BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL ISSUES

RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHY


The present author argues that Marx’s materialism is of value for important branches of theology (biblical research and the analysis of moral attitudes in ecclesiastical history, though not systematic theology). Essential in the argument is his concentration on the “mature” Marx: Capital and related works mainly. The core is an analysis of a “forgotten text”, viz., Werke edition, XXIII, pp. 392f., note 89. The inferences are challenging: the materialism of the mature Marx must not be understood ontologically (in which case it would be a pseudo-religion), but as a method of authentic scientific research (Marx may be called a methodical atheist). Consequently the relation between basis and superstructure is not a causal one; it is only stressed by Marx methodologically, in order to explain phenomena in the superstructure. In this connection the author interprets the terms bedingen, bestimmen and erklären with the shrewdness of a lawyer, but he does not discuss the relation between science and the reality investigated. His knowledge of Marx’s thought seems one-sided (note the misinterpretation of one of the Theses on Feuerbach on p. 156), nor has he turned to good account the available secondary literature. Some references, including the quite crucial one on p. 224, note 31, are dead leads.

SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE


According to Mr Friedman “the main theoretical barrier against analysis of concrete micro situations within the Marxian framework has been the absence of explicit consideration of class struggle, particularly struggle within productive activity.” Avoiding this mistake (and criticizing Harry Braverman, cf. IRSH, XX (1975), pp. 281f.), the author presents a clear picture of managerial strategies and of segmentations inside the working
class. The advantages of this approach are illustrated in some “industry-area studies” of British nineteenth-century textile and twentieth-century motor-car industries. The approach also serves to explain the continued existence of areas of deprivation alongside areas of prosperity within cities or regions in advanced capitalist countries. The investigation results in the incorporation of a number of new categories and concepts into Marx’s analysis. So the value of labour power is slightly redefined “to mean the labour time necessary to produce the goods which are politically and socially necessary to keep workers’ labour power (as a class) available to capitalists”. “The wage, at base, depends not on need, but on struggle.”


Four years after the publication of the French original an English translation of Louis Henry’s general introduction to the science of demography became available. This is a lucid textbook, illustrated with numerous tables and diagrams, and as the author has been a pioneer in historical demography, it is bound to have a special appeal for historians. The index to the present volume is more detailed than the one to the French edition.


The present author has systematically analyzed Kautsky’s and Lenin’s theories of imperialism. He asserts that neither has fully applied Marx’s method to political economy, though he does not explicitly describe this method. His analysis is ahistorical: no attention is paid to the historical context (cf. the misunderstanding of Kautsky’s stance in 1914 on p. 161), and developments in the work of Marx, Kautsky and Lenin are not sufficiently taken into account. He contends that changes in Kautsky’s thought are a matter of degree, not of principle, but then he does not seem to know the study by Marek Waldenberg (cf. IRSH, XVIII (1973), p. 317).


Dr Löwy has been able to make use of the Lukács papers in Budapest, which have yielded some interesting details on Lukács’s intellectual and political development. Unfortunately the account is hemmed in between two highly theoretical chapters on the sociology of the anti-capitalist intelligentsia and the radicalization of the intellectuals today, and Lukács is made the object of a case-study rather more than his idiosyncratic features would warrant. A hitherto unpublished interview with Ernst Bloch is appended.

The Spanish author approaches the social and political philosophy of the young Hegel in Marxist terms, not in its own; moreover, he is not really alive to Hegel’s specifically German background. These flaws are still aggravated by an abundance of grammatical and/or printing errors, e.g., “Consequently, the logic of the Concept will be substituted a half century later for a logic of Capital”.


Stimulated by the debate on the convergence of capitalist societies, Dr Scase has made a comparison between Britain and Sweden. He gives a useful assessment of the history of Swedish Social Democracy and trade unions, which to a certain degree refutes the Michels thesis. In his conclusion he suggests “that the emergence of an influential working-class movement in Sweden has led to the development of an egalitarian ideology, creating strains which could, in the long term, lead to changes in patterns of economic and social inequality as they have been generated by the institutions of contemporary capitalism”. It is due to the weaknesses of the Labour Party that the same cannot be said of Britain.


Beginning with Lycurgus and ending with Terrasson, the compiler reproduces the title pages of the most important editions of 153 Utopian writings. In addition he comments upon the historical setting and the contents of each item, often in considerable detail. The volume, which will be followed by a second one, is a very welcome bibliographical contribution. The introductory essay on More and Münzer as well as the appended typology are less conspicuous for their value. Separate indices of authors, titles, names and subjects are appended.

HISTORY

The editor has brought together thirty essays on the mediaeval townsfolk, which were written in the years 1898-1968 and are at present hard to obtain. Vol. I focuses on legal and institutional aspects, Vol. II on social and economic themes. The selection takes into account previous volumes of the *Wege der Forschung* series. The essays are written by scholars such as Otto Brunner, Philippe Dollinger, Georges Espinas, Theodor Mayer, Henri Pirenne and others. They document the genesis of the *status quaestionis*, but do not deal with Eastern Europe. Each volume has an index of persons and towns.


The author presents a brief introduction to the history of Trotskyism. This movement is to him, indeed, the "real Soviet Communism" because of its emphasis on council democracy. All kinds of Trotskyists are active in this tradition. In doing so they fulfil six different functions which are seen as beneficial to the world movement of Communism. Special attention is paid to the German Trotskyists. In an appendix Mr Bartsch gives eleven documents in facsimile. An index would have been welcome.


The present volume is a reprint of *Rogues, Rebels, and Reformers*, which was noticed in IRSH, XXIII (1978), p. 303, and in addition, printed as Parts II-V, a series of detailed case-studies of crime, conflict and public order in London, Stockholm, Sydney and Calcutta since the end of the eighteenth century. The additional parts constitute so to speak the flesh of this history; they are provided with numerous tables and graphs of their own.


Owing to financial problems, which have been solved in the mean time, the present volume of this yearbook of historical research in the Federal Republic covers two years, the year 1975 being more or less skipped. For the rest the organization is the same as in the preceding volume. Among the conference reports we mention that on the Bielefeld symposium on working-class culture (1977).

