

Review

Reviewed Work(s): Kondratiev and the Dynamics of Economic Development: Long Cycles and Industrial Growth in Historical Context by Vincent Barnett

Review by: Richard B. Day

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ness compelled the regime to abandon individualized apprenticeships, and the ideology of class struggle made increasingly meaningless the shockworker and Stakhanovite campaigns. Straus argues that workers' growing ability to defend their interests as a class vis-à-vis the state largely explains why the regime began to emphasize, not the individual hero, but the heroic working class and more broadly based forms of labor organization. The triumph of stable, modern work brigades increased social homogenization and worker solidarity, eliminating whatever opposition to the party-state workers felt. The Soviet factory became a "social melting pot" without the old division and traditional tensions within the labor force between established workers and newcomers. In the ersatz social contract reached between the government, factory management, and workers, the shop-floor "bargain" extended beyond the work unit. Individual enterprises, by default, assumed responsibility for alleviating such pressing problems as housing, transportation, food, health, and day care. Straus's exhaustive reading of factory, local, and central newspapers, as well as archival memoirs, sheds light on how factory management improvised responses to these problems. Through these activities, as well as their provisions for leisure activities, the factory emerged as community organizer. Workers, as never before, began to look upon factories as their security net and cultural provider.

There is much of interest in this study, but this contribution to the debate over the degree of social support enjoyed by the Stalinist regime is both stylistically and substantively flawed. Even those fascinated by the minutiae of factory politics will find *Factory and Community* far from engaging reading. In addition to continual chronological shifts, Straus loses the reader by repeatedly digressing from the development of his argument to compare his analysis with that of other historians and social theorists, in considerable detail, and on virtually every issue examined. Straus's conclusions, moreover, are extreme. He states that the factories' "social" integration of the working class, both on and off the factory floor, was the "decisive factor in Soviet history during the 1930s and 1940s" (281). The limits to management's successes, as well their failures, should have been examined in more detail. It is unfortunate Straus did not have access to the sort of NKVD reports on workers Sarah Davies used in her recent study of popular opinion, for Straus's argument that the regime enjoyed social support seems to have been shaped by his heavy reliance on factory newspapers. Other evidence for workers' identification with their factories is minimal. Workers undoubtedly welcomed the post-1931 shift away from class-struggle politics, but worker discontents are insufficiently addressed. For example, the discussion of the purge of factory administrators, to which workers are commonly thought to have responded with either apathy or support, is confined here to the suggestion that, except for a handful of malcontents, workers "must have been disgusted with the regime's terror" (264). Perhaps workers, especially the peasant migrants inured to wretched housing conditions, were willing to trade the catastrophic fall in working-class living standards for increased status as well as opportunities for upward mobility. But if so, to give a counterexample from the kind of evidence that Straus does not take into account, why would the commissar of heavy industry, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, have reputedly confessed that if you told a worker sitting in cold barracks about the achievements of the first Five-Year Plan he would throw every curse at you? The Stalinist regime no doubt enjoyed support among workers during the 1930s, but Straus's case for this is difficult to follow and far from convincing.

CHARTERS WYNN
University of Texas at Austin

Kondratiev and the Dynamics of Economic Development: Long Cycles and Industrial Growth in Historical Context. By Vincent Barnett. Studies in Russian and East European History and Society. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998. xiv, 251 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. Figures. Tables. \$79.95, hard bound.

Vincent Barnett begins this book by observing that Nikolai Kondrat'ev (1892–1938) "must rank as one of Russia's greatest economists" (1). Arrested by Iosif Stalin in 1930 and ex-

cuted in 1938, Kondrat'ev became known in the west primarily through Joseph Schumpeter's *Business Cycles* (1939), where he appeared as a pioneering investigator of long cycles said to last fifty years or more. Half a century after his death, Kondrat'ev's theory still provokes much new research and critical commentary. Well-known participants in the debate over long cycles have included Ernest Mandel, Thomas Kuczynski, Jacob van Duijn, Walt Rostow, Simon Kuznets, Gerhard Mensch, Alfred Kleinknecht, Pekka Korpinen, Brian Berry, Joshua Goldstein, Jay Forrester, Ravi Batra, Christopher Freeman, and a great many others. Yet in his homeland Kondrat'ev was anathema until his posthumous rehabilitation under Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987. Two years later, Stanislav Men'shikov and Larisa Klimenko reintroduced Kondrat'ev to Russian economists through their book *Dlinnye volny v ekonomike* (1989), an important study that awaits translation into English.

Although Kondrat'ev is internationally famous for his work on long cycles, Barnett argues that past research has been too narrowly circumscribed, overlooking Kondrat'ev's views on early Soviet agriculture, industry, and the necessary relation between the two when devising a strategy of capital accumulation and a methodology of national investment planning: "In much historical work on the NEP the Kondratiev path of Soviet industrialization has been unduly ignored" (169). Barnett suggests that a "Kondratiev path" may have been the only viable alternative to Stalinist collectivization and forced industrialization. Kondrat'ev's remarks on the "scissors crisis" and the "goods famine" placed him intellectually close to the right wing of the Bolshevik party, the advocates of market-led growth; his praise for capital imports and expanding foreign trade showed him in agreement with Lev Trotskii, who insisted that Soviet Russia must be reintegrated into the world economy.

Barnett recognizes that there is no way to prove conclusively that "the Kondratiev path" was a real alternative to Stalinism. The great misfortune is that from the mid-1920s onward Kondrat'ev was increasingly restricted in his opportunities for research and publication. Nevertheless, this book explores potentially promising avenues of Kondrat'ev's later thought and concludes that his most important legacy was not the theory of long cycles, but rather "his overall approach of analyzing the relations between economic variables over the long period, of disaggregating these relations into branches and sectors of the economy, his attempt to integrate various cycles into an overall scheme of conjuncture, and his endeavor to find causation in areas like technical innovation" (210).

Kondratiev and the Dynamics of Economic Development is the most comprehensive study of Kondrat'ev to date and represents a provocative reappraisal of one of Russia's most original economic thinkers. Many readers will remain convinced that Kondrat'ev's greatest contribution came with the theory of long cycles, but those with a particular interest in Soviet industrialization debates of the 1920s will find that Barnett has provided a unique and thoughtful addition to the existing literature.

RICHARD B. DAY

University of Toronto, Mississauga

Soviet Schooling in the Second World War. By John Dunstan. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. xviii, 264 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. Tables. Map. \$65.00, hard bound.

Whatever historians' verdict about the Soviet era as a whole, the Soviet Union's experience during the last great war will continue to command respect and awe. By focusing on primary and secondary education during those years, John Dunstan has made an important contribution to our understanding of that experience. Based on a wide reading of the press, memoirs, statistical compilations, archival material (including some regional educational departments), and often illuminating reports filed by the British Embassy in Moscow, Dunstan has written the first western study of the impact of the war on Soviet schools.

Dunstan describes the dramatic expansion of schooling, above all primary, that oc-