

of the contributors cited above, there is precious little to fulfill the promise of "concept formation" made in the editor's preface. Closely related to this failing is the conspicuous absence of any separate investigation of the nationalism of the single largest national group, the Great Russians, who constitute a crucial political force throughout the Soviet and East European region and especially, of course, within the USSR itself. If one may, with Nathan Glazer, speak of the "universalization of ethnicity," the process is not only reactive but also interactive. The same is true with regard to the transformation of ethnic consciousness into political nationalism. No less than the national minorities in the USSR, the Russians have reacted against the hollowness of official professions of doctrinal internationalism. Moreover, Russian nationalism now interacts with the stirrings of non-Russian ethnic consciousness in the USSR and with expressions of national self-assertion in Eastern Europe. If nothing else, the present volume demonstrates how little we still know about these processes and their demographic, socioeconomic, and sociopsychological underpinnings. By the same token, it should serve to suggest how much theoretical and empirical work remains to be done on matters that do indeed directly affect the human condition throughout the entire Soviet-East European area.

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L'EMPIRE ÉCLATÉ: LA RÉVOLTE DES NATIONS EN U.R.S.S. By *Hélène Carrère d'Encause*. Paris: Flammarion, 1978. 314 pp.

In recent years Jewish and German emigration, trials of Ukrainian and Tatar "bourgeois nationalists," demands for religious freedom in Lithuania, and campaigns against "illegal" Muslim mullahs have provided ample indication that the Soviet leadership is still far from its goal of an integrated Soviet society in which national and religious factors have ceased to be significant. *L'empire éclaté: La révolte des nations en U.R.S.S. (The Shattered Empire: The Revolt of the Nationalities in the USSR)*, by the noted French student of Soviet Central Asia, Hélène Carrère d'Encause, presents a lucid survey of Soviet efforts to deal with the problem of national divergence from the days of Lenin until the present. Madame Carrère d'Encause maintains that the Soviet Union is a "virtual empire in a world where empires have vanished." It is not a state of workers and peasants, as Soviet legend claims, but rather a state of nations. The most important constituents of the Soviet state are not social classes, but nations which have continued to resist integration and increasingly assert interests that deviate from the basic goals declared by the Communist, and largely Russian, leadership in Moscow.

Although few scholarly volumes are likely to reach a mass audience—and, in spite of its somewhat misleading and sensationalist title, this is truly a scholarly book—*L'empire éclaté* has reached the top of the best-seller lists for nonfiction in France. The author begins her discussion of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union with a succinct survey of the Soviet treatment of national minorities—from Lenin's offer of autonomy as an encouragement for their support for the Revolution to Stalin's postwar efforts at rapid and forced Russification and the post-Stalinist policy of "equality" for all official national groups.

The central section of the study provides a detailed description of recent demographic developments in the Soviet Union—including the increasing discrepancy between the requirement for a growing labor force in the industrial centers of European Russia and western Siberia and the location of the population growth in Central Asia—and assesses their implications for the future development of the Soviet system. The most interesting portions of the book—at least for the political analyst—are those dealing with present methods employed by the leadership to "integrate"

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.