**RUPP, LEILA J.** Mobilizing Women for War. German and American Pro-

After two chapters on the public image of woman in Nazi Germany and the United States the author deals with the mobilization of women for the war effort (outside the armed forces) in both countries. Though the stereotypes used had pretty much in common, the propaganda campaign waged by the American Government was a real success, whereas the German female labour-force hardly changed. The volume is partly based on unpublished source material.


Although Professor Winkler is prepared to take historical materialism seriously, his “revisionist” approach is often tantamount to a trenchant criticism. This is particularly the case in the last of the three essays that make up the present volume, where he disposes of the theorizing on Fascism as practised by the German New Left. The other essays are a reprint of the author’s contribution to the festschrift for Hans Rosenberg (cf. IRSH, XX (1975), p. 118), and an aperçu of the problem of political power in the writings of Marx and Engels.

OTHER BOOKS


CONTINENTS AND COUNTRIES

AFRICA

Algeria


The present volume focuses less on the socio-economic than on the politico-ideological side of the emergence of classes in Algeria from colonial times up to 1976. Unlike the Turkish domination, French colonialism broke down most of the traditional Algerian economy and society. It set in motion an agrarian revolution similar to the one in England. After independence the petty bourgeoisie has become the dominant class, “the one that has control over some means of production and over the organization of all
modes of production". The author proposes changes in the current Marxist concept of class in order to make it fit a situation like the Algerian. Most important here is her opinion that one should not look at the ownership of the means of production in the first place, but at the aspect of appropriation and control of labour.

**AMERICA**


Two overall chapters on the history of the working-class movement in Latin America are followed by a number of case-studies on urban organized labour in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Cuba. The general weakness of organized labour is related to the dependent status of the subcontinent. Both are laid at the door of the “imperialists”, but also at that of the “reformist” trade unionists in the United States.

**United States of America**


The present account is based on a five-month experience as a 32-grade (lowest-level) bench hand at the Merrimack Valley Works of Western Electric at North Andover, Massachusetts. Apart from a description of the work situation Mr Balzer relates the reactions of his colleagues and of himself to certain events. Some of the workers are more fully characterized through interviews, of which mainly the answers are reproduced. Their attitudes towards the plant as a whole (beyond the shop-floor level) do not come up for discussion. According to the author much of the discontent was aroused by the environment and by a basic distrust of the management; regarding the latter he suggests the expedient of more work democracy. The volume is richly illustrated with many photographs by the author, some of which are of a high quality.


This at times brilliant study combats the common opinion that American feminism originated in the abolitionist movement. The author describes an almost dialectical process. As a result of urbanization and industrialization woman’s position and identity (entirely recognized in colonial times) were challenged. Ideologically woman’s personality became reduced to the “woman-belle ideal”, yet “from the subtle synthesis of urbanization and woman’s quest for self-realization emerged the origins of American
This feminism developed particularly through the female benevolent organizations during the years 1800-60. The account is based on a host of primary sources: diaries, private letters, female fiction and non-fiction literature, (mostly English!) paintings, and periodicals issued by women’s organizations. However, we would like to point out that the author systematically underestimates the impact of industrialization and does not try to establish the role of the abolitionist movement in the genesis of American feminism.


The author has examined many archives in both America and Italy. From the latter he derives a picture of Italian emigrants striving to keep from sliding into an undifferentiated proletarian mass. They expected to find in America a better opportunity to raise their status. The Italian immigrants were future-oriented and prepared to adapt themselves to their new environment to a certain degree. Professor Briggs lays much stress upon the congruence between their values and expectations and those of American society in general. This is illustrated by detailed investigations into the Italian colonies in Rochester and Utica, New York, and Kansas City, Missouri. Much of the evidence presented by the author contradicts the work of Edward C. Banfield, who is severely criticized.


According to the present author the development of the American proletarian novel in the above years must be considered autonomous, since formative European influences cannot be established. He analyzes Robert Cantwell’s Land of Plenty, Tom Kramer’s Waiting for Nothing, Henry Roth’s Call it Sleep, and Richard Wright’s Lawd Today, which shed light on the lives of a worker, a hobo, a Jew and a Negro, respectively. His conclusion is, in the words of the English summary, that the “readers of American proletarian novels learn much about the lot of the American working-class, but little about how to change it”, a one-sidedness which is not conducive to their mobilization.


Dr Campbell, an expert on the subject, raises in quite a technical way a lot of problems (such as equity in treatment, old-age retirement and the financing of social security) relating to the American social-security system. She presents many historical facts (e.g., regarding demography and wages), and also extracts from many documents from the period 1973-77, most of which
have already been printed elsewhere. The author elucidates the history of the American social-security system and the way it works. Her book also contains legislative recommendations.


"This book seeks to understand the evolution of the 20th-century American system of sex roles and the process through which change in that system is now taking place.” The author, who has already another book on the subject to his name (cf. IRSH, XVIII (1973), p. 464), regards women as a minority group in the definition of Louis Wirth. Contrasting them with other minority groups, he shows the usefulness (and the limits) of this approach. His conclusion is that collective action has flourished in periods of general social upheaval. Some of the seven essays that make up the volume have already been published elsewhere.


The urban crisis in Detroit is ultimately caused by contradictions inherent in capitalism, according to the author. To elucidate this, she explores the history of the different classes and tensions between them in the city from the eighteenth century up to 1970. This investigation is amplified with a very interesting analysis of relations (e.g., between corporations, kinship relations and social relations such as club memberships) within the city's ruling class, and with an assessment of the function of ideology and socialization processes in Detroit society. From these the ruling class appears to be highly organized. The author concludes that the workers in the city have to organize themselves politically in a united front (because of the general failure of the trade unions, which are per se incapable of such an organization) in order to prevent a solution of the urban crisis along the lines of ruling-class proposals.


