

NATIONALITIES PAPERS

With a Special Focus on the Baltics

*A Semi-Annual Publication
of the*

ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF
THE NATIONALITIES OF THE USSR
AND EASTERN EUROPE

FALL 1989

VOLUME XVII/NUMBER 2

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor in Chief

Henry R. Huttenbach
(The City College-CUNY)

East European Editor

Andrus Park
(Academy of Sciences)
Estonia

West European Editor

Frank Golczewski
(Universität der Bundeswehr, Hamburg)

Canadian Editor

Orest Subtelny
(York University)

Japan Editor

Fumio Uda
(Sophia University, Tokyo)

Associate EditorsAlexander Motyl (Columbia University)
Leonid Rudnytsky (Shevchenko Scientific Society)
Edward Wynot (Florida State University)
Assistant Editor.....Dallas Arnold (The City College—CUNY)
Coordinator Special Issues.....Gabriele Simoncini (The City College—CUNY)
Book Review Editor.....Anita Shelton (Eastern Illinois University)
Managing EditorAndris Skreija (The University of Nebraska, Omaha)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Edward Allworth, Columbia University • Audrey L. Altstadt, University of Massachusetts
• Seymour Becker, Rutgers University • Yaroslav Bilinsky, University of Delaware •
Yaroslav Bilocerkowycz, University of Dayton • Thomas Bird, Queens College (CUNY)
• Hélène Carrère D'Encausse, Institut d'études politiques de Paris • David Crowe, Elon
College • Andrew Ezergailis, Ithaca College • Tibor Frank, Eötvös Lóránd University,
Budapest • John Georgeoff, Purdue University • Toussaint Hocevar, University of New
Orleans • Taras Hunczak, Rutgers University • Anatoly Khazanov, Hebrew University •
Edward Lazzerini, University of New Orleans • Rado Lencek, Columbia University •
Bogdan Mieczkowski, Ithaca College • Peter Potichnyj, McMaster University • John S.
Reshetar, University of Washington • Michael Rywkin, City College—CUNY • Roman
Szporluk, Harvard University.

The editors accept no responsibility for the statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

Nationalities Papers is published semi-annually (Spring and Fall) by the Association for the Study of the Nationalities of the USSR and Eastern Europe (ASN) with the support of the Simon H. Rifkind Center for the Humanities of the Division of Humanities of The City College of New York, and a grant from the Shevchenko Scientific Society in America.

Copyright © 1992 by the Association for the Study of the Nationalities of the USSR and Eastern Europe, Inc.

Typesetting by ΣΚΑΤΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ Publishing, New York, New York, U.S.A.
Printed by Book Crafters, Inc., Chelsea, Michigan 48118, U.S.A.

ISSN 0090-5992

LC 73-6414344

NATIONALITIES PAPERS
VOLUME XVII/NUMBER 2/FALL 1989

Contents

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Editorial Note | <i>vi</i> |
| Contributors | <i>viii</i> |

Articles

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| Towards a New Party Program on the Nationalities?..... | <i>Julian Birch 98</i> |
|--|------------------------|

FOCUS ON THE BALTICS

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| The Baltic States in Soviet-German Relations..... | <i>Albert Resis 116</i> |
|---|-------------------------|

**The International Status of the Baltic States:
The Baltic Republics Fifty Years after
the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact**

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Introduction: Reflections on Baltic Exceptionalism..... | <i>Andrejs Penikis 156</i> |
|---|----------------------------|

A Panel Discussion

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. "On the Aggressive Nature of the Non-Aggression Pact"..... | <i>Allen Lynch 164</i> |
| 2. "Problems of Secession from the Soviet Federation"..... | <i>Stephan Kux 170</i> |
| 3. "The Policy and Politics of Independence"..... | <i>Jenik Radon 178</i> |
| 4. "The Policy and Politics of Non-Recognition"..... | <i>William Hough 183</i> |

Discussion

From Eastern Europe:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Observations: Slovenia 1988-1989..... | <i>Karl W. Ryavec 204</i> |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|

From the USSR:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Estonia: An interview with Tunne Kelam..... | <i>213</i> |
|---|------------|

| | |
|--|------------|
| Extracts from the First Congress of the Estonian Popular Front..... | <i>221</i> |
|--|------------|

| | |
|--|--|
| Georgia: A Historical Survey of the Georgian National Liberation Movements..... | <i>Eduard Gudava</i> <i>Tengiz Gudava</i> 228 |
| Georgia: 1989..... | <i>Eduard Gudava</i> 236 |
| Jews: Document Final de la Table Ronde (Mai 1989) | 241 |
| Crimean Tatars: The Platform of the CPSU on Nationalities Policy and the Problems of the Crimean Tatars..... | <i>A. Seytmuratova</i> 244 |

