

Schmitz makes good use of records at the Gerald Ford Library, but like others beginning to work on the first Bush administration, he is stymied by the availability of records at the George Bush Library. Would the fuller release of records there change Schmitz's portrait of Scowcroft? It is unlikely, but greater access to Bush I era records could have enabled greater distance from Scowcroft's perspective. Nonetheless, this book makes many contributions to historiographical debates about the role of the United States in the world in the late and post-Cold War years.

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Anatoly Adamishin and Richard Schifter, *Human Rights, Perestroika and the End of the Cold War* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2009), xx + 297 pp.

Conceived and written in two voices, this book belongs to the rather rare genre of joint memoirs. It is composed of seven chapters, both chronological and thematic, in which the two authors – Anatoly Adamishin, the former Soviet deputy minister, and Richard Schifter, the former US assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs – each give their testimony, perceptions, and analysis of the events in question. The book starts with a preface, also in two voices, by Mikhail Gorbachev and George Shultz.

This book can be read at three levels. First, it is the story of a fine human adventure, the deepening friendship between two men whose personal backgrounds, education, political culture, mental universe, and perceptions opposed them to each other. Propelled by Gorbachev starting in 1985 and soon implemented by the Reagan administration, the 'revolution' of the new *détente* gradually threw them into contact with each other and made them partners (as of April 1987): Schifter, under the authority of George Shultz, and Adamishin, under the authority of Edward Shevardnadze, worked together on the thorny issue of human rights. Due to its various components – the political use of psychiatric imprisonment, the right to emigration, the liberation of political prisoners – and due to the fact that the issue of human rights was very quickly linked to disarmament, these negotiations rapidly became perceived on both sides as a major gamble at the end of the Cold War. Thus this book describes what went on behind the scenes of the Soviet–US human rights dialogue, the various phases it traversed, and the spectacular results to which it led.

Secondly, the book offers prime testimony about the complexity of the years from 1985 to 1991. Reading Adamishin, we detect the difficulties with which the USSR was struggling at the start of the 1980s and, after the failure of the hopes born of the 20th

Party Congress, the immense expectations of the elites who were aware that the country was headed for an impasse; we better understand the objectives pursued by Gorbachev's New Thinking and the personal role he played in the process of liberalising the country; but we can also measure the inertia of the state apparatus and the opposition it formed during the years from 1985 to 1989. Thanks to Schifter's recollections, we may take the exact measure of the US–Soviet rapprochement achieved by the Reagan administration, but also the scope of the distrust of the Bush administration, which started to put a brake on the process in 1989.

Finally, at the third level, the book offers a tentative conclusion and a very stimulating retrospective analysis of this short but decisive period that led to the end of the Cold War.

This is a fascinating book, enriched by detailed scholarly presentation and often previously unpublished archival documents, many coming from the State Department. There is only one small criticism to be made: written by a senior American and an ex-Soviet diplomat and exclusively focused on Soviet–American relations, it tends to accredit the idea that Europeans and European diplomacy played no role whatsoever in the issue of human rights at the time of Perestroika and at the end of the Cold War. This, as many recent articles attest, does not correspond to the actual facts.

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Stan Draenos, *Andreas Papandreou: The Making of a Greek Democrat and Political Maverick* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), xii + 340 pp.

Stan Draenos, a seasoned political analyst, has spent several years as a historian at the Andreas Papandreou Foundation. Despite his 'proximity' to his subject, Draenos manages to draw an interesting and robust, if somewhat biased, picture of the late statesman. In regards to the book's title – as with everything else with the two times prime minister of Greece – there is more than meets the eye. This is not a comprehensive biography; rather it is an account of Papandreou's early life and political career, which the author acknowledges in the preface. Having said that, Draenos's book sheds valuable light on the formation of Papandreou's personality, and serves as an excellent introduction to the study of his long political trajectory.

The first third of the book concentrates on the events that transformed Andreas Papandreou from the son of a popular Greek liberal politician to a failed Trotskyist member of the resistance to the Metaxas dictatorship, and then to a successful US professor affiliated to New Frontier liberalism. The path that took him from being

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