Professor Foner traces the impact (and its causes) of labour on the American Revolution. His main attention is devoted first to the Sons of Liberty (mostly those in Boston, Charleston, New York and Philadelphia), and the way they came to be dominated by the mechanics in the years previous to 1774. From this year all kinds of workers (including slaves) are dealt with. The author states that during the Revolution and the War of Independence labour was in the forefront of the struggle with two interlinked objects: independence and a greater measure of democracy. Throughout the book there is a balanced discussion of the existing historiography on the subject.

In the present volume Professor Gutman has collected seven essays written during the past twenty years, and already published before elsewhere. The most important is the first essay, from which the title of the volume has been taken. “The subjects in these essays range widely in order to explore the beliefs and behavior of ordinary working Americans.” Thus the volume is representative of Gutman’s work, which goes beyond the scope of conventional American social historiography. In his introduction the author not only comments on his own development as a historian, but also refreshingly criticizes a tendency to overspecialize in the field of social history.


Concentrating on the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the author examines the elites in the steel industries of six American cities: Bethlehem, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wheeling and Youngstown. He focuses both on the ethnic and social backgrounds of these high-ranking families and on their social links (marriage, clubs, schools, living areas, etc.). “With some variations as to size, age, cultural background and community independence, each of the cities studied created, or attempted to create, remarkably similar systems of upper-class status selection.” This led to continuity in the social composition of the elites, which appear to have been more community-oriented than is usually thought.


These are the recollections of an automobile worker who later became an official in the education department of the UAW. The vivid account of his boyhood (he worked as a grinder hand in Detroit), his transition to Socialism and his experiences during the 1930’s is followed by a more analytical description of his UAW years. Being a radical Socialist, he observes how the UAW became two UAWs: “one is noted for its social unionism. And the other one? This is the UAW that cooperates with management in disciplining workers on the job.” The latter is the one-party union, within which the author expects a breakthrough by the rank and file round the question: “Who controls the work?”

The present examination of the lives of some fifty “bonanza kings”, who made their careers in the period 1870-1900, intends to revise the current picture of these Western mining industrialists. Turner’s frontier thesis is vindicated as far as it concerns social mobility. The author analyzes the personal ability of those industrialists and several aspects of their managerial policy (alliances with capital and technological scientists, policy towards workers, etc.) to explain their success. This explanation suggests a type of entrepreneur who had much in common with his big brothers in the East of the United States.


With expert knowledge the British author discusses the several aspects of the equalitarian tradition in the United States. It is not only for the sake of exposition and analysis that he makes a distinction between equality before the law, equality of esteem, equality of opportunity, political, religious and sexual equality. Even if all these types are “self-evident”, they are neither identical nor necessarily mutually compatible.


“To understand how the American labor movement proposed to meet the challenge of industrial change, and to discover how other groups reacted to organized labor’s positions and actions, is the purpose of this volume.” Industrialization had various unfavourable consequences such as unemployment, loss of status and overproduction, and the trade unions had to experiment with new types of counter-offensive. There are separate chapters on apprenticeship, female and child labour, the eight-hour day, and immigration.

ASIA


This is a recommendable account of the complicated history of the Baath Party in and outside Syria, from the beginnings during World War II until the final schism in February 1966. Among many other things, the author pays attention to the “Socialism” issue in the party, and especially to the latter’s differentiation and transformation in the course of the years.

The present volume is very much the result of the Ninth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (1973). The discussions of this congress are published in Part III. The contributions grouped in Part I are mostly concerned with traditional structures, and include a critique of the sociology of Louis Dumont by Owen M. Lynch. In Part II the focus is on social and cultural change in contemporary India and Sri Lanka. Interesting is the contribution by Joan P. Mencher, in which she observes that the class-consciousness of the landless labourers in Kerala has increased because of the implementation of the Land Reform (Amendment) Act in 1970.

**China**


In this detailed investigation, much of which is based on research in original Chinese material, Professor Hofheinz stresses the importance of the early Chinese peasant movement for the ideas and policies of the Chinese Communist leadership after 1927. Although the failure of the Autumn Harvest Insurrection and the peasant movement must be ascribed to “the critical facts of Chinese politics of the day” (the fact that after 1923 the small Communist Party was failing behind others in growth; a misinterpretation of Leninism by the Communists; “the immunity of much of the countryside to radical peasant movement tactics”), it put a marked stamp on Mao Zedong and his followers: “ruralism, militarization, the worship of numbers, a fierce autonomy”. The author shows that Mao “was not the dominant peasant movement leader his Peking biographers would like us to believe”. The second of the two appendices to this important book is of interest: an examination of the various versions of Mao’s Hunan Report.


The author describes, chronologically and in detail, various educational institutions in China, France, Japan and Soviet Russia, their programmes, and their influence on the Chinese CP. She shows that different institutions produced different types of alumni. Soviet models appear to have affected Chinese Communism in complex ways, and the author asserts that the educational programmes “produced more changes in behavior and outlook before 1949, when revolution and war demanded a very high level of commitment and sacrifice”, than afterwards. Education functioned first and foremost as a source of cohesion and commitment, and is seen as an important factor in the success of the Chinese CP. The treatment of the quite crucial Jiangxi period is less detailed due to the absence of adequate sources.

These extracts from Professor Swisher’s diary and from letters he wrote during his stay as an instructor of history in Guangzhou (Canton) give a vivid impression of what happened there, and of rural life at the time as well. Fifteen rare photographs, probably taken by Swisher shortly after the collapse of the Guangzhou Soviet, sustain this impression. The extracts are complemented by some translations Swisher made of Guangzhou Soviet pamphlets and of newspaper articles, plus two essays he wrote after his return to the United States. The editor does not account for his editorial policy.


In 1972, when she was still “the most powerful woman in the world” yet “found herself unrecognized by the world”, Jiang Qing told the story of her eventful life to the American Roxane Witke. The latter has here confined herself to a mere biography, although she had come to China in order to study revolutionary women and culture, and Jiang Qing would no longer seem in need of being publicized. The performance of Mao’s wife during the Cultural Revolution is perhaps the most interesting part of the volume.

