reductionism that was intrinsic to the very composition of his work. At one point of his work, he wrote revealingly: "In order to secure its successes [in revolution], the idea not only had to rest on a substantially sound analysis of the actual state of Western society; it also had to be a part of the spiritual crisis itself. Only because the idea was the manifestation of a profound spiritual disease, only because it carried the disease to a new extreme, could it fascinate the masses of a diseased society." Perhaps it was just this awareness of the discrepancy between the logic of ideas and realities of historical change that led Voegelin to leave this work unpublished all these years.

When Voegelin wrote his volume, he was already at work on what I consider his important insight: When free, men build their social orders out of their ideals, symbols, and myths of God, nature, and themselves; when they are not free, their images of themselves and existence are reduced to the demands of social order, as established in power and willed in fantasy. For Voegelin the essence of the choice is between man with or without transcendence, free or unfree in spirit. And, as if that choice implied choosing between the old and the new world, Voegelin forcefully voiced his preference for the ancienct Greeks and Jews. For him angels walked on their shores.

In the end it will perhaps be the historian who can most appreciate From Enlightenment to Revolution, first, because of its truly keen insights (the essay on Helvétius is remarkable!), and second, for reasons of nostalgia. There was a time, not so long ago, when we professors of Western civilization could survey aons by teaching great ideas and, at one and the same time, identify ourselves as serious professors, proclaim dramatic truths, do some politics along the way, and locate a few witches to boot. Not everything has changed since then. But the Irish have definitely stopped speaking Greek. Not much Latin is heard. And ever stronger particularities press hard upon us. In this sense From Enlightenment to Revolution was written in a less pressing time.

**CONTRIBUTORS**

**BRIGITTE BERGER** is Professor of Sociology at Long Island University.

**LEO P. RIBUFFO** is a member of the History Department at George Washington University.

**BERNICE WOOD** is the pen name of a woman who has considerable personal acquaintance with the Cyprus situation and the events in Athens at the time of the coup.

**JOSEPH AMATO** teaches history at Southwest State University, Minnesota. He is author of Mounier and Maritain: A French Catholic Understanding of the Modern World.

**NORMAN LEDERER** (Briefly Noted) is Dean of Occupational Studies at Wash­tenaw Community College, Michigan.

**ANTHONY JAMES JOES** (Briefly Noted) teaches politics at Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia. He is author of the recently published Fascism in the Contemporary World.

**Briefly Noted**

**Nemesis at Potsdam:** The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans

by Alfred M. de Zayas

(Routledge & Kegan Paul; 268 + xxvii pp; $9.95)

One of the great unsung humanitarians of modern times was Victor Gollancz. An English publisher of partly Jewish background, he devoted time, effort, and money in the years immediately following World War II to doing what he could to better the lot of the defeated Germans. Gollancz was one of the few people in Western Europe to see Germans as human beings in need. Through lectures and books he hammered home the fact that people are people regardless of ideology, that a starving child requires succor despite national boundaries. Gollancz's moderately voiced appeals were drowned in the screaming bloodlust of Allied propagandists, whose strident harangues that no quarter be given the German people fell on receptive ears in the West.

Among those Germans whose fate Gollancz chronicled and endeavored to better were the pathetic millions of expellees brutally ousted from their ancestral lands in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. These Volksdeutsche were tragic figures, unfortunate enough to have been located in the wrong areas at precisely the wrong times. The circumstances leading to their abysmal situation are tellingly related by De Zayas in this most important work.

De Zayas is a graduate of the Harvard Law School, presently at the University of Gottingen. He aims to detail the diplomatic maneuvers that resulted in the decision to expel all German minorities from Eastern Europe. He is an advocate of historical truth, and the unhappy truth is that Germans by the millions were the sinned against as well as the sinners during and after World War II. His thesis will not be accepted in all quarters even today, since the idea of German "collective war guilt" still has a strong hold on the mass mind. The belief in a mass German guilt was an important factor in the thinking of Allied leaders about the German minorities question. The result was that German women, children, and the aged bore the brunt of vindictiveness, while the Parteibonzen actually responsible for the implementation of Nazi policies often got away scot free.

The expulsion of some twelve to sixteen million people from their homes amid the chaos at the end of World War II was, it can be argued, genocidal in intent and, given the two million who died in the process, at least partially so in accomplishment. The millions were brutally expelled, often with little more than the clothes on their backs, and were forced westward under the continual assaults of their ethnic neighbors seeking revenge. Rape, robbery, murder, starvation, and disease afflicted these folk, who had no recourse but to endure. Often after the most harrowing of journeys the expellees reached the lines of Allied occupation zones only to be turned away and compelled once
again to descend into the maelstrom of hatred and vengeance.

