

PUT' K SOTSIALIZMU V ROSSII: IZBRANNYE PROIZVEDENIIA. By N. I. Bukharin. Edited, with an introduction, by Sidney Heitman. Russian translation of introduction and notes by Eugenia Zhiglevich. New York: Omicron Books, 1967. 416 pp. \$8.00.

Bukharin fans have good reason to be glad about this book. It contains the greater part of *Ekonomika perekhodnogo perioda*, all of *Put' k sotsializmu i raboche-krest'ianskii soiuz* and the "Zametki ekonomista" of 1928, and a scattering of other articles and speeches from the period 1919 to 1929. The print is ugly but remarkably free of misprints, and the price (\$8.00) is quite moderate, as these things go.

Sidney Heitman provides a general introduction and comments on each of the articles reproduced. His remarks have been translated into Russian so that "Soviet nationals to whom this volume may become available" can follow him. One of the editor's major difficulties thus appears in the ambiguity about his purpose and his audience. He asserts that the central topic of interest here is "the problem of socialist construction in Russia during the first decade of Soviet rule" and that what the "market-equilibrium theory meant in terms of concrete action is the subject of this anthology." Yet he also says that "the intent of the present work is to attempt to pull the pendulum of historical judgment regarding Bukharin back to a more balanced position." One task may entail the other, but they are not the same thing, nor can either of them be done in the same manner for both a Western and a Soviet audience.

It is unfortunate that the first four chapters of the *Ekonomika perekhodnogo perioda* have been omitted, since so much of the argument depends on Bukharin's prior analysis of the nature of the capitalist crisis as a limiting factor in the "transition period." The reason given for this mutilation, the exigencies of space, was no doubt imperious, but if the subject matter of the collection really was Bukharin's *economic* views, his important remarks on the cultural revolution might better have been made into a separate anthology, and both the first part of the *Ekonomika* and some of the brilliant polemics against Preobrazhensky should have been included here.

Professor Heitman, following the lead of Boris Nicolaevsky, says that Bukharin's views were simply "a restatement of Lenin's . . . basic theory of socialist construction in Russia." That may indeed be what Bukharin told Nicolaevsky in 1936, but it does not by any means clear up all the difficulties. To my mind, the famous "Leninist plan for the construction of socialism" is more myth than historical fact. In any case, the problems of 1928-29 were significantly different from those of 1922-23; to rely on the cautious, platitudinous formulas drafted by Lenin six years before would have been reckless irresponsibility. To state that "having consolidated his control over the Party apparatus, Stalin suddenly embraced the recently discredited views of Trotsky" vulgarizes the complexities in which NEP ended. Heitman's long-awaited study of Bukharin will, no doubt, deal more adequately with such problems. In the meantime he has helped make a part of Bukharin's rich work conveniently available to students of the period.

DANIEL MULHOLLAND
Tufts University