

according to what he considers their main characteristics. Writing about those who accepted and supported the pro-Communist "21 conditions," he points to a group which, he contends, was motivated by opportunism rather than conviction, and includes among this group Frossard of the French Socialist Party. (We do not know how Frossard appears to a present-day student of the period, but I remember him well from my student days in France, when he was seen as essentially a French "homme de gauche," neither better nor worse than many other militants of the Left, notwithstanding his transmigrations from one group to another, transmigrations that occurred throughout the whole spectrum of French political life.) While Lindemann's effort at classification is understandable, his approach, in my opinion, often oversimplifies the real situation. Caution is called for in examining motivations on both sides of the battle. A psychological reconstruction could be made, but it would require a *different approach and perhaps a different methodology*.

Lindemann appears to be saying that Western Socialist leaders were unable to resist "dynamic and clear-sighted leaders like Lenin and Trotsky, who stood at the head of the first Socialist revolution in history." Although lack of space prohibits going into details that might include a discussion of the "clear-sightedness" of Lenin and Trotsky, this position is highly disputable. Moreover, a more precise definition of terms is needed, especially in regard to the Russian Socialist revolution. In my opinion, October 17 was not, under Russian conditions, the "first socialist revolution in history." I would agree, instead, with Leon Blum's view, cited by Lindemann, that Lenin and his followers were in the Blanquist and not in the Marxist tradition.

This book is an important contribution to the study of the Socialist movement and of the post-World War I period. Students will appreciate both the thorough research underlying it and its bibliography.

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THE LENIN ANTHOLOGY. Edited with an introduction by *Robert C. Tucker*.  
New York: W. W. Norton, 1975. lxiv, 764 pp. \$18.95.

Anthologies are needed and should be published periodically. In this respect, Professor Tucker has performed a service—he offers a well-edited collection with an index for easy browsing. He has also prefaced the collection with an excellent essay on Lenin's emergence as revolutionary leader who singlemindedly combined Marxist thought with Russian revolutionary tradition. Regrettably, he has not provided citations for the various extracts from Lenin's writings.

Anthologies may serve a variety of purposes: to answer the queries of a new generation of readers about the ideas of the author; to permit a look at the author from a longer perspective of time; to seek answers to questions that earlier readers did not consider important, and so forth. On this score, Professor Tucker's collection needs to be amended. In recent years, as Soviet and Western intellectuals have become actively concerned with civil rights, government oppression, and national equality and development in the Soviet Union, they have looked to Lenin's writings for support of their positions. For example, was the Catholic priest right when he invoked Lenin's sanction for teaching children religion at a court which charged him with law violation on just this score? Were the Crimean Tartars correct in claiming that the current Soviet nationality policy violated Leninist norms? Did

Lenin approve of the use of terror in peacetime as a permanent fixture of the regime, as Solzhenitsyn argues in the *Gulag*? These are some of the essential questions that should be considered in a new anthology of Lenin's writings.

On the nationality question, the editor has probably done justice to Lenin, although, even here, the Communist Party's weakening of the right of self-determination (which occurred in Lenin's lifetime and with his approval) is not reflected. The use of terror is discussed in a long extract that dates back to 1919, but the documents that Lenin corrected in May 1922 are not included. These documents (amendments to the draft of the criminal code) show, at least in the opinion of this reviewer, that the question of terror, and the affinity between Leninist and Stalinist use of violence cannot be dismissed with the single though elegant sentence offered on page 423. Similarly, Lenin's view of religious freedoms and rights would probably be put in better perspective if some of Lenin's opinions had been reprinted, including his correction of the proposed declaration on freedom of conscience of 1918.

The Lenin that emerges from Professor Tucker's collection—with the help of his introduction—is the familiar charismatic messiah of the Russian Revolution. No one will deny Lenin's talents in revolution, but what about his role as founder of the Soviet state? Did he lay the foundation for arbitrary rule and ideological persecution by violent means when, for example, he condemned Menshevik activists to death? Was he really the benefactor of Russia and mankind as acclaimed by both his friends and the Russian peasants, or was Bertrand Russell correct in reporting that his "most vivid impressions [of Lenin] were those of bigotry and Mongolian cruelty"?

A useful anthology should aid speculation about such questions. Professor Tucker's collection would better serve this purpose if it included selections of Lenin's works that are less popular but more relevant for contemporary problems.

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NATSIONAL'NA POLITYKA LENINA. By *Ivan Bakalo*. Munich: "Suchasnist'," 1974. 210 pp. Paper. (U.S. Mailing Address: 875 West End Ave., Apt. 14B, New York, N.Y. 10025)

Despite its title, this monograph deals only in part with Lenin's nationality policy. Its chief aim, according to the author, is to show that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union uses Lenin's name to disguise its own totally different policy. Although the first three chapters on Lenin's period cover ground treated in much greater depth and breadth by Richard Pipes (*Formation of the Soviet Union*, 1954 and 1968), and the next three chapters are similar to Ivan Dzyuba's more penetrating analysis of Soviet nationality policy (*Internationalism or Russification*, first published in 1968 in the original Ukrainian by "Suchasnist'"), the work is a good chronological survey of Soviet nationality policy from the eve of the Second Party Congress. The book is thoroughly documented, primarily from Soviet sources. References are given at the end of each chapter, but the author does not provide a bibliography and includes only an incomplete name index. The most interesting part of the volume is the chapter on the post-Stalinist period (chapter 6), in which Bakalo analyzes the new and—in his opinion—ominous turn in Soviet nationality policy manifested when the Soviet peoples were proclaimed "A New Historical Community."