According to Kopysskii, Magdeburg Law was grafted onto extant urban institutions during a period of intense crisis and change, but without essentially altering urban residents' participation in local affairs. They continued to take an active role in urban elections and displayed a political initiative not provided for in the code. Rather than establishing the concept of self-government per se, this form of urban government replaced prior institutions common to Belorussian towns. The author also carefully notes the importance of urban oligarchies in the administration and official life of the towns, arguing cogently that Magdeburg Law and self-government were not necessarily democratic and representative phenomena.

His concentration on self-government, with occasional enlightening references to West European towns, creates a constricting framework already familiar from other studies in urban history. It is apparently uncomfortable for Kopysskii as well. Although his analysis leads him to the conclusion that towns did not influence internal or external change, he asserts early in the book that the evolution of towns shaped the policies of higher powers, not vice versa. Unfortunately, he does not pursue this potentially more original line of argument.

His analysis provides valuable information for a comparative study of Russian and European towns, along with an important discussion of Magdeburg Law. It deserves a wider audience among European historians than it will probably receive.

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