

However, just when his career had progressed to its logical end and it was possible for him to think of retirement as a two-star general, a new, and seemingly unexpected, life began for him: organization of an underground union to fight for the revival of Leninism, arrest, reduction to the ranks and declaration of insanity, release and participation in the human rights' movement, rearrest, and almost five years in KGB prisons and prison psychiatric hospitals. It is difficult to imagine the extent of the cruelty in treating a sane man like a mentally ill one. Upon my return to Moscow from exile in Kolyma, I hardly knew the gravely ill old man whom I recognized as Peter Grigor'evich, but in 1976, at the age of seventy, he was to become one of the founders of the Helsinki Group. His spirit remained uncrushed.

Despite the apparent suddenness of the eventful turning point in his life, he had been preparing for it all his life. For Peter Grigor'evich, joining the party was not a stepping stone to a successful career but a means to serve justice as he understood it. Many people who sincerely subscribed to communism in the days of their youth experienced a gradual disillusionment—first, in the practice of communism, and then in the theory. For the majority, however, particularly in the USSR, this disillusionment led to cynicism, which masked some form of escapism, and only a very few found within themselves the strength to continue their fight for justice. One needed intense faith, strong will, and the naïveté of a fighter.

This naïveté is noticeable in everything written by Peter Grigor'evich and it sometimes provokes a smile in the Western reader. His language seems heavy, garnished with bureaucratic locutions and Soviet clichés. Nonetheless, I would recommend his book to everyone who is interested in what is happening in the USSR, from the historical article on the Second World War, to the controversial letters in defense of human rights, and the accounts of prisons and psychiatric hospitals. The book contains documents, an excellent introduction by Edward Crankshaw, and a noteworthy foreword by Andrei Grigorenko. It is evident from the latter that the family's support meant a great deal to Peter Grigorenko.

The major interest of the book, however, is its author, and for this reason I began my brief review with a recollection of my first meeting with him. General Grigorenko's break with the Soviet system, like Academician Sakharov's, is a visible superficial breach which testifies to the profound geological faults in Soviet society. Many people in the West do not understand this clearly enough and I am therefore very glad that *The Grigorenko Papers* has been published in the United States.

ANDREI AMALRIK
Washington, D.C.

THE CRISES OF FRANCE'S EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY, 1933–1938. By *Anthony Tihamer Komjathy*. East European Monographs, 21. Boulder, Colo.: *East European Quarterly*, 1976. viii, 277 pp. \$14.50. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.

The subject of this study—French diplomatic relations with Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia in the crisis-ridden years of the 1930s—is an important one. We need to know a good deal more in detail and nuance about French relations with the Little Entente (even in regard to Czechoslovakia only 1938 is fairly well known), and study of French policies toward the two former “enemy” states, Austria and Hungary, has hardly begun. Regrettably, Komjathy's book is disappointing and does not fulfill the promise of its title.

The author tries to cover far too much in a relatively short book: French diplomacy and the state of France herself in the 1930s, notably, the state of the economy and the army; the foreign policies, politics, and economics of Austria, Czechoslovakia,

Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia; the designs and actions of Hitler and Mussolini in East Central Europe; and, finally, those familiar yet still compelling crises—the assassinations of Dollfuss, Barthou, and King Alexander of Yugoslavia, the remilitarization of the Rhineland, the Anschluss, and Munich. Unfortunately, we do not learn much that is new about these subjects. The treatment of French diplomacy is not very sophisticated and is not based on intensive research. The Anschluss and Munich crises are so compressed as to be almost unrecognizable. For example, the Anschluss is described in a paragraph (p. 203): Schuschnigg's famous interview with Hitler is dated March 12; the next event presented by the author is a statement of the Czech foreign minister, Krofta; and the final event presented is the placing of Schuschnigg under house arrest by the German occupation troops, on March 13. Brevity is commendable but not at this price. The sources used by the author are almost entirely secondary and even these are by no means exhaustive. Missing, for example, are the French parliamentary investigation, *Rapport fait au Nom de la Commission chargée d'Enquêter sur les événements survenus en France de 1933 à 1945*, 11 vols., and the important memoirs of Édouard Herriot, Jules Laroche, Julius Lukasiewicz, Count Jan Szembek, and Baron Pompeo Aloisi.

The author correctly points out the haphazard and disjointed nature of French policies toward the East Central European states, including those states which were France's allies, and criticizes the failure of the French to appreciate that their allies had interests other than the ties with France. The author's best chapters are those on the policies of Hungary's rightist prime minister during 1932–36, Julius Gömbös, and on the fall from power in 1936 of Rumania's anti-Fascist foreign minister, Nicolas Titulescu. It is regrettable that Anthony Tihamer Komjathy did not concentrate on the view from Budapest and Bucharest.

WILLIAM E. SCOTT
Duke University

QUEST FOR A NEW CENTRAL EUROPE: A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *Julius Varsányi*, assisted by *Stephen Krassay*. Adelaide and Sydney: Australian Carpathian Federation, [n.d.], viii, 295 pp.

This volume is the product of a group of intellectuals devoted to the idea of a collective and independent future for the peoples living between the German and Russian domains in Europe. It deals primarily with the region known as Eastern Europe, or as some prefer to call it, East Central Europe. The essays presented are for the most part works of synthesis rather than the specialized papers usually featured in scholarly symposia.

The book's first part offers background studies on East Central Europe's geography, history, economic potential, and nationality problems. The second part presents essays on the sociological, political, economic, constitutional, ethnic, and legal aspects and implications of a possible East Central European federation. The volume's editor and contributors are aware of present-day political realities and make no attempt to construct a plan for the creation of a federal union of the East Central European states. Believing that neutralization and free integration of the area would be the best solution for East and West, as well as for the region's peoples, they simply explore the question, and all its ramifications, in anticipation of a possible political reorganization of Central Europe in the future.

The volume is an ambitious undertaking and the result is quite satisfactory. The editor was able to attract several experienced contributors in a variety of fields. Most of them are natives to the region discussed, but others—such as David St. L. Kelly of the University of Adelaide, the author of the collection's most impressive essay—also make valuable contributions.