

with a study of Simbirsk, its atmosphere and its role in Russian history, based largely on the work of Goncharov. It contains an excellent profile of the character of Lenin's brother, Alexander, and an interesting contrast between their two temperaments. It offers Trotsky's own analysis of the role of the Russian intelligentsia, the tsarist terror, which seems strangely mild when we think of the subsequent terror under the regime that Lenin and Trotsky founded, and Trotsky's analysis of the revolutionary terror against the tsar and his officials, which also pales in comparison with the terror from below that has developed as the harsh heritage of the brutalization of our age in the wake of two total wars and two totalitarian revolutions. But the book is most notable for its picture of the young Lenin, which is good enough, and on the whole dispassionate enough, to make us wonder what Trotsky would have made of the later periods of Lenin's life if he had completed his original intention instead of being derailed by what is undoubtedly a far less interesting portrait of Stalin.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE
Hoover Institution

1905. By *Leon Trotsky*. Translated by *Anya Bostock*. *Studies in the Third World Books*. New York: Random House, 1971. xxi, 488 pp. \$15.00.

Anya Bostock's smooth and accurate translation makes available in English this classic study of the Revolution of 1905 first published in German in 1908. The translation is from the 1922 Russian edition, which contains additional speeches and essays on the subject composed by Trotsky between 1907 and 1922 as well as a vivid personal account of his exile in Siberia and subsequent escape.

The book continues to be, after sixty-five years, a significant historical account of the events of 1905 as well as an important source on the development of Trotsky's ideas and the polemics which grew up around them following that revolution. It is not intended to be a balanced or definitive treatment of the entire revolution as much as an analysis centering principally on the events in St. Petersburg (mainly on the Soviet) and not least of all on Trotsky himself. This is accentuated in the addenda (comprising almost half the book) which consist of Trotsky's post-1905 defense of his course of action, both in court (his speech against the prosecution during the 1907 trial of the Soviet leaders) and in print (essays arguing against a wide spectrum of leftist criticism by various Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, and Kadets).

What emerges is a clear elaboration of ideas stemming from the 1905 experience which gave Trotsky his distinctive position in the history of Russian revolutionary thought. These include a perceptive awareness of Russia's peculiarities and the implication that revolution in Russia would not proceed according to Western precedents; an appreciation that the course of history is determined less by rational calculation than by the willingness of human beings to act; a realization of the importance of force in revolution and the crucial role of the army in deciding the outcome; and an early grasp of the significance of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies as a revolutionary institution. In emphasizing the Soviet, Trotsky made his contribution to the whole mystique that grew up around it, which was crucial to the confident assertion of proletarian hegemony that pervaded his thought.

However, Trotsky's confidence in the inviolable unity of party and soviet and worker leads him to avoid altogether the vexing question of the relative importance of each in the organization of this hegemony. The book also contains ample

evidence of proletarian isolation from, rather than hegemony over, other elements of the population and furthermore suggests that the proletariat itself was less than the unified mass Trotsky wished it to be. In fact Trotsky's thesis is ultimately flawed by his unwillingness to face up to these disturbing questions which bothered more sensitive participants of 1905. The linkages between the party and the soviet, between the proletariat and the peasantry, between the Russian Revolution and the European proletariat, between the "instinct of the masses" and "realistic wisdom" turned out not to be so inviolable and smooth as Trotsky assumed.

Nevertheless, the book clearly exhibits Trotsky's considerable talents as a powerful polemicist and a writer of boldness and imagination able to render the turbulent events of 1905 into eloquent prose.

DAVID A. DAVIES
University of Waterloo

LEON TROTSKY: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Louis Sinclair*. Hoover Bibliographical Series, no. 50. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972. x, 1,089 pp. \$35.00, photo offset of typescript.

TROTSKY: A DOCUMENTARY. By *Francis Wyndham* and *David King*. New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972. Illus. 204 pp. \$12.50.

Vae victis! And in politics it is truer than in other realms of human endeavor. Even in the gentle tumble of American politics the losers quickly fade from memory as well as from recorded history. In the rough-and-tumble of revolutionary politics, the record and—more often than not—the very existence of those who lost out are simply erased. Stalin went one step further; he insisted on destroying not only the physical but the moral personality of his defeated opponents by requiring that they themselves condemn as criminal and immoral everything they ever did, said, or merely thought. Though Trotsky was not spared physical destruction, he escaped the torture of self-defamation, and it is perhaps to emend this deficiency that of late a new wave of anti-Trotsky propaganda has been pouring from the Soviet Union (for example, *Against Trotskyism: The Struggle of Lenin and the CPSU Against Trotskyism; A Collection of Documents* [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972]) as well as from the pages of publications which follow Moscow's lead, such as the *World Marxist Review* and *Political Affairs*. On the other hand, we are witnessing in many countries, especially America, a revival of interest in the diverse socialist heritages (among them, Trotskyism), and several volumes of various writings of Trotsky have recently appeared. However, besides being a very good writer—a true master of the trenchant and felicitous phrase—Trotsky was also an exceptionally prolific one. He observed once that "revolutions are always verbose," and he did his best to uphold the tradition. In the process he scattered thousands of items—articles, proclamations, pamphlets, and books—across Russia as well as across the two continents and the dozen countries where he spent most of his adult life.

While the mighty of the Soviet Union had their writings neatly bound and catalogued, those banned or exiled had to wait for some dedicated scholar in a foreign country to take care of their literary heritage. Recently Anna Bourguina performed this task in an exemplary manner for the Mensheviks. Now Trotsky has found his man in Louis Sinclair, whose bibliography is obviously a labor of