

ization within the USSR. Sakharov says yes, the Medvedevs say no. Dornan does not enter the debate, although he clearly leans emotionally in Sakharov's favor. Surely the issue is a major one—for us, as well as for the dissidents—and it is a pity that more has not been done with it.

I hope that my criticisms will be seen from the perspective of my admiration. This book is essential to all who would understand unofficial Russia.

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HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USSR: PAST AND PRESENT. By *Rudolf Schlesinger*. Bombay: Orient Longman Limited, 1977. x, 485 pp. Rs. 100.

This complex volume, first printed in Italian translation in 1962 and updated in 1969, has now been published in the original English by an Indian press, eight years after the author's death. Although the principal theses of the book are not new, the supporting arguments and reasoning certainly are; and because Professor Schlesinger was something of an insider during the first two decades of Soviet power, his analysis of both that period and later years lends an extra dimension to his documented historical analysis.

This is far from an introductory text; reading the book should be a postgraduate experience even for the advanced scholar. Those familiar with Schlesinger's other works will find the present volume written in the same complicated, though often entertaining, prose, somewhat marred by a more-than-average number of typographical errors. But despite possibly detracting physical characteristics, the book deserves a wide academic audience.

In his introductory chapters, the author tries to illustrate a strong continuity between the goals of the pre-Marxist Russian revolutionary movements and what was to transpire in subsequent Bolshevik political development. Material on the early stages of Soviet party history plays down the impact of such habitually emphasized phenomena as the Stalin-Trotsky feud and the consolidation of Stalin's dictatorship, in favor of explanations of party development based on much more complex (and probably more realistic) interaction of personalities and institutions.

Throughout the middle portions of the book, Schlesinger attempts to separate Soviet party policy of the 1930s and 1940s (with which he certainly had a personal quarrel) from basic Marxist assumptions, and even from what he considers to be the mainstream of Soviet experience. He views such phenomena as Zhdanov's attack on postwar literary and musical trends and Lysenko's deadly assault on established Soviet genetic science as philosophical and political aberrations.

In the majority of cases, it is fair to say that Schlesinger's conclusions differ substantially from conventional Western academic wisdom. Nonetheless, they are presented with a high degree of scholarly objectivity, representing a sophisticated effort to perceive what was really going on behind the scenes of high-level Soviet politics. He indirectly makes a very strong case for continued institutional interest group politics over many significant issues, even during the darkest days of Stalinist terror and personal dictatorship.

The author's views and speculations are sometimes ingenious—those who supported Lysenko perhaps did so in order to direct Soviet science against all limiting concepts and thereby to influence the mood of postwar Soviet society—and sometimes naïvely irrelevant—that neither of the two schools of genetics could make a strong case for a necessary coincidence of its views with the basic principles of Marxist philosophy. But, taken as a whole, his assertions are thought-provoking; they prompt a reconsideration of available evidence and common assumptions.

Schlesinger's history of the post-Stalin and post-Khrushchev periods in party life is less interesting and, more than ten years after completion, holds up less well than the earlier portions. This was expected by the author, and he warned that it would be primarily attributable to a dearth of documentary evidence. In addition, much of the analytic weakness of the last two chapters is surely rooted in the author's eternal optimism about the ultimate future of the Soviet experiment.

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LENINIZM O SUSHCHNOSTI NATSII I PUTI OBRAZOVANIIA INTER-NATSIONAL'NOI OBSHCHNOSTI LIUDEI. 2nd ed. By S. T. Kaltakhchian. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, 1976. 408 pp.

This is the second edition of Kaltakhchian's work, which was first published by Moscow University Press in 1969. The author specializes in the nationality question and has published several books and numerous articles on the subject. The only sentimental touch, something of a rarity in Soviet scholarly books, is Kaltakhchian's dedication to the memory of his mother. Otherwise, while admitting that the mere mention of the term "fusion" (*sliianie*) "horrifies some people," Kaltakhchian insists that the historical process "must be faced squarely." One of his basic aims is to present a clear view of the future so that spontaneity does not replace "the scientific guidance of nationality processes" (p. 401). The other is "the unmasking of bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers of Marxist-Leninist theory" (p. 12).

Kaltakhchian's work appears to signal an end to the limited diversity of views on the nationality question to be found in Soviet writings of the 1960s and early 1970s. No longer is there even mention of national dissidents nor even mild criticism of Stalin's nationality policies. The book is divided into two parts. The four chapters of the first part, as Kaltakhchian points out in the introduction, have not been changed much from the earlier edition and present the usual Soviet interpretation of a nation as a temporary historical phenomenon. However, Kaltakhchian introduces significant changes in the usual hallmarks of a nation; his primary features are a common economy, territory, and language, in that order. He emphatically rejects "common psychological make-up" substituting for the fourth hallmark "national self-consciousness" and adding a fifth, "a state." He argues that his fourth hallmark, though neglected in Soviet literature, is a reality that requires a materialistic interpretation of its place and role. A state, he contends, is essential for distinguishing between a nationality and a nation. Thus, Poland during the partitions was not a nation, while Germany today is really two completely different nations.

Part 2 has been considerably revised in line with "the significant landmarks of Marxism-Leninism"—the Twenty-fourth Party Congress and the celebrations of the one-hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth and the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union. In chapter 5, entitled "Socialism and the Development of Nations," Kaltakhchian presents the socialist nation as a totally new and superior phenomenon, while in chapter 6, "The Rise of a New Historical Community of People," he proclaims the Soviet people to be a higher social order. Although they show all five hallmarks of a nation (the common language being Russian), the Soviet people are not a nation but something new and higher than a nation—"a step toward the formation of a wider international community of people, toward the future fusion of nations" (p. 344). In the seventh chapter, "The Struggle of Internationalism with Nationalism as the Chief Condition for the Successful Development of the World Revolutionary Process," the author warns of the "dangers" of nationalism, yet predicts the inevitable victory of internationalism. Finally, in the epilogue, "The