

the Herzen Foundation (Amsterdam) in 1971. *The Trial of the Four* is a "slightly pruned" English version of the Litvinov compilation with an introduction and notes by Peter Reddaway of the London School of Economics. The translation is first-rate, virtually flawless, and eminently readable. Reddaway's "prunings" are likewise invariably judicious. The editor and his team of translators have done an exemplary job.

As far as its contents are concerned, the book will assuredly be of interest to the general reader as well as to the specialist, particularly in view of Iurii Galanskov's tragic and premature death in a prison hospital in November 1972. Of particular interest are the unofficial transcript of the trial (pp. 41–221), the coverage of the case by the Soviet press, and the protest statements of various intellectuals. The reader is also witness to the lacerating spectacle of a Soviet court flagrantly disregarding Soviet law. The judge on occasion seems to serve as a second prosecutor, while a bevy of party and KGB functionaries consistently happen to occupy all the "available" seats in the courtroom.

Pavel Litvinov has done an impressive job as compiler. His collection is remarkably thorough—especially in view of the conditions under which he must have worked—and objective. It should also be mentioned that the personalities of the late Galanskov and his fellow accused, as well as those of such well-known dissenters as Anatolii Levitin and Evgenii Kushev, who were interrogated as witnesses, emerge most vividly from this volume. My only major criticism of this excellent book is that more than the scanty biographical information offered should have been provided on Pavel Litvinov.

The Trial of the Four should be required reading for any serious student of the contemporary Soviet scene. Even those who know Russian would be wise to consult this volume for its valuable notes, which are absent from the Herzen Foundation edition.

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DIE STIMME DER STUMMEN: DIE DEMOKRATISCHE BEWEGUNG IN DER SOWJETUNION. By *Cornelia I. Gerstenmaier*. 3rd supplemented edition. Stuttgart: Seewald Verlag, 1972. 395 pp.

THE VOICES OF THE SILENT. By *Cornelia Gerstenmaier*. Translated by *Susan Hecker*. New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1972. 587 pp. \$10.00.

Cornelia Gerstenmaier, a West German student of Soviet affairs and former editor of *Ost-Probleme*, has produced a detailed and comprehensive survey of several aspects of the wide-ranging struggle for elemental human rights and freedoms ensuing within the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin. The author has made the personal acquaintance of many of the better-known figures involved in the so-called Democratic Movement, and this volume not only serves as a general introduction to problems of dissent over the past twenty years but also fills in much information on the fate of those persons whose names have flashed briefly in the Western consciousness and then disappeared.

Drawing on her own contacts while in the Soviet Union, official and unofficial Soviet sources, and Western publications such as *Grani*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, and *Ost-Probleme*, the author divides her book into three parts. Part 1 covers

the period 1953–66 from the death of Stalin to the Siniavsky-Daniel trial: the awakened hopes for reform especially after Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin; the pursuit of wider freedoms by writers and artists through a period of thaws and repressions; and, finally, the Siniavsky-Daniel trial, which signaled an end to de-Stalinization on the part of the new regime and constituted a severe warning to cultural nonconformists of the party's intention to restore discipline with any means at its disposal, short of a return to Stalinist terror. It is Miss Gerstenmaier's thesis that this action produced the opposite effect from what the party had hoped, that a political polarization occurred, and that the movement for cultural freedom became a movement for the defense of human and civil rights, the "Democratic Movement" which is the subject of part 2. Part 3 is an appendix of sixty-eight documents ranging from the "classics" of Soviet dissent, such as the Sakharov-Turchin-Medvedev letter, to the letter of an anonymous student.

The revelations herein of widespread bullying tactics and violations of the law by the Soviet government may come as a rude shock to those who presuppose a steady liberalization in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately the Hecker translation contains so many painful errors, transliteration discrepancies, half- or untranslated terms, and vapid paraphrases that it renders the English version intolerably misleading to the layman and obnoxious to the specialist, who might, however, read it for such howlers as "Aleksandr Radischev, the first important writer to be critical of Soviet society" (p. 111), "liberating oneself from lies, fear, and sepsis" (p. 113), "The famous poem 'The Citizen' by Grazdanin" (p. 145), and so on.

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SOVIET POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION: DEVELOPMENTS IN MASS MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA SINCE STALIN. By *Gayle Durham Hollander*. Praeger Special Studies in International Politics and Public Affairs. New York, Washington, London: Praeger Publishers, 1972. xviii, 244 pp. \$15.00.

This is an ambitious but disappointing book. Professor Hollander undertakes the important task of analyzing post-Stalin developments in Soviet journalism, book publishing, radio, television, cinema, and the "agitation-propaganda apparatus." Specifically, she attempts to relate these developments to broader questions about Soviet political socialization, to analyze reciprocal influences among the various media, to assess the likely impact of recent technological innovations, and to formulate generalizations about adult political socialization in the USSR (pp. xvii–xviii).

The chief virtue of this book lies in its descriptive reporting and synthesis of Soviet research on audience behavior. Soviet social scientists and party officials have conducted an increasing number of public opinion studies since the 1960s. Few of the findings about the "effectiveness" of ideological work have been published, but some interesting results have been printed about the characteristics, habits, and preferences of Soviet radio listeners, television viewers, filmgoers, and newspaper, magazine, and book readers. Mrs. Hollander summarizes these studies and identifies factors (such as age, occupation, and education) that seem to correlate with specific types of audience behavior.