

professional historians as well as interested laymen. A. V. Krivoshein, like S. Iu. Witte and P. A. Stolypin, was one of the few outstanding statesmen at the turn of the century who could have led Russia on the road of prosperity and peaceful evolution, if . . . But there were too many "ifs" in the international situation, as well as inside the country.

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DIPLOMACY AND REVOLUTION: THE SOVIET MISSION TO SWITZERLAND, 1918. By *Alfred Erich Senn*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974. ix, 221 pp. \$9.95.

This volume describes the tangled web of events that led to the establishment and expulsion of the first Soviet mission to Switzerland in 1918. The Bolshevik efforts in Zurich and Bern during the last year of World War I assumed unusual significance, because Switzerland was one of the few places on the Continent where plans for the international Communist revolution could be prepared more or less openly.

Professor Senn has worked primarily in the Bundesarchiv in Bern, in the records of the French Ministry of War in Vincennes, and in the available published Soviet sources to reconstruct the main events of the period. The result is a montage of relatively minor figures in the history of international socialism, but the narrative of their activities in Switzerland and of their relations with one another and the Swiss government is an informative chapter in the history of the Communist movement.

The Soviet-sponsored mission functioned in Switzerland from May to November 1918 under the leadership of J. A. Berzin. His activities were often supplemented and complicated by the actions of persons such as Henri Guilbeaux, Angelica Balabanova, and Edward Holzmann, to mention only three of the scores of revolutionaries who moved in and out of the country during these months.

One of the intriguing themes that emerges from the volume deals with the difficulties of the Swiss government. Dedicated simultaneously to absolute neutrality, to a policy of granting asylum to exiles of all political convictions, and to the necessity of maintaining domestic security, the Swiss authorities faced an impossible situation in trying to cope with the Bolsheviks, their sympathizers, and their plots. They could not decide whether the Berzin mission ought to be given diplomatic status. They could not determine the amount of propagandistic activity that ought to be tolerated. They were frequently criticized by Entente diplomats for being too lenient with the Russian leftists, but they were often chastised by the left-wing Swiss socialists for not being tolerant enough of the Russian revolutionaries. Switzerland had indeed become, as Senn says, a "battlefield" between the ideologies of Soviet Russia and the West in the closing days of the war. The final chapters of his book convey with admirable facility the tensions that prevailed in the cities and countryside in November, just before the mission was finally expelled.

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