Japan


The opening volume of this international dictionary of labour biography was reviewed in IRSH, XVII (1972), p. 754. The first (A-L) of the two volumes devoted to Japan is a pioneering enterprise even by Japanese standards. Protagonists and militants of a considerable variety of social movements are included, but on the other hand the post-war generation is not represented. The Japanese contributors and the translators have attempted to present the information as lucidly and as consistently as possible. Moreover, Professor Shiota has provided an historical outline and a chronological table.

Korea

The present volume is a well-documented analysis of the factional struggles that went on in the North Korean Workers' Party for more than ten years. The "native" Communists, who had fought Japanese imperialism in their own country, soon lost ground to the various factions of former émigrés. At the same time the volume is an account of the rise of Kim Il-sŏng, a "thoroughgoing Machiavellian" and a "master of timing and exploitation", to undisputed power.

OTHER BOOKS


The Philippines


On the basis of interviews with surviving participants as well as of unpublished sources, the author has written a quite sympathetic case-study of the Hukbalahap resistance against the Japanese and the ensuing Huk rebellion. In his view the main cause of the latter was the disintegration of the traditional patron-client relationship in the countryside. The Huks had a moderate and essentially conservative programme of action, and the Communists only joined the rebellion at a later stage (1948).

AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA

Australia


The constitutional crisis of 1975, which culminated in the dismissal of the Labour Government by the Governor General, has already given rise to a considerable literature. The above volume has its origin in a lawyers' seminar held at the University of Melbourne, and the focus is on the constitutional issues of the years 1972-75. However, in the final contribution, by the then Prime Minister Whitlam, a political note predominates. There are several appendices, one of them being the text of the Australian Constitution.
EUROPE


The author has made a very detailed and wide-ranging comparative inquiry, from a juridical point of view, into the representation of factory workers in Belgium, Britain, France and Luxembourg. Concerning Britain he proposes legislation on works councils to be created, which "would bring a rapprochement between employers and employees and consequently help ameliorate industrial relations within the establishment". As for the workers' representatives in Britain he would like to introduce, via legislation, more uniformity in the position of the shop-stewards, which would diminish the influence of the trade unions. In the notes the reader is provided with a huge amount of detailed information.


The present volume has its origin in the Schouler Lectures delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1974. While the landed upper classes in Britain (F. M. L. Thompson), Prussia, Russia, Spain and France were so different that they do not admit of generalization, their distinctive features are thrown into proper relief. A useful index is appended.


The period 1968-75 saw a rapid intensification of industrial conflict. This became the object of a research project with international participation, initiated by the late Serge Mallet in 1973. The results of the project are published in the present two volumes, the first of which gives factual descriptions of industrial conflict in individual countries: Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic. Vol. 2 presents eleven comparative analyses, focusing on the relation between industrial militancy and occupational structure, the impact of new groups of workers, the effects of changes in industrial conflict on the internal politics of trade unions, the role of the State, etc. The concluding chapter by the second editor elaborates a new theoretical framework to analyze industrial conflicts.

Austria

Botz, Gerhard. Wien vom "Anschluß" zum Krieg. Nationalsozialistische Machtübernahme und politisch-soziale Umgestaltung am Beispiel der
BIBLIOGRAPHY


The present Habilitationsschrift is a detailed and pioneering study of the first eighteen months of the Nazi regime in Vienna; to a considerable degree it is based on unpublished source material. Among the aspects that come up for discussion we mention the "polycratic" nature of the regime, its actual policies and, last but not least, the (changing) response of the Viennese population. A largely statistical Nazi report on Vienna (1941) is appended.


Dr Bücking, who died four years ago at the age of thirty-five, was a promising expert on the history of the Tyrol in the early modern era. The present volume is a study of Gaismair and his socio-economic background, but also of his reputation in various quarters, including Nazism and Marxism-Leninism. The author's own view of Gaismair's career as a radicalization process recurs in the title if this is taken in a chronological sense. Josef Macek, whose book was noticed in IRSH, XI (1966), p. 307, is severely criticized.


This voluminous biography of the Christian Social statesman breathes a spirit of deep sympathy. The author is always prepared to side with Seipel in his strained relations with the Socialists, and helavishly quotes from his letters and diaries to that effect. The various aspects of Seipel's career and of his political record come up for discussion in a balanced way.

Belgium


Like their predecessors the present volumes consist of separate sections dealing with social legislation, industrial relations, trade unionism, the European dimension, and employment-unemployment. In addition the volume on 1976 includes a section on negotiations in which the Government took part.
Eire — Ireland


This voluminous doctorate thesis (Bonn) treats in detail the Irish struggle for independence (1916-22). The description is based upon an extensive investigation into many archives (in England, the Federal Republic and Eire), from which the author presents long quotations in the original language. The role of De Valera is reduced, and the struggle for full independence appears to have made an independent Ireland including Ulster hardly possible. There is neither a summary in English nor an index.

Other Books


France


The present Vol. VI of the Archives Bakounine covers the controversial role played by the Russian Anarchist during the Franco-German War, notably in the Lyonnese episode of September 1870. Part of the material has already been published by Fernand Rude in his documentation De la guerre à la Commune, which was noticed in IRSH, XVII (1972), p. 757. Russian letters (including those not written by Bakunin) are given both in the original and in a translation here. L’Empire knouto-germanique will be published in the next volume of the series.


This study combines, in a meaningful way, a prosopographical and socio-historical analysis of the Strasbourg town councillors during the reign of Charles V with a discussion of the political aspects of the local Protestantization process. The two approaches turn out to be mutually illuminating. Not only are the Protestantization process and notably the crises of the mid 1520's and the late 1540's related to the dual structure of the ruling class, but at the same time those crises might be said to X-ray this structure under different circumstances.

Contemporary France. Illusion, Conflict, and Regeneration. Ed. with an
"These essays have been chosen simply because they suggest a variety of significant issues in France from the end of the nineteenth century to that point in the twentieth beyond which perhaps the shape of things becomes too uncertain to proceed." The contributors include Zeev Sternhell (on Déroulede), Annie Kriegel ("The French Communist Party and the Problem of Power (1920-1939)"), Arthur Mitzman (a reprint of the article published in IRSH, IX (1964), pp. 363ff.), Roger Bourderon ("Was the Vichy Regime Fascist?") and Richard Kuisel ("Technocrats and Public Economic Policy"). The editor has provided an annotated bibliography.


