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Dear Mete,

I'm sure you have given up on me for not answering your last letter before now. But I have been in an almost 24-hour a day effort for the last few months to finish a draft of my study of Turkish-American relations for the State Department. That is what comes of setting a deadline for a government agency -- they want the finished product at the time promised.

Also, the resources of the State Department Library (which are easy to get to) produced almost nothing of use for your topic. Only the Library of Congress seemed to offer much hope of getting what you want. For as you know Preobrazhenskii fell out of favor early enough that he is not included in any of the Soviet encyclopaedias. In fact, I have not been able to locate a picture of him yet. Perhaps the thing for you to do, if a picture still seems important, is to write to Professor ~~Witold~~ Witold Sworakovsky at The Hoover Institution, Stanford, California. He has an astonishing memory for pictures -- in fact it was he who on seeing the line drawing of Subhi in my book remembered seeing the photograph from which it was made! So he might be able to locate what you want in the way of a picture.

I did locate a book with some biographical details about Preobrazhenskii. If you have not seen it, you would undoubtedly find it most interesting. It is THE NEW ECONOMICS, by Preobrazhensky, translated by Brian Pearce, with an Introduction by A. Nove. This work was printed by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965.

In case you have not seen this, or cannot easily get it, I will give you some pertinent excerpts from the biographic note in it: Evgeny *Alexeyevich* Preobrazhensky was born in 1886 and was shot in Stalin's great purge in 1937. He joined the Communist Party in 1903. He became a leader of the Bolsheviki in Siberia and the Urals in the immediate aftermath of the February 1917 Revolution. In the spring of 1918, when the party was split over the problem of whether or not to sign the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, Preobrazhensky sided with his later enemy Bukharin and the so-called "left communists", who believed in a revolutionary war. Lenin had a hard time persuading the Communist Party to accept the Treaty. In 1919 Preobrazhensky and Bukharin authored the ABC's of Communism. This work was remarkable for its utopian-optimistic extremism.

In 1920 Preobrazhensky worked in the central organs of the Communist Party and became one of its 3 secretaries. He was replaced in 1921 and never again held a senior position in the Communist Party. As early as 1920 he was linked with Trotsky whom he supported in November 1920 in a dispute over militarization of the trade unions for purposes of reconstruction. Preobrazhensky became the leading theoretician of the Trotskyite opposition.

Preobrazhensky wrote the New Economics during the time of Lenin's economic retreat, of the NEP. This work was directed to the problem of the peasantry who formed 80% of the Soviet population. It was against the "kulaks" in particular. THE NEW ECONOMICS appeared in essence in the Vestnik Kommunisticheskoi Akademii in 1924. It was published as a book in 1926; it led to furious controversy.

Preobrazhensky did not face the measures needed to coerce the peasants. He felt that an international revolution was necessary to achieve socialism.

The last article expressing Preobrazhensky's views was "Economic Equilibrium in the System of the USSR" published in Vestnik Kommunisticheskoi Akademii no. 22, 1927.

Preobrazhensky was expelled from the Communist Party in 1927 and was exiled for a time. However, as Stalin in fact followed the formula expounded by Preobrazhensky -- and even went much further -- Preobrazhensky became reconciled with the Communist Party. He was readmitted to the Communist Party in 1929. But was reexpelled in 1931. Then readmitted. His last public appearance was at the 17th CP Congress in 1934. He came to apologize for his past and to denounce Trotsky. Reading between the lines of his speech, however, one can tell that he had not really recanted.

He was a man of character and was apparently among the few of Stalin's opponents who to the end refused to confess in the show trials. He was executed at some point in 1937.

Among the references that you might look into to find additional material are E.H. Carr's HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA; Leonard Schapiro's COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION; and especially Alexander Erlich's THE SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION DEBATE 1924-1928. Also note Brian Pearce's "Preobrazhensky and the Economics of Soviet Industrialization," in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, Feb. 1950.

Isaac Deutscher, STALIN, 1967, records that in July 1917 at the half-secret National Congress, Stalin and Bukharin, who were the chief spokesmen for the Central Committee, engaged in debate with Preobrazhensky on the character of the approaching revolution. Preobrazhensky, a young Marxist economist, tabled an amendment saying that the revolutionary government should "direct its power towards peace and -- if proletarian revolution materializes in the West -- towards socialism." In his view, however, Russia could not embark on Socialist construction unless Western Europe, too, was revolutionized. Failing this, the revolution could only achieve peace (and presumably the consolidation of the democratic order.) In 1923, 46 prominent Communists signed a declaration identical to the criticisms of Trotsky. Preobrazhensky was one of the signers. While Lenin was on his deathbed, Preobrazhensky declared that the party longed to regain the "Leninist" freedom of discussion which it had enjoyed before 1920.

Mete, I feel that I have not done very well by you in regard to Mr. Preobrazhensky. If you can't find any of these references, perhaps I could get them and Xerox a few pertinent pages. In any event, if there is anything more that I can do, I would certainly be glad to try-- I hope more promptly.

I have sort of lost track of what has been published of interest since I left Turkey last December, except for Tunçkanat's Ikili Antlaşmalar and Muslim Ozbalkan's Bariş Gonulluuleri. If there is anything more that illuminates Turkish-American problems, let me know so that I can have the Library of Congress etc. procure it for me.

Hope things are going well for you. I wish I could see a chance to get back to Turkey again soon. But there is nothing yet on the horizon. My best to your family.

George