**Notes from the Harriman Institute Seminar on Soviet
Republics and Regional Issues**
(*Erika Dailey, Reporter*)

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| The Role of Republican TV in Perestroika and the National Issue..... | <i>Mark Koenig</i> 248 |
| The Baltic Republics and Foreign Investment..... | <i>Jenik Radon</i> 251 |
| The Dynamics and Dimensions of an Inter-Republic Conflict: The Case of Armenia and Azerbaijan..... | <i>Henry R. Huttenbach</i> 254 |
| Will the Soviet Union Survive Perestroika?..... | <i>Alexander Yanov</i> 257 |

Review Article

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Dissent in Eastern Europe..... | <i>Anita Shelton</i> 260 |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|

Book Reviews

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Boris Z. Rumer. <i>Soviet Central Asia, “A Tragic Experiment”?</i> | (<i>Muriel Atkin</i>) 266 |
| Viktor Kozlov. <i>The Peoples of the Soviet Union</i> | (<i>Robert A. Lewis</i>) 270 |
| P. G. Galuzo. <i>Turkestan—Colony</i> | (<i>Virginia Martin</i>) 272 |
| Mahnaz Z. Ispahani. <i>Roads and Rivals: The Political Uses of Access in the Borderlands of Asia</i> | (<i>Stephen Blank</i>) 274 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Society for Central Asian Studies. <i>Programmnye dokumenty Musul' manskikh politicheskikh partii, 1917-1920 gg</i>(Audrey L. Altstadt) | 276 |
| M. S. Sultan-Galiev. <i>Stat' i</i>(Edward J. Lazzerini) | 279 |
| James W. Long. <i>From Privileged to Dispossessed: The Volga Germans, 1860-1917</i>(Norman E. Saul) | 280 |
| Wasył Veryha. <i>Halyts' ka Sotsialistychna Sovets' ka Respublika</i>(John S. Reshetar, Jr.) | 283 |
| Mikhail Frenkin. <i>Tragediia krest' ianskikh vosstani v Rossii, 1918-1921 gg</i>(Delano DuGarm) | 285 |
| Sergei Pushkarev, Vladimir Rusak and Gleb Yakunin. <i>Christianity and Government in Russia and the Soviet Union: Reflections on the Millennium</i>(Donald W. Treadgold) | 287 |
| Dmitry V. Pospelovsky. <i>A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer. Vol. I, Vol. II and Vol. III</i>(Sallie Folden) | 289 |
| Benjamin Pinkus. <i>The Jews of the Soviet Union: The History of a National Minority</i>(Włodzimierz Rozenbaum) | 291 |
| Ferenc Feher and Andrew Arato. <i>Gorbachev: The Debate</i>(Janusz Bugajski) | 294 |
| Artem Ohandjanian. <i>Armenien—Der verschwiegene Völkermord</i>(Norbert Saupp) | 296 |
| Moshe' Altbauer. <i>An Orthodox 'Pomjanyk' of the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Century</i>(Henry R. Huttenbach) | 297 |
| E. Andersons. <i>Latvijas vesture, 1920-1940, Arpolitika</i>(Nicholas W. Balabkins) | 298 |
| Stanislas J. Kirschbaum. <i>Slovaques et Tcheques: Essai sur un nouvel aperçu de leur histor politique</i>(J.-M. Rydlo) | 302 |
| Ivo Banac. <i>With Stalin against Tito: Cominformist Splits in Yugoslav Communism</i>(Pedro Ramet) | 303 |
| Duncan M. Perry. <i>The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Liberation Movements, 1893-1933</i>(Oleg Zinam) | 304 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Dinu C. Giurescu. <i>The Razing of Romania's Past</i>(Stephen Fischer-Galati) | 309 |
| Paul Michelson. <i>Conflict and Crisis. Romanian Political Development, 1861-1871</i>(Dinu C. Giurescu) | 310 |
| Paul Hiemstra. <i>Alexander Xenopol and the Development of Romanian Historiography</i>(J. H. Jensen) | 312 |
| Publications Received | 315 |
| Publications of Interest | 325 |
| Doctoral Dissertations | 329 |
| Conferences | |
| National Consciousness of the Russians (Walberberg, GFR).....(Frank Golczewski, Reporter) | 330 |
| Major Non-Slavic Nationalities of the USSR (Harvard University).....(Henry R. Huttenbach, Reporter) | 335 |
| News of the Association | 342 |
| Announcements | 343 |
| Communication | 344 |
| Errata | 346 |