

Finally, Davis makes Roosevelt's religion altogether too genteel, too external, though he acknowledges the importance of FDR's belief in a benevolent Providence to his political life and beliefs. Rexford Tugwell, in his *The Democratic Roosevelt*, described Franklin's loneliness at Croton, his isolation at a time when the need for friendship is most intense, his sense of distance from his aging and dying father. Tugwell contended that FDR turned to religion out of a driving personal need and that the consolation and confidence he found in it sustained him through the rest of his life. Roosevelt was no more a theologian than he was a philosopher; there is something inelegant and simple about his faith. And yet that faith which upheld him when TR's pre-

scriptions laid him low, which helped him to transform Teddy's frenzied toughness into a creed of compassion, is hardly to be deprecated by contrast to the brittle word-schemes of contemporary theology.

Everything I have said here gives too little credit to Eleanor, to Louis Howe, to all of Roosevelt's friends and heroes, and even to the uniqueness of Roosevelt himself. But it does not strain the truth too much to say that Roosevelt's early years taught him—born as much of an aristocrat as one can be in America—a humbling lesson which was critical to the democratic brilliance of his political art: "Kind hearts are more than coronets, and simple faith than Saxon blood." More too, we might wish to remind the leaders of our time, than intellect and expertise.

winism in Germany" could hardly be surpassed. Paul Kluge's equally fine "National Socialist Europe Ideology" demolishes the revisionist myth that the Nazis were just good, misunderstood Europeans and exposes them as unashamed German imperialists. Moreover, in outlining Hitler's and Himmler's plans for their postwar "New Order" in Europe, Kluge demonstrates the lunatic extremes to which the Nazis were prepared to go in actually applying their crude Social Darwinist view of the world.

Karl Dietrich Bracher's "Stages of Totalitarian 'Integration' (*Gleichschaltung*): The Consolidation of National Socialist Rule in 1933 and 1934" offers, like the whole book, more than its title would suggest. What Bracher really provides is a schematic account of the whole period 1930-34—first the paralysis of parliamentary government, then the period of rule by presidential decree and, finally, the rise of Hitler to fill the power vacuum.

Two other essays treat specific aspects of this political transition. Theodor Eschenburg's "The Role of Personality in the Crisis of the Weimar Republic" is very illuminating. Though broad economic and political forces paralyzed the Republic, nevertheless Hitler could not have become Chancellor without the intrigues of particular individuals in high places. Likewise, Hitler might have been stopped by the powerful socialist movement but for the shortsightedness of its leaders, as detailed in Erich Matthias's "The Downfall of the Old Social Democratic Party in 1933."

Once in office Hitler was not yet in power. That took almost a year and a half to consolidate. Two important milestones in the process were the Reichstag Fire, with the pseudo-legal terror that followed it, and Hitler's Blood Purge of Nazi and conservative dissidents on June 30, 1934. These topics are dealt with in essays by Hans Mommsen and Hermann Mau, respectively. Mommsen takes the revisionist position that the Nazis had nothing to do with the fire—he believes that the Dutch vagabond caught in the burn-

Republic to Reich: The Making of the Nazi Revolution

edited by Hajo Holborn

(Pantheon; 491 pp.; \$12.95)

Robert E. Neil

In the aftermath of World War II, thinking Germans had a profound psychological need to "digest" their recent past—the collapse of the Second Empire in 1918, the failure of the Weimar experiment in democracy and the nightmare of the "brown years" (the slang expression for the Third Reich). Perhaps the single most important contribution to this effort at self-understanding has been made by the *Quarterly for Contemporary History* (*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*), published since 1953 by the institute of the same name in Munich. Though the *Quarterly* deals with all aspects of contemporary history, its main concern is with twentieth-century Germany.

From *Republic to Reich* is a selection from the journal of ten excellent, thought-provoking essays that deal with the Nazi dictatorship and

its origins. The late Hajo Holborn of Yale made the selection and wrote the rather unhelpful introduction. Contrary to dust jacket and title page, however, he did not edit the book. That was done after his death by Susan Gyarmati, whose name does not appear on the title page and who is not otherwise identified. This is a shame—and raises questions about publishers' ethics—because she has done a very able job of providing the reader with footnote guidance to unfamiliar material.