The author of this large-size volume focuses on two periods of violent action by wine-growers in Southern France (Languedoc-Roussillon): 1907 and 1975-77. The revolt of 1907 is described in a factual day-by-day account. The wine-growers were apolitical in their actions until 1975, whereafter they took the side of the Socialists and the Communists. The author does not fully succeed in explaining this change, but he gives a good insight into the causes of the difficult situation viticulture in Southern France finds itself in: the EEC and the weak policy of the French Government. He also sheds light on the commercialization and concentration of enterprises, which affect small wine-growers. The account is vividly illustrated with many reproductions and photographs.


This doctorate thesis (Gottingen) sets out to analyze the policy of the Majority Socialists in France during the First World War. According to the author this policy has stayed for years "in the dark of an illusorily perverted historical image", put forth by Rosmer and adopted by Kriegel, Haupt and Woh1. His account, to a large extent based on archives in Paris and in the Interational Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, is very much in favour of the Majority Socialists round Renaudel and Thomas. The policy of the minority round Longuet and of the Zimmerwald group round Merrheim and Bourderon is presented as inspired by war-weariness and much less oppositional than has been thought. The importance of the vacuum caused by the murder of Jaurès is thrown into bold relief. Dr Grossheim's analysis would have gained by a less exclusive focus on the Socialists. The compact typography makes for strenuous reading and there is no index.

The present volume is a case-study, based on a limited sample of official PCF documents, of the Communist mode of discourse during the 'sixties. The author shows that the keywords and their syntactic use (the "chaînes préfabriquées") are closely related to the Communist ideology. In the second part of his book he analyzes changes and adaptations, notably those of 1968.


The author investigates the policy of the PCF towards the French colonies during the years 1944-47 from a Maoist vantage point. In this period the party denied the expediency, for the time being, of the independence of the colonies, after it had abandoned a genuine Leninist policy in this respect during the 'thirties. In the first years after World War II French imperialism experienced a crisis, yet the PCF strove for an imperial France as a superpower, which was in line with Soviet policies. Mr Madjarian endorses his argument by an analysis of the various struggles for independence in the French colonies at the time.


The central thesis of this study is that economic growth has not lessened social inequality, in spite of a general rise in living standards. Following Bourdieu and others, the author discerns three classes: classe supérieure, classe moyenne, classe populaire (i.e., farmers, agricultural workers and manual workers). She observes over the past thirty years "a greater tendency towards immobility within each level of the social and class structure than towards movement", and shows how this tendency is strengthened by the educational system and by marriage and other links within the classe supérieure. Her assessment of the role of the media and of ideology is too superficial in comparison with the other parts of her book.


The bulk of the present volume is made up of facsimile reproductions of articles from many newspapers published between May 3 and September 5, 1936. The selections follow the events almost day by day, and the chapters in which they are arranged are provided with adequate introductions. As well as covering political events, the volume contains advertisements and communications about sports, movies etc. The compiler does not hide his sympathy with the Popular Front, yet his selections also include newspapers from the other side (e.g., La Croix and L'Action Française).

The memoirs of Suzanne Voilquin were originally published in 1866. The author tells not only about the Saint-Simonian expedition to Egypt, but also about her previous life. The present volume is a reprint of the memoirs with many excisions, among them the whole of chapter 36. The introduction strikes a feminist note.


“No historian has ever done justice to the role played by Bernard-Lazare in the Dreyfus Affair”, except Siegfried Thalheimer (Macht und Gerechtigkeit). The present author sets out to correct this. Though she describes his anarchist and symbolist ideas, she is interested primarily in the dreyfusard, and she shows that “it is no exaggeration to say that Dreyfus owed his freedom to Bernard-Lazare’s convictions and commitment”. Yet she agrees that Zola’s support (given at the request of Bernard-Lazare) was decisive. Dr Wilson establishes the effect of the Dreyfus Affair upon Bernard-Lazare’s own ideas about the Jews. His stance on Zionism (in the tradition of Moses Hess) and his attitudes towards Herzl proved to be inspired by his anarchism. The biography is largely based on numerous public and private archives (including police files and the Meyerson papers).

Germany


An essay by Professor Bravo called “The Birth of the Political Party of the Proletariat” is followed by thirty documents and extracts relating to the Communist League and its immediate predecessors. Most of the documents have been translated from Vol. 1 of Der Bund der Kommunisten (Berlin 1970), and pertain to ideological as well as political and organizational issues. Two extracts from Weitling’s writings are included.


This source-book has been compiled in view of the paucity of literature on the discussions round the works councils in the Weimar Republic. Vol. 1 contains facsimiles, mostly in Gothic type, of documents bearing on those discussions in the trade unions and the reactions of the employers. The bulk of Vol. 2 consists of a facsimile reprint of Brigl-Matthiass's book Das Betriebsräteproblem (1926). The introductions by Brock and Wilke to Vol. 1 are helpful, and the one to Vol. 2 also touches upon present-day problems concerning the works councils. There is no index.


The present volume consists of fourteen essays dealing with several aspects of the German workers' daily life in the period 1850-1914. The essays are representative of present-day social historiography in Germany. We mention the contributions by F.-W. Henning (the impact of industrialization on the work situation), R. Stahlschmidt (the evolution of the wire-drawer's job during the industrialization process, with an interesting note on the technique of interviewing), F. J. Brüggemeier and L. Niethammer (living conditions in the Ruhr area), and H. J. Teuteberg and A. Bernhard (the nutrition of children in the nineteenth century). Other essays focus on the consequences of industrialization for the churches, on recreation and on education. The volume contains some instructive photographs.


