

AMERICAN POLICY AND THE DIVISION OF GERMANY: THE CLASH WITH RUSSIA OVER REPARATIONS. By *Bruce Kuklick*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972. ix, 286 pp. \$9.50.

With attractive but perhaps excessive modesty, the author describes his book as "parasitic . . . on the work of contemporary revisionist historians, most importantly William Appleman Williams' *Tragedy of American Diplomacy*." True, Dr. Kuklick has accepted the revisionists' highly critical attitude toward U.S. foreign policy and its makers as the basis for his study, but within this framework he has carried through a sound and useful job of archival research aimed at clarifying the evolution of U.S. reparations policy. His focus is centered on the Department of State, although he gives intermittent attention to State's collaborators and, at times, rivals in policy formulation, the Departments of War and Treasury, as well as to the White House, standing apart from and above the cabinet agencies.

The strengths of the book are its own; its weaknesses it shares with the revisionist school as a whole. Of these the one most likely to strike a reader of this journal is the author's failure to make any serious effort to include Soviet foreign policy and its makers in his field of vision. The formidable difficulties in the way of doing so are, of course, well known, and no one can blame a scholar whose interest is primarily in the evolution of U.S. policy for his failure to overcome them. Kuklick, however, seems not to have made even the minimum feasible effort in this direction, as can be seen from his procedure for citing one of the key Soviet wartime pronouncements on reparations, Eugene Varga's 1943 essay-lecture, "Vozmeshchenie ushcherba gitlerovskoi Germaniei i ee soobshchnikami" ("Compensation for Damages by Hitlerite Germany and Its Accomplices"). Admittedly the publication history of this widely reprinted document is rather complex, but it has been set forth with admirable clarity in Peter Knirsch's bibliography of Varga's writings (Berlin, 1961; see nos. 719, 724, and 725). Kuklick, however, cites a Department of State reference, and seems not to have looked for or read the document itself, since he provides virtually no analysis of it.

Neglect of the Soviet aspect of the problem is regrettable but not surprising; less easy to understand or condone is Kuklick's failure to give due weight to the actions and policies of America's Western allies in the evolution of reparations policy. From his account of the Potsdam Conference, for example, one would never suspect that British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin was a major figure there in determining the outcome of Soviet-Western negotiations on the subject.

Kuklick has been successful in tracing the evolution of U.S. policy on reparations and in demonstrating that it played a major part in bringing about the division of Germany, but in trying to assign sole responsibility for this development to U.S. policy-makers he has attempted more than can be accomplished within the self-imposed limitations of his study.

ROBERT M. SLUSSER  
*Michigan State University*

DIE KIRCHEN IN RUSSLAND: BERICHTE DOKUMENTE. By *Gerhard Simon*. Munich: Manz Verlag, 1970. 228 pp. DM 18, paper.

This book is of great importance in the field of studies dedicated to religion and churches in the Soviet Union. In fact the young author examines attentively not

only the current situation of the churches and believers but also those historical antecedents which illuminate the present reality. The first chapter, which analyzes the attitudes and relations between church and state on the eve of the Soviet revolution, is particularly interesting. Some of the author's opinions might seem rather hard at first glance, but without doubt the copious documentation throws light on this controversial subject. Simon not only expounds the position of the church and the narrow bonds between religion and the state in prerevolutionary Russia, but he also describes the social and political milieu which characterized the Russian cultural and spiritual renaissance of the early part of this century. After analyzing the relations between church and state in contemporary Russia, Simon examines the position of the various churches of the USSR and the problem of the underground church, showing his deep knowledge of the subject. He also includes some helpful documents.

The book is both necessary and interesting for scholars in this field; on the other hand it will also be a useful implement for others who want to understand some of the most important problems of contemporary Russia, since Soviet dissent is always more rooted in a spiritual basis than any other kind. The book is largely based on Soviet sources, both official and underground, and on the best Western literature. The most useful chapters are the ones on the history of the church and the actual situation of religion. Less satisfactory is the analysis of the legal position of the churches. The transliteration of Russian names follows the scientific system. Unfortunately the bibliographic notes do not include the names of publishers, and that may cause some trouble for those who wish to obtain the works mentioned. A better choice of documents could also make this study more interesting for both scholars and general readers.

GIOVANNI CODEVILLA  
Milan

**ALIENATION: MARX'S CONCEPTION OF MAN IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY.** By *Bertell Ollman*. Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971. xvi, 325 pp. \$10.50.

Professor Ollman's book is easily the best on this subject. The ever-growing use of the concept of alienation in politics, psychology, sociology, and other disciplines has tended to rob it of much of its original sharpness. This led—in the 1950s and early 1960s—to a revival of interest in the origin of the concept in Marx's early writings. The view was fairly widely held, however, that the concept of alienation was confined to Marx's early work and not central to his thought as a whole. This view has now been shown to be untenable—particularly in view of Marx's recently translated *Grundrisse* of 1857–58. It is one of the merits of Ollman's book that it takes seriously these crucial writings of Marx's middle period. Ollman's work is also very scholarly: he has an extremely good knowledge of all of Marx's writings as well as the secondary literature, and uses this knowledge to good effect. The approach is original in that by using the tools of linguistic philosophy, Ollman sets out seriously to examine Marx's use of language and succeeds in showing that much criticism of Marx is due to an inadequate appreciation of the way he used his concepts.