

BUREAU SOCIALISTE INTERNATIONAL: COMPTES RENDUS DES RÉUNIONS MANIFESTES ET CIRCULAIRES, vol. 1: 1900–1907. Edited by *Georges Haupt*. École Pratique des Hautes Études, Matériaux pour l'histoire du socialisme international, I^{re} série, Textes et documents, 2. Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1969. 438 pp. 75 F or 54 Dutch guilders, paper.

The fact that eleven years elapsed before the Second International, founded in 1889, created the Bureau Socialiste International (BSI), and the fact that the BSI's role was limited to that of clearing house for information, testified to the influence of Michael Bakunin. Bakunin had been convinced a generation earlier that Karl Marx and the General Council exercised dictatorial control over the First International. This told more about Bakunin's own nature and aspirations than about Marx's real powers, but nevertheless the accusation was widely believed. The canard of the First International as a "general staff without an army" passed, sadly enough, even into respected historical literature.

The Second International, determined not to give the anarchists this issue, renounced any thought of creating a strong central authority; and the International itself became a kind of (to paraphrase a famous line) anarchy tempered by sentimentality. Unlike its predecessor, it wedded the working classes to the bourgeois nation-state; no, it welded them there.

Thus the BSI could only be, as one Russian commentator said of the International as a whole, "nothing but a mailbox." This does not mean that it performed no useful function; mailboxes have their role. The BSI provided a channel for propaganda and pressure on the tsarist regime in Russia. Lenin, Plekhanov, and other revolutionary émigrés valued its participation in the international condemnation which sapped tsarism's confidence in itself and kept it ever on the defensive. Needless to add, ruling circles in London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin also delighted in this socialist sport.

This volume deals with much more than merely Russia: lynchings in the American South, British concentration camps in South Africa, and the Moroccan Crisis caught the attention of the socialists around the world. But Russia, bulwark of reaction, occupies center stage: two dozen of the seventy-one documents published (carrying the story down to the 1907 Stuttgart Congress) deal directly with Russia and several more with Eastern Europe. The scholarly presentation of this volume by Georges Haupt, who plans three more, merits warm applause and encouragement. The fears Haupt expresses in his preface that some will continue to regard the publication of documents as an evasion of scholarship are groundless; he has performed an extremely valuable service at a very high level of scholarship.

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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION: BEFORE AND AFTER. By *E. H. Carr*.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. vi, 178 pp. \$4.95.

IRONIES OF HISTORY: ESSAYS ON CONTEMPORARY COMMUNISM.
By *Isaac Deutscher*. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University
Press, 1966. iii, 278 pp. \$5.75.

Both of these books consist of lectures, essays, and reviews written over the past two decades and, for the most part, previously published. Since Mr. Carr and