

It would be interesting to know whether the text of Arutiunian's book has been modified (by addition, subtraction, or replacement) for the second printing (1969). A translation of this book is scheduled for serial publication in *Soviet Sociology* at the earliest possible date.

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ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION. Edited by *Erich Goldhagen*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. Published for the Institute of East European Jewish Studies of the Philip W. Lown School of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University. xiv, 351 pp. \$8.75.

This collection of diverse papers is the result of a symposium held at Brandeis University in October 1965. While most of the contributions deal with specific nationalities, three papers and the editor's introduction are of a general nature. John Armstrong provides a highly useful overview of the problem based on comparative quantitative data; he also offers an imaginative typology of the non-Russian nationalities which conveys their diversity despite a certain degree of arbitrariness in categorizing them. Vsevolod Holubnychy's paper on the economic aspects of relations between the Soviet republics is most provocative. Holubnychy advances the hypothesis that the economic development of the Russian SFSR has generally proceeded at a more rapid rate than that of the non-Russian republics. He cites data regarding per capita allocation of investments, per capita savings in banks, allocation of durable consumer goods in relation to population, per capita personal disposable income, and urban housing that tend to support this hypothesis. Soviet language policy is discussed by Jacob Ornstein in terms of some of its contradictory aspects but with emphasis on the regime's efforts to promote the use of Russian.

The papers devoted to specific nationalities deal with the Ukrainians, Armenians, Belorussians, the Baltic and Turkic peoples, and the Jews. Yaroslav Bilinsky discusses and exhaustively documents the nature of the rather fierce cultural "war" that is occurring in the Ukrainian Republic for Ukrainian ethnic assertiveness. Mary Matossian's briefer paper on cultural patterns in Soviet Armenia conveys the notion that the Armenians are probably faring better than certain of the other nationalities under Soviet rule. Jaan Pennar's concise essay on the Baltic peoples illustrates the crosscurrents of Soviet policy and the national resistance of the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. Nicholas Vakar offers a somber account of the plight of the Belorussians. An exclusively historical paper by Edward Allworth traces the development of the "nationality" idea in tsarist Central Asia and differs markedly from the other contributions. Garip Sultan's paper on demographic and cultural trends among the Turkic peoples contains much important data. The volume concludes with two papers dealing with the Jewish minority. The one by Joseph and Abraham Brumberg is based on a detailed analysis of the contents of the Yiddish-language periodical *Sovetish Heimland*. William Korey explores the legal position of the Soviet Jewish community and the pressures to which it has been subjected.

Although the papers vary in format and in scope and emphasis and some offer more statistical data than others, the volume provides a wealth of evidence on this complex problem. However, it is unfortunate that papers on the Georgian, Tadzhik, and Moldavian republics were not included. The data and the many statistical

comparisons more than suggest the existence of numerous conditions and instances of discriminatory treatment of nationalities in the Soviet Union. This volume takes a place beside the works of Hugh Seton-Watson, Richard Pipes, Robert Conquest, and the late Walter Kolarz on Soviet nationality policy. It is a substantial contribution to the scholarly literature, and Brandeis University and Professor Goldhagen are to be commended.

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THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS. Compiled by *Vyacheslav Chornovil*. Introduction by *Frederick C. Barghoorn*. New York, Toronto, London, Sydney, Johannesburg, Mexico, and Panama: McGraw-Hill, 1969. xxi, 246 pp. \$6.95.

DEAR COMRADE: PAVEL LITVINOV AND THE VOICES OF SOVIET CITIZENS IN DISSENT. Edited by *Karel van het Reve*. New York, London, Toronto, and Tel Aviv: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1969. xvii, 199 pp. \$4.95.

The arrests of Siniavsky and Daniel by the end of the summer of 1965, which signaled the beginning of a partial "re-Stalinization" in Soviet cultural politics, were accompanied, unbeknown to the West at that time, by a wave of political arrests in the Ukraine. In late August and early September the KGB arrested several dozen Ukrainian intellectuals, including writers, artists, educators, and scientists, whose repeated protests against the violation of the constitutional rights of the Ukrainians in the USSR were officially construed as manifestations of "bourgeois nationalism." Most of them were in their late twenties or early thirties, and a number of them were members of the party or the Komsomol. Early in 1966 eighteen of the accused were sentenced in secret trials to varying terms of imprisonment and "corrective labor," and one (Karavansky) was sent back, without a trial, to a "corrective labor camp" to serve the balance of a twenty-five-year sentence (he was amnestied in 1960 after sixteen and a half years of concentration camp). All sentences were based on the alleged violations of article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ("agitation or propaganda conducted for the purpose of undermining or weakening the Soviet rule").

Though rumors about these events eventually reached the West, the precise details—the circumstances of the arrests, the identity of the victims, the trials, the sentences, as well as the reaction they evoked in the Ukraine—would have remained a matter of conjecture if it had not been for the courage of a young journalist and one-time Komsomol activist, Viacheslav Chornovil. Appalled by the gross violations of legality by the police and the courts, Chornovil refused to testify (when called in as a witness) at what he termed an illegal secret trial. Despite the threat of arrest, he proceeded to compile a "white book" on twenty political "criminals"—the victims of the 1965 arrests—which included also testimonials, letters, and petitions written by the prisoners themselves (significantly, some of these documents were evidently smuggled out of the Mordovian "corrective labor camps"). Chornovil sent a lengthy petition enumerating in detail the violations of the constitution and of the criminal law and procedure committed in the course of the arrests, investigation, and trials by the very guardians of Soviet legality. Copies of Chornovil's manuscript and petitions have eventually reached the West and were first published in 1967 in Paris and Winnipeg.

*The Chornovil Papers* is an annotated translation from these Ukrainian texts. Written from the standpoint of internationalism and loyalty to the Soviet con-