De Zayas points out that the principles of the Atlantic Charter were clearly violated in the case of the German minorities, especially the loudly proclaimed principle that territorial aggrandizement not in accord with the wishes of the resident population would not be imposed. Actually the fate of these German minorities had been sealed in the aftermath of World War I, when new national entities were established containing huge numbers of ethnic Germans. In the interwar years these minorities generally fared badly at the hands of their new rulers and therefore looked with considerable longing to the possibilities of being incorporated in some fashion into a rejuvenated Germany, or at least of having a "big brother" at hand in their struggle to attain equal rights. De Zayas emphasizes that these natural feelings had little or nothing to do with the emergence of Nazism in Germany.

De Zayas painstakingly details the manner in which Eastern European emigré governments during World War II prepared the way for Allied approval of the mass expulsion of Germans following the conflict. Their distortions of fact had a decided effect on the thinking of many Western leaders. Ironically it was Winston Churchill, the nemesis depicted in Goebbels's propaganda to the German people, who foresaw most clearly the immense human tragedy that would result from the mass expulsions and who tried to curb the Eastern European countries' desire for territorial expansion at the expense of the German state.

The Russian invasion of East Prussia aided the Eastern European leaders in getting their way. Hundreds of thousands of German civilians hurried west before the terrifying apparition of the shockingly undisciplined Soviet army. Eastern leaders stated that this exodus had cleared out all the Germans, conveniently ignoring the fact that millions remained. These millions were abruptly ousted once formal conflict had ended.

De Zayas's book has its serious weaknesses. He dabbles in too much post-World War II diplomacy having little to do with his main theme, for example. Nonetheless it is an important work on an enormously important but little known aspect of World War II.

—Norman Lederer

With Nixon by Raymond Price
(Viking; 398 pp.; $12.98)

When the more scholarly revisionists get around to restructuring our memories of Watergate and Richard Nixon's presidency, they will no doubt be grateful for memoirs as comprehensive and, for the most part, candid as this one by Raymond Price. Price was Nixon's chief speechwriter and a close personal friend (he still is the latter). Four years after Nixon's resignation, when there is no threat of his making a comeback, perhaps even the purest Nixon-hater can afford a foray into dispassionate reflection on what it was all about. With Nixon is a welcome guide to such reflection.

Price makes too much of a point of his not fitting the stereotype of the right-wing partisan. "I happen to be pro-abortion, anti-censorship, and pro-gun control . . . ." It is as though, beneath his persuasive polemic against the liberal opposition, he still subscribes to the liberal definition of a good guy and wants to be counted as one. Then, too, he embarks upon lengthy and simplistic explanations of his newly discovered knowledge of the left brain (analytic)-right brain (synthetic) distinction in order to understand the "dark side" and "bright side" of his president. These are relatively minor faults, however, in a book that succeeds splendidly in telling it like it was—from the vantage point of those on the inside of the tragedy.

Predictably Price comes back again and again to the double standards, hypocrisy, and viciously distorted partisanship of those who were out to "get" Nixon under the guise of protecting the Republic. His citations of chapter and verse build an impressive case against the "lords spiritual" of the news media. House majority leader O'Neil declared in the very month of Nixon's second inauguration, following the landslide victory over McGovern, that Nixon would be impeached before his term was up. This and many similar statements, says Price, make it evident that the Watergate investigation was hardly a disinterested search for justice. Price is outraged also by the fact—and there are few who would dispute it—that all presidents since Roosevelt had (with the apparent exception of Eisenhower) engaged in illegal and extralegal activities far beyond anything even alleged in connection with Watergate. Nixon's bad fortune was that he got caught by a hostile Congress and press that were out for blood. Here, too, Price is careful to back up his claims with impressive, if not conclusive, evidence.

For Price, the chief villains in the Nixon entourage were Charles Colson and John Dean. His critique of Archibald Cox as an unmitigated tool of the Kennedy political machine puts a quite different light on the notorious "Saturday night massacre." In Price's version, Elliot Richardson appears as a man of considerable honor and restraint who was trapped by Cox into playing a role he did not want in the scenario written by Nixon's enemies.

On Nixon himself there are intriguing vignettes. Not of the kind that will convict or acquit him in anyone's mind, but of the kind that reveal the nature of the man himself. At several points Price offers almost verbatim accounts of Nixon's conversations with cabinet and staff, and one is appalled by Nixon's unsuresness about himself and his part in

New from ORBIS

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMANITY
by Marjorie Hope & James Young
"A hopeful note for the future of nonviolent action. It should be of interest to those who are for the first time considering the role of nonviolent action in causing social change." Win Cloth $8.95, Paper $4.95

HOW THE OTHER THIRD LIVES
edited by Margaret White & Robert Quigley
An essential anthology for anyone interested in the Third World and its meaningful and unpredictable literature. Cloth $9.95, Paper $4.95

ORBIS BOOKS, Maryknoll, NY 10545