This slightly revised doctorate thesis (Erlangen-Nuremberg 1976) investigates a considerable part of the social history of Augsburg from 1840 to 1914. The focus is on industrialization (mainly textile and machinery industries) and changes in the social composition of the city, especially of the working class. The author deals in some detail with the financial and living conditions of the workers. The last part of her thesis describes strikes and political life in Augsburg. Most of the investigation is based on city archives (the police files turned out to be a particularly rich source) and the archives of the MAN engineering works.


The bulk of the present volume consists of an annotated description of
1,138 pamphlets, often mere leaflets, in the files of the Düsseldorf Gesta-
poleitstelle. Though not all of the items are anti-Nazi, most of them bear witness to some form of opposition or resistance. From a quantitative point of view the origin of the pamphlets is pretty surprising: more than a third is Protestant, to be followed by Roman Catholic, Communist and (a mere handful) Socialist items. A very detailed index to the annotated description is appended. The preceding surveys of the literature and the sources on resistance and persecution in the Rhine and Ruhr area are no less valuable.


This anthology gives contemporary sources as a complement to the existing literature on the main ideological discussions in the SPD during the period 1890-1917, which resulted in the split between SPD and USPD. The volumes are meant to serve an independent and systematic study of the subject. The documents are selected from the well-known writings of the party intelligentsia, but also from newspaper articles. Regarding some items (e.g., the debates on the general strike and on war) the anthology neglects too much the international character of the discussions. The presentation of the documents is sufficient, although no bibliography is appended. The indices (of names and of subjects) are quite superficial, nor are they accu-rate: the first name of Südekum is Albert, those of Troelstra are Pieter Jelles.


After an outline of previous forms of adult education the author presents a very sympathetic account of the Marxistische Arbeiter Schule and its work. This KPD-sponsored institution was very active during the second half of the Weimar era; its teaching staff included famous names like Einstein, Gropius and Piscator.


Dr Tenfelde, whose book on the Ruhr miners was noticed in IRSH, XXIII (1978), p. 164, and the above author have both been financed by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung without anybody thinking of so much as introduc-
ing them to each other. Fortunately Dr Hartmann has an approach and questions of his own; the focus is here on the organizational problems of the Ruhr miners. Until 1889 their movement did not rise above the level of spontaneous strikes and ad hoc strike committees, and it was only after the big strike of that year that the so-called Alter Verband was founded. The circumstances affecting this process, notably the entrepreneurial strategies,
are analyzed in considerable detail. A number of tables and documents are appended.


The present volume contains the papers and discussions of a symposium which was held in Berlin (1976) to examine the inflation in Germany during the period 1914-24 in relation to national and international processes. Economists and historians from Austria, the Federal Republic, France, Britain and the USA attended. The papers discuss many aspects. Interesting for our readers are, inter alia, those delivered by Gerald Feldman (the present state of investigation and problems to be investigated), Thomas Trumpp (the available sources), Jürgen Reulecke (the effects of the inflation on the economy of Barmen), Jens Fleming, Claus-Dieter Krohn and Peter-Christian Witt (reactions of social and political groups), Charles S. Maier (the social causes and consequences of the inflation in an international comparison), and the concluding speech by Otto Büsch, in which he sums up many topics and directions for further investigation. There are two papers in English, one being “Rudolf Wissell, Planwirtschaft and the Free Trade Unions 1919 to 1923”, by David E. Barclay.


Even before becoming a member of the NSDAP the ex-officer and businessman Otto Wagener was appointed Chief of Staff of the SA, and from 1930 to 1932 he headed the party’s newly created Economic Policy Department. In the latter function he championed a kind of corporatism with anti-big-business overtones, which made him clash with Goering and the “reactionaries”. The present volume consists of selections from what he wrote on those years in 1946, when he was a prisoner of the British. The length of the intervening period may account for serious mistakes in the chronology and for a tendency on the part of the author to attribute his own ideas to Hitler. The latter is not represented as an elitist totalitarian, but as something like a Protestant populist who, alas, was misled by the Goerings and the Himmlers in spite of Wagener’s efforts to the contrary. The volume does not really add to our knowledge of Hitler and the Nazi movement; oddly enough it does not include what Wagener had to say on the party crisis of November-December 1932.

As might be expected, most of the contributions to this festschrift for Helmut Hirsch are devoted to the history of the workers' movement and related subjects. There is, to begin with, a translation of Rubel's paper on Marx and Engels that has already appeared in the *Etudes de Marxologie* in 1972. Iring Fetscher publishes a letter of Proudhon dated March 11, 1864, and Paul B. Johnson discusses the reactions in the British labour movement to the First World War (in English). Julius H. Schoeps deals with Wilhelm Stieber and the German émigrés in London, and Joachim Radkau with the political shortcomings of the Germans who fled from Hitler. Hirsch's merits as a man and a historian are set forth by Fetscher and by the first editor, and a bibliography of his writings is appended.


In 1974 Professor Silberner, who meanwhile has also published a biography of Jacoby, edited a first volume of letters written by or to the well-known German democrat (*vide IRSH, XX (1975), p. 298, and XXII, pp. 285f.*). The present volume contains no less than 915 items, many of which are no more than reliable guesses about the contents of lost letters, however. Striking is the high regard in which Jacoby was held by the working-class movement even before he joined the SDAP in 1872.


The two short-lived Stresemann cabinets were broad coalition governments. Driven by stress of circumstances the SPD co-operated with the DVP, at least until the beginning of November 1923, when their demand that the Right in Bavaria be treated as firmly as the Left in Saxony was not met. The present selections of *Reichskanzlei* materials provide a good insight into the numerous problems with which Stresemann and his colleagues (including Hilferding) had to cope. The appendix contains documents that shed light on the role played by General v. Seeckt.


In spite of many gaps in the (primary) source material, the present author has written a good analysis of the life of the Polish immigrants in the Ruhr.
area. His main attention goes to the period 1890-1923, in which masses of unskilled Polish land labourers came to work in the mines. After 1923 many of them went back to Poland, migrated to France or assimilated with the Germans. Dr Klessmann discusses the various measures taken by the authorities to Germanize the Poles (educational and ecclesiastical policies, etc.), which mainly resulted in a strengthening of national Polish organizations and in the development of a certain Polish subculture. The Roman Catholic Church proved to be a strong tie among the Poles, yet social life itself made for integration, e.g., in work situation and marriage, and as a result of social mobility. In the assessment of the integration of the Poles next to nothing is said about their commitment to an independent Polish State.


