

program of relief work among prisoners of war. This book consists of letters and diary entries recording Heald's impressions from his arrival in Petrograd in September 1916 until his departure from Vladivostok in May 1919. It is an account of a rather conventional-minded man trying to do a difficult job amid tumultuous events which he nonetheless attempted to record faithfully. As Professor Gidney says in his preface: "Heald was in no sense a scholar. This is not intended as a denigration; indeed it is one of his advantages. He is not tendentious about many historical questions because he does not know they are questions. Extraordinarily good at reporting what he himself saw and experienced, he is not particularly good at relating it to larger issues and seems singularly incurious about some matters on which we are still arguing."

Thus it is not politics, but everyday life as it was affected by profound political transformations, which comes through to us. Heald had an eye for detail, which enabled him to capture well the terrible uncertainties that tormented so many Russians as they tried to make their way in circumstances that were at once familiar and bizarre. He was in Petrograd when the tsar abdicated, in Kiev when the Bolsheviks seized power, and in Siberia during most of 1918 and during 1919 until his departure. His Siberian travels brought him into contact with the redoubtable Czechoslovak Legion, Kolchak's armies (Kolchak, he wrote—displaying his political biases—was "not Czarist, not autocrat, not playing with Bolshevik leaders, but an able man who is trying to restore sufficient order so that the Russians can say what kind of a government they want"), the American expeditionary force at Vladivostok, and the Japanese; and he has left us vivid descriptions—and a number of photographs, the best of which are included in the book—of them all. His accounts contain no revelations. They add nothing of moment to the historical record. But they make fascinating reading, and as such they justify Professor Gidney's careful editorial labors.

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ISTORIJA VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR, 1917–1970. Vol. 2: 1945–1970 GG.  
Edited by *A. M. Aleksandrov* et al. Moscow: "Nauka," 1971. 519 pp. 2.41 rubles.

This work, together with a companion volume published in 1966 which covered the period up to the close of World War II, is intended by its editors and authors (all ranking Soviet diplomats or prominent publicists in the area of foreign relations) as an official apologia for the role of the USSR in international affairs. The authors stress three major themes. For them the postwar world is characterized by the supremacy of American monopoly capitalism, which has supplanted waning European imperialism as the chief exploiter of the masses and as the global policeman of reaction. The menace of American power is offset, in their view, by the emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower and by the expansion of communism into a commonwealth of socialist nations which functions as a bulwark of peace. These latter developments have facilitated the third principal trend on the international scene, the rise of national-liberation movements in the underdeveloped countries, which, with the support of the socialist camp, are throwing off the yoke of colonial oppression. None of this is new to students of Soviet foreign policy rhetoric.

The book is harsh in tone and hyperbolic in expression. The power and influence of the USSR and its allies are vastly overstated and the glowing assessment of the long-term successes of Soviet diplomacy is wildly optimistic. Thus the Sino-Soviet split was perpetrated by the chauvinistic and power-crazed coterie around Chairman Mao. The cold war was deliberately unleashed by the United States in a bid for world domination. Israel appeared on the international scene as a tool of the moguls of capitalism in their effort to maintain control of Middle Eastern oil. Finally, in 1968 the Russians manifested the highest degree of brotherly love by saving the Czechoslovak people from the ravages of "domestic counter-revolutionary forces with the active support of international imperialist reaction" (p. 359). Such is the starkly Manichaean world of the authors.

This work is based on a relatively impressive diversity of sources, considering the polemical nature of the book and the exclusive reliance on *Pravda* and the *Sochineniia* of Lenin so typical in Soviet treatises on foreign policy. Brezhnev and Lenin are quoted only occasionally, while references to both Soviet and Western published documents (such as *The Congressional Record* and the Vandenberg papers) abound in the notes. More surprising yet, the authors frequently cite material from the Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki SSSR. The sections on the early cold war period are thickly laced with archival citations, but little use has been made of the archives for the 1950s and 1960s. Unfortunately this rather novel inclusion of archival materials has failed to produce any great revelations. In fact, many of the documents cited have been available from other sources for a long time (for example, the communiqués of the Council of Foreign Ministers). The authors have also used a selection of Western books and memoirs, though no thorough survey of the pertinent literature has been attempted. Although a few of the earlier American critics of U.S. foreign policy are mentioned, the liberal and radical revisionists (Williams, Alperovitz, Horowitz, and so forth), who are currently challenging the traditional Western interpretation of the cold war, strangely have been ignored.

Despite numerous citations to a wide range of sources, this book is not a scholarly examination of Soviet diplomacy since World War II. It is a handbook for the working politician or the agitation and propaganda specialist. Its value for the Western reader lies in its clear and forceful exposition of the official Soviet interpretation of modern international relations.

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DOKUMENTY VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR. Vol. 17: 1 IANVARIA-31 DEKABRIA 1934 G. Compiled by G. K. Deev, F. P. Dolia, K. A. Krutikov, V. I. Popov, P. P. Sevost'ianov, and M. D. Iakovlev. Moscow: Politizdat, 1971. 879 pp. 1.75 rubles.

The year 1934 found Russia in the midst of a profound economic and political transition. The First Five-Year Plan had ended. The Second was under way. The reverberations of collectivization were still echoing in Soviet society. Stalin continued the consolidation of his power. True, the horrors of the Great Purges were still ahead, but the assassination of Kirov in December presaged the train of events toward bloodletting. In the face of these internal reorderings, peace was essential to the Soviet state. Time was needed to achieve a measure of economic strength, political stability, and defensive force. But contemporary international developments