

in the development of the social forces unleashed by twentieth-century industrialism.

David Mitchell, a British journalist and chronicler of feminist movements, sets himself the task of depicting the vast surge and flailing collapse of the forces of social revolution in post-World War I Europe. Vividly he describes the panoply of strikes and uprisings from Winnipeg and Washington State to Budapest and the Ukraine, but with particular emphasis on the Communist and Social Democratic attempts to rule within the territory of the former Central Powers, and the machinations of the old order—above all, the chief statesmen of the Allied Powers—to keep the lid on or restore it by force of arms. The author has achieved a literate, exciting, quick-paced evocation of the tumultuous mood of the times.

Unfortunately Mr. Mitchell's book will prove somewhat frustrating to the scholar, if not to the undergraduate. Where a work on 1919 could have been a significant contribution, pursuing the linkages between the Central and East European revolutions, the Allied governments, and the forces of counterrevolution, this book is fragmented and episodic. It makes no pretense at objective analysis, and no attempt to hide a disdain for all things bourgeois and an ardent sympathy for socialist and communist revolutions of any hue. The author would appear to be an anarchist, more than anything else; workers' control and peasant communes strike him as the ideal. Béla Kun is his hero, and perhaps Nestor Makhno, and even Gabriele D'Annunzio. The Soviet regime (above all Trotsky) justifiably slips out of the circle of grace as it starts to curb the ultraleftists outside as well as inside Russia.

The book is best for its numerous mood-sketches offering a rare, if opinionated, glimpse of what some unfamiliar events looked and felt like—the Bolshevik capture and loss of Riga, the style of life of Makhno's guerrillas, the counterrevolution in Hungary, D'Annunzio's expedition to Fiume. Acidic portraits of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Churchill, and Wilson are offered from the standpoint of the vanquished revolutionaries. Trotsky gets his measure of criticism as well, though Lenin is left a little above it all.

Judging by the bibliography, *1919* was written entirely from English-language secondary sources, apart from some of the British government documents centering on the antirevolutionary views of Churchill.

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THE MAKING OF THE SOVIET STATE APPARATUS. By *Olga A. Narkiewicz*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970. x, 238 pp. \$9.00. Distributed by Humanities Press, New York.

The thesis of this study is that during the Civil War and New Economic Policy, events at the local level had a decisive influence on shaping Bolshevik policy. The author, drawing on the Smolensk archives as well as printed sources, contends that the inefficiency of local administration, combined with rising unemployment and the mass migration to the towns of pauperized peasants in search of non-existent jobs, drove the authorities to act and, in the last analysis, made the decision to collectivize agriculture inevitable. This argument, as the author herself admits, is not new. But by focusing on conditions in the village and factory she sheds interesting light on Soviet life during the first decade of Bolshevik rule.

The book, however, has a number of shortcomings. Agricultural output during the Civil War did not, as the author maintains, decline "almost to zero." Moreover, the drop in agricultural production (to about 40 percent of prewar levels) resulted more from the seizure of peasant surpluses and the lack of consumer goods than from the inefficiencies of small-scale production. In addition, although the author treats the local soviets (particularly of Tambov province) in proper detail, her discussion of workers' control is too sketchy, and in general her treatment of industry is less satisfactory than of agriculture. The book, unfortunately, is rather loosely organized, and the lack of proper chapter headings makes the line of argument harder to follow than it need have been. The research is also somewhat dated, because it does not go beyond the early 1960s, and some of the most valuable Soviet works on the subject have been published since then. Yet despite its limitations this is an interesting attempt to deal with actual working people and how their attitudes and behavior have influenced government decisions. All in all, it is a useful if modest contribution to our knowledge of early Soviet history.

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AMERICANS AND THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT, 1917–1933. By *Peter G. Filene*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. 389 pp. \$7.95.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO RUSSIA: THE SOVIET UNION AND THE TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS, 1924–1937. By *Sylvia R. Margulies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968. xi, 290 pp. \$7.50.

AMERICAN VIEWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 1917–1965. Edited by *Peter G. Filene*. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968. xviii, 404 pp. \$3.50, paper.

During the first few years after the October Revolution it was thought amusing to ask, "Who was the first Bolshevik?" The answer was "Peter the Great." A few years later the question was "Who is responsible for socialism in Russia?" The answer, "Lenin, Stalin, and Henry Ford." Neither Professor Filene nor Professor Margulies is especially concerned in the books under review that a modernization revolution is not a new thing in Russia or that the instigators of such revolutions sought aid from and encouraged visits by foreigners who for the most part were ideologically unsympathetic.

The Petrine and Leninist revolutionaries imported implements and skills from technologically more advanced countries—at first to be able to defend themselves against hostile neighbors, and later in order to expand to fulfill a mission at the expense of the benighted. Any apprehensions the exporters of skills may have felt about putting potentially dangerous implements into the hands of political barbarians seem to have been outweighed by their expectation of profits and their confidence that the recipients would never catch up with—much less surpass—the suppliers.

All three books deal in different ways with aspects of American-Soviet relations. Filene discusses American attitudes toward the "Soviet experiment" (as distinguished from opinions about it) during the period of revolutions, "war communism," civil war, intervention, and the New Economic Policy, and briefly during the first Five-Year Plan. He supplements these analyses of attitudes in a second volume, which contains sixty views of Soviet Russia (1917–65) by persons from different walks of life. In her book Miss Margulies is concerned, in a sense, with attitudes