

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-

stitution, the papers represent one of the strongest indictments of the continuing official violations of the legally "guaranteed" rights of individuals and nationalities ever to emerge from the USSR. It is also a deeply moving account of human courage and self-sacrifice, of idealism and affection for the oppressed and underprivileged in the Soviet society—especially striking as it comes largely from the young men and women raised in the Soviet milieu, who spoke openly against injustice in full realization of the frightful consequences of their actions. Chornovil did not escape the consequences of his action, either. After a period of administrative harassment, he was arrested by the end of the summer of 1967 and sentenced in the fall of that year to three years at hard labor for "slandering the Soviet system" (his sentence was subsequently reduced by half).

Like Chornovil's volume, *Dear Comrade* is a significant document of political dissent in the USSR, similarly directed against the portents of neo-Stalinism. Much more limited in its scope, *Dear Comrade* contains two important protest letters written by Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of the late people's commissar of foreign affairs (the second letter is cosigned by Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel), and sixty-three letters and telegrams sent to Litvinov between December 1967 and May 1968 in response to his two letters after they had been broadcast in Russian by foreign radio stations. A concise introduction and careful annotations supplied by Karel van het Reve enhance the value of this volume.

One of the boldest spokesmen for intellectual and political freedom in the USSR, Pavel Litvinov in October 1967 addressed a letter to four Soviet dailies and three Communist newspapers in the West protesting against harassment by the KGB, which tried to "dissuade" him from publishing abroad a record of a political trial of Vladimir Bukovsky and two other dissenters in the late summer of 1967. The latter were arrested for participating in a public demonstration against the arrest of Alexander Ginzburg and other compilers of a "White Book on the Case of Siniavsky and Daniel," which was subsequently published in the West. In January 1968 Litvinov and Daniel's wife addressed to the "world public opinion" a protest against the closed trial of Ginzburg, Galanskov, Dobrovolsky, and Lashkova. The rest of *Dear Comrade*, indeed the most fascinating part of the book, consists of the "feedback" from Soviet citizens reacting to these two protest letters. Reproduced in both Russian and English, these are predominantly messages of sympathy and support; but there are also some hostile reactions (a few, it would seem, officially inspired), including several letters of untranslatable vulgarity and violently anti-Semitic bias. They provide a small but important sample of the climate of "unofficial" Soviet political opinion, the revival of which has been one of the major developments of the Khrushchev era.

Like Chornovil, Litvinov acted in full realization of the penalties to be paid for intellectual honesty and courage. Arrested in August 1968 for taking part in a peaceful demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, he was sentenced in October of that year to a five-year banishment.

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SLOVAKS IN CANADA. By *Joseph M. Kirschbaum*. Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Ontario, 1967. xvi, 468 pp.

Professor Kirschbaum divides his "saga of a small group of people in a new land who preserved their identity and achieved success" into four parts. Part 1 describes the historical, ethnic, cultural, political, religious, and economic back-