

plans could well have been focused on this economically productive territory. Bolshevik nationalities policy favored spreading industry "more evenly," however, and the Ukraine also appeared vulnerable to invasion. Under Stalin heavy industry expanded in the Ukraine but not as rapidly as elsewhere; in particular, the Ural-Kuznetsk Combine created a "second iron and steel base" for the USSR.

Evaluation of these decisions involves links with other industries and final consumers, freight transportation costs, construction costs, labor costs, and other intricacies. The author examines them for the period of the first two Soviet five-year plans. His sensible conclusions, in my view, suggest the great difficulty of reaching neat final judgments on these issues. Soviet investment policies were clumsy and wasteful; with the benefit of hindsight, one can reconstruct a more efficient time sequence and regional pattern of outlays among industries. With further detail on other regions and on the military-political aspects of the problem, more exhaustive analysis will be possible. Meanwhile, this study makes a notable contribution to our understanding.

HOLLAND HUNTER  
Haverford College

FERMENT IN THE UKRAINE: DOCUMENTS BY V. CHORNOVIL, I. KANDYBA, L. LUKYANENKO, V. MOROZ AND OTHERS. Edited by *Michael Browne*. Foreword by *Max Hayward*. New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1971. xix, 267 pp. \$15.00.

UKRAINS'KYI VISNYK: VYPUSK I-II, SICHEN' 1970-TRAVEN' 1970. Paris and Baltimore: Persha Ukrain'ska Drukarnia u Frantsii, Ukrain'ske Vydavnytstvo SMOLOSKYP im. V. Symonenka, 1971. 246 pp.

*Ferment in the Ukraine* contains documents of protest and is a sequel to the well-known *Chornovil Papers*. Of special interest are the documents on the Jurists' Case of 1961, news of which Soviet authorities had hitherto succeeded in suppressing. The seven Ukrainian defendants included four members of the Communist Party and one Komsomol member; three (Lukianenko, Kandyba, and Borovnytsky) were lawyers. They sought to combat Russian great power chauvinism and bureaucratism and to demand the exercise of Ukrainian rights as provided for in the Soviet constitution—including the right of secession. They were tried in secret in May 1961 in a KGB prison and not in a courtroom. Kandyba, in a letter to Shelest, states: "There have been many cases similar to our own." Thus apparently a host of secret trials preceded those of 1965 that were publicized through the efforts of Viacheslav Chornovil.

The volume also includes the complete text of the remarkable "Report from the Beria Reservation" by the historian and gifted writer Valentyn Moroz. This brilliant characterization of the "empire of cogs" also provides a devastating analysis of its weaknesses and the hollowness of the world of the standardizers. Moroz observes that although Hrushevsky has been denounced, bourgeois historians such as Soloviev and Kliuchevsky have been republished because they were Russians. He asks why the Ukrainian Republic sends its prisoners abroad (to Mordovia): "Perhaps the Ukraine, like the principality of Monaco, lacks space for camps? Room was, however, found for seven million Russian settlers . . ." (p. 122). Moroz also describes conditions in the Mordovian camps for political prisoners. Regarding KGB efforts to "re-educate" political prisoners, he observes: "You cannot catch

thought and put it behind bars. You cannot even see it. How horrible!" (p. 132). Because of his authorship of the "Report" and other works, including *A Chronicle of Resistance*, Moroz was sentenced to a nine-year prison term and to five years of exile in November 1970 following a secret trial.

The various documents reveal much about the current methods and personnel of the KGB; they include numerous quoted statements attributed to KGB officers who apparently often employ abusive language and insults. Moroz notes that they yearn for the days of Stalin, "when there was order," and M. M. Horyn observes that the KGB abounds with "pupils of Yezhov and Beria." The documents indicate that the KGB flagrantly violates the code of criminal procedure and that it investigates appeals by itself. Imprisonment includes political training efforts as well as the use of common criminals against political prisoners. Apparently the KGB is more interested in having the accused repent than it is in establishing the truth. It is said to dispense drugs to collaborators in camps, and it also places agents (disguised as prisoners) in cells to persuade the accused to cooperate. Evidence can be fabricated, as it was for the defendant Lutskiv, who was persuaded to give false testimony on the promise that he would be released and then received a ten-year sentence which prompted him to retract his testimony in October 1965. Ukrainians are regarded with suspicion and are grossly overrepresented in the prisons and camps. It is evident that Russian KGB officers are numerous in the Ukrainian republic and serve there for years refusing to learn the Ukrainian language, even though the republic's legal code requires that investigations be conducted in that language.

