

minorities into the system and the continuing (and growing) problems that the leadership faces. Adherence to traditional national customs is but one side of the nationality problem. More important is the fact that increased educational levels, urbanization, and the development of national elites have resulted in greater assertiveness for cultural autonomy in numerous regions in the USSR, and not in the creation of the "Soviet man."

As Madame Carrère d'Encause points out, the groups that have been the least susceptible to the Soviet dream of integration and the development of "Homo Sovieticus" have generally been those with a strong historical tradition substantially different from that of Orthodox Russia—for example, the Georgians, Lithuanians, and, most clearly, the Muslims of Central Asia. She notes that the rapid population growth among the Muslims, along with their burgeoning national awareness and a religious tradition that embodies a particular way of life, will present the Soviet leadership with increasing problems.

*L'empire éclaté* is a solid, well-written book. Although it does not offer significant new information or interpretations for the specialist, it does provide a careful and intelligent evaluation of a major problem area for the Soviet political system.

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THE CRIMEAN TATARS. By *Alan Fisher*. Studies of Nationalities in the USSR, vol. 1. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1978. xiv, 264 pp. Photographs. \$14.95.

*The Crimean Tatars* by Alan Fisher is the first volume of a series (edited by Wayne Vucinich) devoted to the history of non-Russian nationalities of the USSR. We can only congratulate the editor and hope that the following volumes will match the outstanding quality of this first beautiful book.

Alan Fisher is particularly well qualified to approach the difficult and fascinating subject of the history of the Tatars: he is a Slavist and a Turkologist with a rare mastery of Turkish paleography. He has made extensive use of Ottoman material from the Archives of Başvekâlet and the Museum of Topkapi as well as the published material from the Russian archives. His knowledge of second-hand material is exceptional: he seems to have read and used all the monographs and articles concerning the Crimean Tatars published in Turkish, Tatar, Russian, Polish, and other European languages.

Another quality of Fisher's work is that, for the first time, a historian has approached the history of the Tatar nation as a whole, from the foundation of the khanate in the fifteenth century to the present. The book is perfectly balanced between the three main periods of Tatar history: (1) the glorious era of the Crimean khanate, (2) Crimea as a province of the tsarist empire (1783–1917), and (3) the Crimean Soviet Republic, the genocide of 1943, and the struggle for survival. Alan Fisher's understanding of Tatar history is profound and original. In contrast to traditional Russian and Soviet historiography, which treats the Crimean khanate as a "Robber State" existing only in reference to its plundering expeditions against Russian lands, and the European or Turkish approach, which presents the Crimea simply as an Ottoman protectorate, Fisher is the first historian to analyze the Crimean state as an original historical formation which has played a major role in the history of Eastern Europe for four centuries.

The second part of the book, dealing with the Crimea under tsarist rule, is valuable for its excellent analysis of the Tatar national movement. In particular, it stresses the important role played by the Crimean Tatars, above all, by the great Ismail bey Gasprali, in the brilliant Jadid "Renaissance" of the late nineteenth century.

Part 3, "The Crimean Tatars in the USSR," describes mainly the tragic fate of the Tatars during and after the Second World War. Accused collectively of "treason" and "collaboration" with the Germans, deported in 1943 to Siberia and Central Asia, rehabilitated after Stalin's death—but not allowed to return to their homeland, Crimea, now entirely occupied by Slav settlers—some four hundred thousand Tatars currently live in their places of deportation and are condemned to assimilation by the local population. The pathetic and seemingly hopeless struggle of this small community against the Soviet state is the subject matter of the last chapter of this book, which is based primarily on *samizdat* material.

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SOVETSKII TATARSTAN: TEORIIA I PRAKTIKA LENINSKOI NATSIONAL'NOI POLITIKI. By *Tamurbek Davletshin*. London: Our Word Publishers, 1974. 392 pp. Illus. DM 28, paper.

Davletshin's work traces the history of the Volga and Ural Tatars under Russian hegemony from the Muscovite conquest of Kazan' through the February and October Revolutions, the civil war, and the period of Soviet rule. More than one hundred pages are devoted to events of a single year, from the end of tsarist rule to the establishment of the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic in March 1918. Especially detailed is the author's treatment of the First All-Russian Congress of Muslims (held in Moscow, May 1–11, 1917), in which some eight hundred delegates participated. He quotes extensively (in Russian translation, evidently his own) from the protocols of the congress as published in Tatar in Petrograd the same year. Appendixes include translations from Tatar of other documents of the period.

The importance of the national culture in Tatar history is reflected throughout. A separate chapter traces the rise, especially in the nineteenth century, of indigenous education and Islamic reform movements, guided by an intelligentsia deriving its inspiration from both Oriental and Western sources. The last part of the book deals with cultural problems under Soviet rule. Paradoxically, it is perhaps the weakest section, omitting mention of the work of contemporary Tatar authors whose development of nationalistic themes has attracted attention in the West.

Although the author, a Tatar émigré with a background in Soviet law, does not conceal his basic aim of indicting Soviet policies, his book is much more than a propaganda diatribe. It contains a great deal of documentary material, copious footnotes, and a bibliography listing nearly one thousand titles.

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POLISH REVOLUTIONARY POPULISM: A STUDY IN AGRARIAN SOCIALIST THOUGHT FROM THE 1830s TO THE 1850s. By *Peter Brock*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977. viii, 125 pp. \$10.00.

This is the third published collection of Peter Brock's numerous articles and essays on aspects of nineteenth-century Polish intellectual history. The four essays, reprinted here with some stylistic revisions, originally appeared between 1959 and 1961 in Canadian, British, and Italian journals and in the *Festschrift* for G. D. H. Cole. The notes and bibliography have been updated, and Brock has rearranged portions of the essays to provide a connected account of the varying expressions of Polish revolutionary agrarian socialism—both in West European exile and in the partitioned homeland—in the two decades that followed the suppression of the 1830–31 insurrection. In