

from reader to reader. What does *not* seem to vary, however, is the opinion of a good many of the compilers regarding their own works: almost without exception, they have graded them with an "A" and described them in flattering terms.

HORECKY'S bibliography impressed this reviewer both with its higher professional standard and more uniform quality. To be sure, with only 2,000 to Hammond's 7,000 items, with a simpler focus and with a restricted group of languages, Dr. Horecky faced a more manageable task. The result is that his annotations are briefer and more to the point than in the other volume, and that his contributors succeed in maintaining a generally judicious tone. Yet even here there are some polemical bits and pieces; being told, for example that a book on Russian education must be "not read, but studied" could well discourage the potential reader from opening the book at all.

The selection of titles—as severe a problem for Dr. Horecky as it must have been for Professor Hammond—gives cause for some bafflement. Why was there space for a mention of "The Reindeer and Its Domestication" (the prerevolutionary reindeer at that), but none for John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*? Stalin's 1952 pamphlet, *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, is cited, but not his 1950 articles on linguistics, which certainly deserved inclusion. Like Hammond, Horecky treats the Stalin collection of World War II pronouncements in a rather peculiar fashion. Hammond cites only the Russian edition, as though it had not been published in Western languages. Horecky lists an English version, but implies that the famous 1945 toast to the Russian people was omitted from the English versions, which is certainly not true of all editions.

Despite the faults of these volumes, they will be of great and continuing utility to all students in the field, professional and amateur, be-

ginning and advanced, in school and out. The task of compiling such massive bibliographies is staggering, tedious and rather thankless. The carping critic has a much easier job.

Thomas B. Larson

strike in October, the unrest in the countryside—is informed and judicious. The beginning student in Russian history and the non-specialist will benefit from reading this book.

Abraham Ascher

1905

SIDNEY HARCAVE: *First Blood: The Russian Revolution of 1905*, New York, Macmillan, 1964.

PROFESSOR HARCAVE has written the first book-length study in English of the Revolution of 1905. The thesis of this general, somewhat text-bookish account is that the revolution "had provided the *means* for finding the middle ground" or a "state of equilibrium" between the "two Russias" that were pitted against each other around the turn of this century, but that the "atmosphere" was not favorable for such an outcome. The government, determined to resist all the pressures for a genuine liberalization of the existing order, proved to be too resourceful and resilient. "Society," representing the educated, progressive elements who wanted to modernize the country socially and politically, was divided and lacked the experience necessary to hold on to the gains made in 1905. The revolution, in brief, was a missed opportunity.

Although little of the evidence is new and although Prof. Harcave does not press his analysis very deeply, he has performed a useful task in bringing together material from a large variety of sources. His summaries of the programs of the oppositional groups and the attitudes of the Tsarist officials are accurate, as are his descriptions of the mood of the people caught in the revolutionary maelstrom. The treatment of the major events in 1905—Bloody Sunday, the general

Master and Victims

CAROLA STERN: *Ulbricht*. Cologne-Berlin, Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1964; in English, New York, Praeger, 1965.

THIS IS A BOOK that is not only lively and stimulating, but also remarkably objective. Since the subject of the study is a humorless politician without charm or human warmth—"the most hated man in Germany"—and since the author herself is a former East German resident, the even, dispassionate approach needs to be stressed. Indeed, Miss Stern's judicious temper allows Ulbricht's personality to emerge in a better light than is usually the case; thus, for example, she exonerates him from the oft-repeated accusation that he bears responsibility for the imprisonment and death at the hands of the Nazis of the pre-war German Communist leader, Ernst Thälman.

The author sees Ulbricht as an efficient administrator and shrewd *apparatchik* rather than an imaginative leader. Yet she does not deny him the ability to take an independent course of action whenever his interests are at stake. Thus, when after Stalin's death the new unsteady leadership in Moscow had begun appraising all comers and Ulbricht was told to relax his regime in East Germany, he refused to budge, believing the counsel unwise and dangerous. He did so again during the crisis that followed Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and threatened to demolish everything that Ulbricht had stood for. In this period of the upsurge of

revisionism all over Eastern Europe Ulbricht proved himself to be the master of intrigue and double-talk, as well as a man of great ruthlessness and political acumen; eventually he skillfully isolated, confused and finally crushed all his more liberally inclined opponents in the SED. Only then was he ready to liberalize his rule. What is particularly remarkable about this performance is the fact that in spite of his manifest political failures in the GDR and in spite of the many irritations he must have caused in Moscow, Ulbricht has always succeeded in convincing his Soviet masters that he was irreplaceable.

