

Chancellor Betham and Erzberger in 1914, the latter quoted the Chancellor as follows: "How do you [Erzberger] manage to have so many bright ideas all the time. I never have any!"

But aside from this insight into all the conflicting currents of German life, the book is also a vivid account of the rough and tumble of professional politics and particularly the personal power-politics waged in the Germany of that period. Against bitter internal opposition, Erzberger became a leader of the left-wing of the Zentrum (Catholic) party. He was an agitator, an organizer, and a pamphleteer and often his methods were Machiavellian. With his extraordinary ability he became a leading statesman and politician during World War I. He headed the German propaganda efforts in neutral countries. It was he who led the effort to keep Italy out of the war and who was one of the Armistice Commissioners in 1918. But it was also he who was blamed by his enemies for the Versailles Treaty. Although his own methods for achieving an objective were sometimes questionable, he was without reason smeared by his enemies. For example, the upstart tailor's son became an "illegitimate child." Money placed abroad for propaganda use became a supposed personal fortune exported in evasion of the German currency laws, and so forth.

Any student of Germany, anyone interested in the international relations of the period, anyone fascinated by politics should read this book.

RALPH F. BISCHOFF

Professor of Law and Associate Dean
New York University
School of Law

LUDWIG DEHIO. *Germany and World Politics in the Twentieth Century*. Translated by Dieter Pevsner. Pp. 141. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959. \$4.00.

This book by an eminent German historian consists of five essays originally published separately in several German journals. The translation is excellent, and the author's gift for expressing himself comes through very well. Although several of the essays are academic studies and others were written for current periodicals, the

five together make a harmonious collection dealing with the part played by Germany in the politics of this century. One is reminded somewhat of Meinecke's little book *The German Catastrophe*, in that the reflections of Professor Dehio throw much light not only on vital events but also reveal the ideas of Germans about these events.

The first essay is a brilliant analysis of the impact of two world wars on Germany and how they came about. The next two essays, which historians will appreciate, cover the critical developments of German imperialism and nationalism up to 1918. The final two essays on Versailles after thirty-five years and the passing of the European system reveal the author at his best.

Rising to an eloquently written conclusion in the final pages, Professor Dehio demonstrates how, sheltered by American power, "European policy is beginning to follow positively parasitical lines. Exploiting the cover offered by American efforts, it is either avoiding efforts of its own, or else directing any efforts it might make towards a purely egocentric particularism in the vague hope that these puny particularisms may together amount to a third force in the world, between the two giants." All these complex phenomena, he concludes, "can be included within a single concept: the concept of the dying European system. That system is lying in ruins, but its spirit lives on, not so much among statesmen, who have become increasingly like officers without armies, as among their peoples, whose deep-seated instincts protest against the idea that the ruins should be usefully employed to help create a new concept" (p. 140).

Thus he illuminates the specific dangers of the European and German situation and the general concept which characterizes it—"the concept of a dying system of states whose spirit survives and whose obsolete conditions threaten to poison the creation of new ones." Written before the achievement of Franco-German rapprochement, and the inauguration of the European Market, the author's words still ring true. For if Western Europe, and particularly Germany, ignoring the hostile barbarian

world on its frontier, once more loses its sense of proportion and fails to appreciate "the special responsibility she bears to the West as the power that wielded the last and most terrible of all European hegemonies," the future is dark indeed.

This little book which the author hoped would "make a modest contribution to the consolidation of our ideas," has certainly clarified a whole period of recent history, and sharpened its salient aspects.

JAMES K. POLLOCK

Chairman and Professor, Department
of Political Science
University of Michigan

A. H. ROBERTSON. *European Institutions: Co-operation: Integration: Unification.* (Library of World Affairs, No. 44.) Pp. xix, 372. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959. \$7.75.

The United States of Europe may still lie far in the future but developments have now reached a point where one can speak of "the labyrinth of European integration," as Mangone calls it. To master that maze, a Baedeker is needed such as the book here examined. It was written by A. H. Robertson, a British lawyer who is Counsellor in the Office of the Clerk of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. His previous publications include *The Council of Europe: Its Structure, Functions and Achievements* (1956) which was reviewed in this journal (Vol. 312, July 1957, pp. 138-9); and *Legal Problems of European Integration* (1957). He is a member of the Editorial Committee of the *European Yearbook*.

The present work deals with seven major organizations and eight smaller or more specialized agencies. It does not discuss bodies created by the United Nations such as the Economic Commission for Europe. In addition to good Bibliographies and an Index, there are 120 pages of Appendices in which are reprinted, usually in full, most of the basic treaties and documents involved.

The book is a Baedeker but it is more than that. It is an incisive analysis of what is coming to be known as "the law of international institutions." Particularly noteworthy is the last chapter on rational-

izing European institutions. Dr. Robertson argues for a Greater Europe which might be evolved from a merger of the Council of Europe with the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and which would also embrace four technical agencies: Conference of Ministers of Transport, Civil Aviation Conference, Customs Cooperation Council, and Organization for Nuclear Research. The defense functions of the Western European Union (WEU) would be transferred to a restricted group within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and what was left of WEU would be absorbed by Greater Europe. As a result of rationalization, there would be a single organ of ministerial co-operation supervising all intergovernmental activities, along with one parliamentary assembly. In other words, the proposal looks to increased intergovernmental relations, rather than to supranationalism or federalism, as a practical minimum program for further advance. NATO, the Six-Power Communities, and smaller regional organizations like Benelux would, at least for the time being, be left out of Robertson's "Grand Design."

The study is an authoritative, scholarly, and well reasoned contribution to the literature of European integration. It should be widely used.

ROGER H. WELLS

Professor of Political Science
Bryn Mawr College

ROBERT STRAUSS-HUPÉ and others. *Protracted Conflict.* (A Foreign Policy Research Institute Book.) Pp. xvii, 203. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. \$3.95.

Most of the existing studies of the Communists' international strategy and tactics, while placing almost exclusive stress upon communism as a social or economic ideology, ignore the significance of communism as a doctrine and a technique of conflict. In general, this study analyzes the intermediate range of challenges posed to the Western alliance by the Communists, particularly those operations which enable the Communists to carry on "nibbling expansion" at the expense of the free world without provoking the United States to