The volume also includes a chronological list of Ukrainian political prisoners and of acts of protest and resistance (pp. 219–36). These have been far more numerous than is generally realized. Beginning in 1970 Ukrainian protest attracted greater attention with the appearance of the clandestine journal *Ukrains'kyi visnyk* (*Ukrainian Herald*), the January and May 1970 issues of which are now reprinted in a single volume. Although the *Herald* asserts that it is not anti-Soviet and contains nothing illegal, it offers news and commentary not obtainable in the Soviet press. Thus one learns of the self-immolation of the teacher Vasyl Makukha on November 5, 1968, on Kiev's Khreshchatyk; before dying he is said to have described the Ukraine as a Russian colony and cried out, "Long live Free Ukraine." The *Herald* contains information regarding political prisoners, previously unknown political trials, KGB searches, and persons expelled from educational institutions or the CPSU or deprived of employment. There are accounts of instances of ethnic discrimination, the destruction of cultural monuments, and acts of persecution against Ukrainian Catholic clergy and believers; there are also accounts of confrontations and acts of resistance. Texts of appeals written to Soviet officials are reproduced along with rejoinders to particular Soviet publicists.

The distinctive image of Ukrainian protest that emerges from these documents is reflected in the reasonable nature of its demands. The protesters are learned persons whose pronouncements are carefully thought out. Although they employ irony and sardonic humor and are even contemptuous of their captors, they do not rely on clichés or bombast, but prefer logic and subtlety. They are capable of great courage, as the tribulations of Sviatoslav Karavansky, Valentyn Moroz, and others bear witness. They demand constitutional rights and seek equality for the Ukrainian language. They call for a return to a "Leninist" nationality policy, contending that Ukrainian nationalism is a response to Russian chauvinism.

Indeed, one is prompted to ask why the Soviet authorities have overreacted to the Ukrainian protesters who have only engaged in discussion and in efforts to persuade the Soviet government to honor its own constitution and laws. The answer to this question would provide a most significant datum regarding Soviet politics and behavior. Moroz contends that it is "the immortal cretinism of the Black Hundreds in a new guise," while Max Hayward, in his foreword to the collection of documents, terms the Soviet Union a "grotesque conglomerate." Do the seemingly desperate—one might even say, pathological—efforts of the Soviet authorities to suppress dissent testify to their profound fears of its consequences?

JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.  
*University of Washington*

DIE ZUNFTHANDWERKER IN REVAL IM SIEBZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT. By *Arnold Soom*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Historiska serien, 15. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971. 223 pp. Paper.

Three fundamental books on seventeenth-century Baltic history, published by Arnold Soom in 1954, 1961, and 1969 (*Der Herrenhof in Estland*, *Der Baltische Getreidehandel*, and *Der Handel Revels*), have in the course of the years been supplemented by his numerous shorter publications. The present work—though of book length—constitutes, with its wealth of detailed description, another supplement to the fundamental work. Owing to Soom's mastery of the Estonian, Swedish, and German sources, the new book, which is strictly descriptive, will provide basic material for a long time to come.

Almost the entire first half of the book is taken up by an account of every trade practiced in seventeenth-century Reval—thirty-two all told, including the manufacture of perukes, buttons, and watches. The study includes descriptions of the different guild organizations, the statutes which governed them, the scope and form of their activities, and the social standing of the artisans. The second part deals with (1) the training and work of apprentice, journeyman, and master, (2) the attitude of the Reval artisans to arising competition and their efforts to maintain their country-wide monopolies, (3) the struggle of the artisan organizations against the modernization attempts initiated by the town council and supported by the Swedish government, and finally (4) a discussion of the markets which the Reval guilds and artisans had built up beyond the city limits on the nobles' estates and in the peasant villages. Soom shows that a dynamic element was lacking, and this lack is reflected in his treatment: he deals with an undramatic, rather static condition.

In the course of his descriptions, Soom brings up numerous matters which shed light on sociological issues and daily life and living conditions—on prices, on tools and technical skills, on housing and food habits, on legal questions affecting the ordinary citizen—and even on as modern an issue as consumer protection. Lastly, the book makes an additional contribution by inviting comparisons between levels of development in Eastern and Western Europe. In every respect, it is scholarly, thorough, and informative.

WALTHER KIRCHNER  
*Princeton, New Jersey*