

longer periods of peaceful coexistence than of conscious effort of either to dominate the other or its lands.

This volume surveys the intercourse between Russia and China from earliest times (the seventeenth century with a glance back at the Mongol Empire) to the present, strongly emphasizing conventional diplomatic and political relations. All major and well-known events in this intercourse are described: the Nerchinsk and Kiakhta treaties and the "normalization" of commerce and relations, the nineteenth-century participation of Russia in the imperialist pressure on China, the Kuomintang-Communist United Front of the 1920s, the "second" United Front of the 1930s, the early collaboration of Red China and the Soviet Union, and the Sino-Soviet "cold war" after 1964. There is little new, and the flavor of presentation is much the same as earlier general histories on the subject.

Despite the author's effort, there is no theme or set of themes which inform the study. The two countries have never fought each other on any substantial scale, and military history is therefore properly not highlighted; the very important commercial and economic relations over the centuries are not presented or analyzed systematically; diplomacy is not examined in depth or in the light of the mechanics of decision-making; and the popular images each country has had of the other are neglected. For the general reader this is a handy and up-to-date overview of the conventional diplomatic relations between the two empires, strengthened by a considerable effort on the author's part to let us know how China was interacting with other countries (although little about what Russia or the Soviet Union was involved in). Scholars of diplomacy or of Russian or Chinese history will want to go beyond to the recent and fine works of more limited scope by Mancall, Hsü, B. I. Schwartz, Brandt, Whiting, and McLane, among others.

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MICHEL BAKOUNINE ET SES RELATIONS AVEC SERGEJ NEČAEV, 1870-1872: ÉCRITS ET MATÉRIAUX. By *Mikhail Bakunin*. Introduction and annotation by *Arthur Lehning*. Archives Bakounine, vol. 4. Publiées pour L'Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis Amsterdam par A. Lehning. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971. lxxix, 492 pp. 152 Dutch guilders.

As late as 1872, four years before his death, several governments wanted to hang Bakunin, others to shoot him, four or five to lock him up for life, and one or two merely to push him off a cliff and to hell with public opinion. Any man receiving that kind of attention must be reckoned with, and he deserves a Boswell: at a couple of removes, Bakunin has found Arthur Lehning of Amsterdam. This is the latest volume in Lehning's series for the International Institute of Social History, and like its predecessors it is very useful. Lehning deserves much credit for his decision to publish documents in the original version; there are translations to give the book an obviously greater utility, but one is grateful for the uncut material.

This volume brings together many of the known sources on the Western phase of the Nechaevshchina, the affair that scarred Bakunin emotionally and politically and helped to discredit him in working-class and socialist circles north of the Alps. Most of the sources have appeared in print before. Michael Confino, Tatiana Bakounine, and Jacques Catteau have used the same archives in the Bibliothèque

Nationale (though Lehning does give new material); Dragomanov and Nettlau published Bakunin's letters long ago; and Lehning draws some of his documents from the contemporary press and from more modern publications. Anton Trusov's letter to a Serbian socialist has some faint relevance here, but the inclusion of the items relating to Nechaev's Judas, Adolphe Stempkowski, was probably a mistake. There are, moreover, some striking omissions. But the Lehning volume does indeed bring together important materials from widely scattered sources, and though the whole Nechaev business was a monumental distraction, it remains a part of Bakuniana.

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LA PREMIÈRE INTERNATIONALE: RECUEIL DE DOCUMENTS PUBLIÉ SOUS LA DIRECTION DE JACQUES FREYMOND. Vol. 3: LES CONFLITS AU SEIN DE L'INTERNATIONALE, 1872-1873. Vol. 4: LES CONGRÈS ET LES CONFÉRENCES DE L'INTERNATIONALE, 1873-1877. Edited and annotated by *Bert Andréas* and *Miklós Molnár*. Geneva: Publications de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, no. 48, 1971. Vol. 3: xviii, 668 pp. Vol. 4: 835 pp.

The First International came to an end in 1872, when the combination of the post-Commune reaction and the quarrel between Marxists and Bakuninists forced the General Council to move to New York and abandon Europe to Bakunin, Bismarck, and Andrassy. The organization did exist for a few more years, but the period from the famous Hague Congress of 1872 to the little-known meeting in Ghent (September 1877) was a bleak one for the first working-class political party in history. Not until the great anniversary year of 1889 would the labor-socialist movement truly revive.

Bert Andréas and Miklós Molnár of the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales (Geneva) have assembled an impressive collection of documents on the last five years of the International, and these two volumes conclude the project initiated by Jacques Freymond in 1962. There are a number of new documents (for example, Engels to Maltman Barry on the 1872 "federalist" meeting in London), material on the Communard refugees in Geneva, Bakuninist papers from Neuchâtel, and much more. The editors have also included useful biographies of the leading figures, notably the Belgian socialists, and they have solved a number of minor but intriguing mysteries. In general one can rely upon these volumes for a thorough, accurate record; the scholarship is impeccable.

The shortcomings are minor. As the definitive East German edition of the Marx-Engels *Werke* erred in translating all sources into German, so the Freymond volumes make the mistake of rendering everything into French. In documentary collections, materials ought to be in the original language. The publishers should have made room for an index of organizations, sections, and places. Nevertheless, this is an impressive achievement, and historians of socialism and the labor movement have reason to be grateful to Professor Freymond and his colleagues.

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