Yet by any broader standards Ulbricht's political life remains a failure. Instead of seeing his fellow German Communists rise in revolution, he witnessed German workers in Hitler's armies march against the Soviet Union. He had to return home from exile in the USSR not as the representative of a Soviet Germany—his old dream—but as the executor of Stalin's will over a conquered and hate-filled people. On June 17, 1953, he was forced to call out Soviet troops and armor to quash in the streets of Berlin and other cities the workers he once fancied as his own comrades-in-arms. Today, after twenty years of brutal effort and vain promises, he still rules by the grace of Soviet tanks.

ERICKA VON HORNSTEIN: *Staatsfeinde*. Cologne-Berlin, Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1964.

This volume contains the stories of seven victims of political persecution in the "German Democratic Republic," compiled and narrated by the author. Miss von Hornstein has not picked her subjects at random; they are meant to represent, she writes, a cross-section of the nearly one quarter of a million East Germans who have gone through jails and concentration camps in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

The men and women whose testi-

monies make up this book (all have eventually escaped to West Germany) come from widely differing backgrounds. One or two are former Nazis. One was a parson who believed he was doing his Christian duty when he came to loggerheads with Communist authorities. Another is a Social Democrat who before his arrest had attained a position of some importance in the GDR. Still another was an idealistic young Communist who concerned himself—in thought, not action—with the problem of how to bring East German reality into harmony with his conscience, only to be sentenced to four years in prison as a deviationist and revisionist. Finally, there was Erika Fischer, a rather ordinary young woman with no great ambition and only a desire to live a normal life. Somehow, at the age of twenty-two, she was caught in the web of police repression and spent the next eleven years in East German prisons and labor camps, for no apparently valid reason.

All these depressing stories have one thing in common: in each case the persecution inflicted upon the victim was out of proportion to the "crime" committed, even when judged by the relevant rules of East German law. The book, moreover, brings out once again the fact that totalitarian regimes, whatever their nature, often victimize the same people. A good illustration in the present volume is the case of a man who found himself under the Communists in the same prison in which he had been jailed years earlier by the Nazis.

Miss von Hornstein's main purpose is to shake people who live in freedom—especially West Germans—out of their complacency. With her forceful style she may be quite successful in this mission. On the other hand, the book adds little to the now vast fund of published information on Communist methods of terror and prison life. Some readers, moreover, may be discouraged by the bathos that permeates portions of the narrative.

Anthony Sylvester

Roads and Crossroads

ADAM BROMKE, ED.: *The Communist States at the Crossroads between Moscow and Peking*. Introduction by Philip E. Mosely. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1965.

BASED ON A series of lectures in the winter of 1964, this volume by thirteen authors traces the growing diversity in the Communist world. There are country studies for each of the Communist states except China and Albania (the reason for these omissions is not entirely clear), as well as chapters on Sino-Soviet relations, economic relations among Communist states and a concluding essay by the editor, Adam Bromke, on the implications for the West of what is happening in the Communist world.

The complexity of the themes in the volume is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in its title, which seems in large degree a misnomer. Communist countries are clearly at a crossroads; but whether that point is located "between Moscow and Peking" for all of them is open to question. Rumania, for one, as J. F. Brown makes clear in his contribution, seeks substantial independence, and probably would be more accurately described as traveling on a road leading away from both Moscow and Peking, rather than as being poised between them. Clearly, the growing heterogeneity of the Communist bloc has made it difficult even to find a title which would aptly describe the existing situation.

The individual studies are solid pieces of work, even if they are slightly outdated on occasion: the proposed Czechoslovak economic reforms, the apparent attenuation of Soviet-North Korean relations, and the renewed involvement of the USSR in Vietnam, for example, came too late to be taken into account. Given this unavoidable time gap, Paul F. Langer's warning, in his chapter on the Asian Communist states, against assuming