This mimeographed book examines the political relevance of the post-war strikes and mass demonstrations in the Ruhr area. Among the issues that come up for discussion we mention working and living conditions, the issues of codetermination and socialization, and the roles played by the works councils, the trade unions and the political parties. A number of hitherto unpublished documents are appended.


The SPD fell before 1914 into a political "practicism" due to the fact that the Prussian-German State made a reformist strategy (according to which reforms by the State get the main attention) impossible. Moreover, the SPD leadership round Bebel was not able to unify the different conceptions of the right and left wings of the party into an offensive strategy. Only in the background did Bernstein and Kautsky develop a real Socialist strategy fitting the German situation, and the author recommends that strategy to the present SPD leadership. Apart from the question of reform and revolution in the pre-1914 SPD he discusses the reception of Marxism (an astonishing unanimity between Marx and Lassalle regarding the basic problems of Socialist strategy is observed). Throughout the volume Mr Lehnert criticizes, in a differentiated approach methodologically influenced by the Frankfort School, both SPD (Matthias, Miller, Ritter) and SED historiography. His analysis invites further investigations. There is no separate bibliography, nor is there an index.

PETZINA, DIETMAR, WERNER ABELSHAUSER und ANSELM FAUST. Sozial-

In terms of publication the present volume is the second in a planned series of four; the first to appear was noticed in IRSH, XX (1975), pp. 468f. The bulk of the information provided here consists of figures on demographic developments, the economy, social relations and social conflicts, and society and the State during the First World War, the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich.


Not all of the five studies that make up the present volume are significantly in the field of social history. Of those that are we mention Dr Rupieper's analysis of the social characteristics of the Forty-eighters convicted in Saxony, Dr Volkmann's essay on the modernization of industrial disputes, 1864-1975, and Professor Kaelble’s history of social mobility in Germany, 1900-60 (not identical with his contribution in the Journal of Modern History, L (1978), pp. 439ff.).


On the basis of municipal and industrial archives the author investigates the influence of the Esslingen engineering works on the economic and social status of its workers during the years 1830-1914. The duration of a period of high earnings proved decisive for an individual's upward social mobility. The conditions for arriving at such an income level appear to lay in the workers’ economic, social and geographical origins, which are all investigated via “quantitative biographies”. The same type of biography provides the material for a first presentation of the property the workers possessed. This detailed investigation has high qualities. It is important and stimulating for both its methodological approach and its contents. In an appendix the author presents 45 additional tables, five documents and five biographies.


Fate is an unusual word in the title of a biography, and the present author must have chosen it by design. In his view Marx was a dissatisfied and unhappy man, a Democritus redivivus, his fate being that of Democritus as depicted in the doctorate thesis of 1841, not that of the laughing philosopher
of the tradition. Marx’s inability to complete Capital is given a separate chapter, but the interest he took in suicide is equally adduced as a case in point. The volume smacks of an American counterpart to the contributions by Schwarzschild, Künzli and Raddatz.


In twenty-five papers several aspects of Lorenz von Stein’s thought are dealt with here. The volume is divided into four parts: basic problems, the social State, Government, and Stein’s influence. We mention, more or less at random, the contribution by Hans-Joachim Arndt on the importance of Stein for the understanding of political economy in the twentieth century. Raimund Hörburger writes on Stein’s view of Socialism in 1842, and Francesco De Sanctis on the conception of ownership and labour in his sociology. Karl-Hermann Kästner discusses Stein’s social theory. The volume includes some East European contributions, but also some strongly anti-Marxist ones, which emphasize the relevance of Stein’s thought to present-day Western society. Appended are eleven letters of Stein to Robert von Mohl, and a bibliography of his writings and of secondary literature.


Dr Stachura has ventured upon a quite ambitious one-man project, viz., an annotated bibliography of post-1945 books, articles and even unpublished doctorate theses on the Weimar Republic and the contemporary Nazi movement. The choice he has made is an acceptable one; the thousands of items are systematically arranged, and in addition covered by author and subject indices. Unfortunately the volume is not without serious flaws. The titles are sometimes wrongly reproduced, for instance, right at the beginning, those by Benz and Gossweiler (who is not as stupid as that). The critical annotation proves too much for one man: the comment is often arbitrary and uninformed, and even inconsistent (the translation of Meinecke’s book Die deutsche Katastrophe fares much better than the German original).


Der wahre Jacob is almost forgotten now, although it was one of the most effective satiric periodicals of the German Social Democracy, and very popular (in 1914 it had a circulation of 366,000, which is more than that of Kladderadatsch or Simplizissimus). The present volume contains selections in facsimile reprint, covering the period from 1881 to 1932. The editor has attempted to choose specimens which are still of historical or artistic importance. Introduction and presentation are informative.

It is the author's aim to define more precisely the place of the Oeffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr union as well as the number and variety of employees within its organizational range, and to examine its policies regarding the improvement of working conditions and the emancipation of the workers. The focus is on wages, rationalization, the rights of the employees and codetermination. Developments in governmental policies about wages and rationalization have gradually assimilated the workers in the tertiary sector to the working class in general. An increased propensity to strike, caused by disillusionment at the measures taken by the SPD-FDP Government, only yielded modest results due to the weak union leadership, which failed to develop good alternatives to those measures.

OTHER BOOKS

ARNOLD, HEINZ LUDWIG (Hg.) Handbuch zur deutschen Arbeiterliteratur. 226 pp.

Great Britain


This is the concluding volume, though by no means the last to be published, of the Agrarian History of England and Wales. In more than one respect it differs from the opening volume, which was noticed in IRSH, XII (1967), p. 343: it is not illustrated, it has been written by a single author, and it does not pay much attention to social history. As an account of agricultural and rural economic history during World War I and the inter-war years it really meets a want, however.


