and possibly western Europe. After June 1941 the Vatican, according to Dennis Dunn (who declares his full sympathy for the Papacy's diplomacy during the war), rejected the Anglo-American policy of alliance with Soviet Russia and, faced with a choice of two evils, preferred Moscow's defeat to that of Berlin. As Professor Dunn states, the Vatican was "pro-neutral towards Germany and anti-neutral towards Soviet Russia".

The author then describes in well-documented chapters the religious policy which Moscow prescribed, and often applied through its viceroys, during the decade when the satellite States in eastern Europe were formed (Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia) with their predominantly Roman Catholic populations. Moscow began with a policy of appeasement, but in 1948 a wave of persecution replaced the initial tolerance. The Vatican too, under Pius XII, was not in a mood for easy, and illusory, accommodation. And the story did not end in 1949. Paul VI was a different man from his severe predecessor. But how far has Brezhnev basically changed Soviet religious policy since the days of Stalin and Khrushchev? There are no grounds for new illusions.

LUCJAN BLIT

Dissent in Poland 1976–77: Reports and Documents in Translation, December 1975–July 1977
Association of Polish Students and Graduates in Exile, 1977,
200 pp. No price.

The kettle is coming to the boil again in Poland. Discontent has been simmering for 20 years, and in 1970 the pot boiled over in the Baltic coast cities when Gomulka put down strikes with guns. The Soviet lid that sits so firmly on Polish society looked as if it might topple off as Gomulka gave way to Gierek, and for a while the steam subsided. But it proved a temporary reprieve. The lid was put back, the hissing started again and another eruption of protest was inevitable.

This book documents that eruption and the latent discontent which provoked it. It chronicles the rumpus over the proposed constitutional changes and the strikes at the Ursus Motor Factory, Warsaw and at Radom in June 1976, with all the letters of protest that preceded and followed them. It distinguishes three main strands of protest: from the workers themselves, from the intellectuals and from the bishops. These three are inseparable elements in Polish society, and together they continue to exercise a political influence unequalled in any other totalitarian State. And the influence is far from ineffective. The threatened rise in food prices which provoked the strikes of June 1976 has yet to be implemented; the permanent relationship with the Soviet Union proposed in the Constitutional amendments in January 1976 was toned down; "the

Workers Defence Committee," as the editors say (p. 80), "serves as an example of what individuals committed to a belief in basic human rights can do". These are considerable achievements by a solidly united population, but of course they fall far short of what the writers demand. The question is, what more can popular opinion, articulated by the intellectuals and bishops, achieve? Will the present increase in anti-government confidence win real freedoms? J. Kuron (in an interview for *Le Monde*, 29 January 1977, quoted p. 170) believes that pressure for reforms need not lead to a suicidal clash with Soviet military power if Polish "social movements" are prudent in what they demand, and perhaps this optimism will be justified.

Meanwhile the struggle resembles the classical class conflict which the system is meant to have remedied. The struggle is for workers' rights against a so-called workers' government, an irony the Primate underlined in a sermon on 26 September 1977 (quoted p. 156); censorship, ex-party member Bienkowski remarks (p. 40), reflects the policies of the Tsars themselves; industrial management is positively feudal, Jan Litynski reports at Radom (p. 65 and p. 67); and the Party élite are the new aristocrats, as "The Manifesto of the 59" complains (p. 13). The police handling of the Radom riot would have been ludicrous if it had not also been tragic, and their harassment of individuals would look petty were it not at the same time brutal.

But throughout this absorbing book the most serious, and eventually the most important, arena of conflict is in the minds of the people: as the *Programme of the Polish League for Independence*, Item 4, put it (p. 167): "We are drowning in lies, 'Sovereignty' signifies obedience to the USSR, 'security' means the ubiquitous secret police, while 'freedom' is the absense of choice." These writers, ably introduced with just the right amount of comment, make it clear that hope is far from lost. Socialism in their eyes has not lost all credibility yet, and one day they believe the words "sovereignty, security and freedom" will be redeemed.

ROGER SYMON

A Song in Siberia
by Anita and Peter Deyneka, Jr, David C. Cook Publishing Co., 1977, 235 pp., $6.95.

This book is the product of careful research by Peter and Anita Deyneka (Peter Deyneka, Jr, is executive director of the Slavic Gospel Association, Wheaton, Illinois). In compiling it, they have made excellent use of a unique and, for this purpose, very timely source: the many Russian German Christians who in recent years have succeeded in emigrating from the USSR and settling in West Germany. "By 1976," write the