The essays are grouped into four sections, which I find arbitrary and likely to confuse the newcomer to the field. Accordingly, I shall discuss them in the reading sequence that I would recommend. For a lucid briefing on the currents of thought that could give rise to Nazi ideology, Hans-Günter Zmarzlik's "Social Dar-

ing building set the fire all by himself—but merely exploited a political windfall for their own purposes. Having done research of my own on the subject, I cannot agree with Mommsen. Even Goering admitted in his postwar interrogations that the Nazi leaders themselves suspected that the fire had been the work of hotheaded stormtroopers—the Berlin units were notoriously unruly—trying to force the pace of the revolution.

The three remaining essays in the book are valuable case studies of the character of Nazi rule once consolidated: an article on how the approved artistic style was determined, another on the expanding role of the S.S. above both party and state and a fascinating analysis of Goebbels's 1943 speech demanding total war. This last article is especially recommended to anyone interested in psychological techniques of mass manipulation.

German historians are noted more for the soundness of their research than for felicity of style. Some of the essays in this collection, it must be admitted, "read themselves like leather," as the Germans would say. With his wooden style and tin ear for idiom, the translator offers no help as far as readability is concerned. His work is at least accurate, though, and he had the wit to retain original German terms (e.g., for government agencies) along with their English translations.

In a recent series of three articles in the *New York Review of Books* the British historian Geoffrey Barraclough complained that we must abandon the straight political approach to recent German history and strike off in new directions. Where has he been? The ten essays in this book, not to mention the many others that have appeared in the *Quarterly*, show that the Germans have already been doing what he advocates for nearly twenty years!

From Republic to Reich is an informative and stimulating book for Americans interested in Nazism in particular or totalitarianism in general. It is also a well-deserved tribute to a great German periodical.

Dragon by the Tail by John Paton Davies, Jr.

(Norton; 448 pp.; \$10.00)

Journey Between Two Dragons by Seymour Topping

(Harper & Row; 459 pp.; \$10.00)

Twentieth Century China by O. Edmund Clubb

(Columbia University Press; 526 pp.; \$12.00/\$3.95)

Richard C. Kagan

In 1971 President Nixon suddenly reversed our twenty-two-year policy of hostility toward Red China, and, in a trice, American politicians and journalists who supported the earlier line were eagerly jetting to Asia. Books filled with analyses of the earlier China policy, diaries, sympathetic accounts and memoirs from previously silent observers suddenly proliferate. *Dragon by the Tail* provides us with a fine account, for the first time, of the American mission to Yenai (the Chinese Communist area) during World War II. *Journey Between Two Chinas* details the Nationalists' collapse in Nanking, recapitulates America's efforts to harass the People's Republic from bases in Taiwan and Southeast Asia and presents new information on the attempts of our last Minister to China, Leighton Stuart, to establish contacts with the new government in Peking.

The authors of these books expose many of America's errors in dealing with China (and Vietnam). John Paton Davies, a Foreign Service officer from 1931-1955, with extensive service in China, publicizes Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai's desire to visit Washington in 1944 to work out military cooperation and postwar economic aid. His account of Ambassador Hurley details the vindictive self-centeredness of a man who was blind to realities in China and silenced those who disagreed.

Davies's account of General Chenault and his relations with the Chinese secret police chief Tai Li should be read with Tuchman's work on Stilwell. Davies and Tuchman effectively counter the myths of air power and dispute the importance of the Flying Tigers. Seymour Topping—a reporter in China and Southeast Asia from 1947-1951—informs us of KMT brutality, French duplicity and embezzlement in Vietnam, and recapitulates the history and drastic consequences of America's attempt to contain China.

These two books are a direct result of Nixon's visit. They are possible only because Nixon has dispelled years of fear within the Foreign Service community. As late as 1969 Davies refused to be a member of a panel of the Association for Asian Studies on the effects of McCarthyism on that discipline. John Service, like Davies a victim of the McCarthy purges in the State Department, also refused to participate. After Nixon's trip Service told me that he had been afraid in 1969 and that only now would he participate in such a criticism.

Topping's and Davies's works are the tip of the iceberg. Much remains to be revealed. But what is significant is that these men have personalized their experiences in China. Their writings are neither history nor politics; their purpose is not to re-