A central theme in the present biography of William Morris is the emphasis on his adherence to the Middle Ages. His Socialism is seen as “medieval”
instead of "sentimental" (Engels). According to the author Morris made most impact on the world "simply as a visionary". Apparently Mr Bradley does not aim to meet scholarly standards, nor does he account for his approach. The volume is richly illustrated with reproductions (all in black and white) and some fine photographs.


"The aims of this book [...] are to describe the types of accommodation, both existing and new, which were available to the majority of people in the period between about 1815 and 1970, to measure and evaluate changes in housing quality over time and to seek an explanation of the determinants of built form." The volume, which is confined to the English scene, is aimed at a wide readership and attractively illustrated.


Although the title does not specify this, the present volume tells the story of the Socialist Labour Party. That is to say part of it, owing to the sources and to the author's concern. Dr Challinor does not pay enough attention to the place of the SLP in the British working-class movement, nor to structure and numerical strength of the party. Still his investigation is a welcome addition to Walter Kendall's book The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-21 (cf. IRSH, XIV (1969), pp. 303f.); it is written with sympathy towards the SLP. Most interesting is his critical assessment of the role Lenin ("totally out of touch with what was happening in Britain") and the Comintern played in Britain during the period 1918-20. This had "disastrous effects on the development of revolutionary organisation in Britain".


According to the present author "it was adverse circumstances which played an important part in deciding that an Industrial Revolution should occur in England rather than elsewhere." It produced for all groups of the population a total transformation of living conditions and of moral values. This transformation is very readably described in some detail. The price of progress comes to the fore in descriptions of bad housing and low pay for the workers, the elimination of craftsmen, the destruction of rural areas by the expansion of towns, etc. Cobbett is presented as a commentator asking the right questions out of a passionate belief in the good old days. The account is enriched by a number of well-chosen vivid illustrations.

Cowherd, Raymond G. Political Economists and the English Poor Laws.

“This is a study of the application of economic thought to social policy, especially to the reform of the old Poor Law.” After two chapters on Evangelicalism and Malthusianism the author concentrates on the radical or Benthamite opposition, which carried the day in 1834. In his view the Poor Law Amendment Act was a kind of compromise between classical economics and utilitarianism.


During the first half of the nineteenth century the English farmers were not as deferential in politics as is usually thought. This statement is argued in detail on the basis of many primary sources. With a common interest in protective measures as incentive, the political agitation of the farmers was so vigorous that it forced Robert Peel to resign in 1845. They did not conceive of social and economic change, however, and as their profits improved after 1850 owing to modern agricultural methods their interest in political agitation disappeared.


On a broad basis of primary and secondary sources the author has closely examined the artisan elite in three communities: Deptford, Greenwich and Woolwich. He studies “the specific local formation of a labour aristocracy, its institutions and its place within its own communities”. Its ideology (definitely working-class, but also containing elements from the dominant ideology) proved to be an important stabilizing factor in mid-Victorian society. Especially in his analysis of the labour-aristocratic ideology the author diverges fundamentally from John Foster’s Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution. Foster is charged with a “rigid economic determinism”, which requires a simplistic version of the Mid-Victorian period.


Although the author reviews in detail the history and present state of the financial aspects of strikes, his main attention is given to the role of the State in this respect. He argues that supplementary-benefit payments by the State do not increase the frequency, size or duration of strikes; nor are these payments a substantial part of the income of strikers’ households. Even when they are paid out, the financial sacrifice to trade unions and workers is considerable, whereas strikes seem to inflict relatively little cost on firms.
The author rejects proposals, mainly made by Conservatives, to change the system of benefit payments by the State.


The present volume is the second in a planned series of four, the first of which was noticed in IRSH, XIX (1974), p. 312. This part of the biography is similar to its predecessor in approach and quality. Mr Grigg is sympathetic to Lloyd George, but not uncritical. Most of his attention is devoted to the time when his subject served as Chancellor of the Exchequer, but his private life (including intimate affairs) is considered too. The political activities of Lloyd George show his "awareness of the Liberal Party's need to retain working-class support, and of the ever-present danger that the Labour Party might usurp its position". Thus he became the people's champion in the Government.


The above books, two classics in the field of English working-class history, were first published in 1917 and in 1911, respectively. Subsequent research has tended to provide a picture less gloomy than the one presented by the Hammonds, and these new insights are ably discussed by Dr Lovell and Professor Mingay. The latter's bibliographical note is almost an essay.


This booklet is more than just a stimulating introduction to the controversies about the size of the English population between 1348 and 1530. Dr Hatcher provides the reader with new interpretations and a first presentation of demographic facts concerning the Christ Church Priory at Canterbury. He concludes that mortality (epidemic and infectious diseases were important) rather than fertility was the prime determinant of changes in the population figure in pre-industrial England. Real wages often had merely a secondary influence. Accordingly the applicability of the Malthusian cycle here is questioned.


Having joined the staff of Victor Gollancz Ltd in 1936, the author of this story has been able to draw on inside information as well as on the (incomplete) archives of the firm. "Victor" is almost palpably present
throughout. There is a separate chapter on the famous Left Book Club. The volume is aptly provided with several types of illustration.


The author severely criticizes the social policy of the Tudor dynasty. The dissolution of the monasteries and the Tudor Poor Laws "actually altered traditional practices very little, except that the Dissolution removed one source of poor relief". Much of the Tudor social policy, which is seen as designed to repress and control the lower orders rather than help them, is explained from regnal insecurity of the dynasty and from fear of political and social upheaval. In eight appendices several aspects of the social history of the time are summarized in separate chronologies.


The present volume is important as a first attempt to discover some parts of the terra incognita the history of the lower middle class in nineteenth-century Britain to a very great extent is. The contributions, generally of a high quality, reveal many problems which confront the investigator of the subject. Not the least of these is the stratification of the diverse groups of individualistic people that constituted the lower middle class. Most of the essays deal with the formation of values and ideological convictions in connection with living conditions. Special mention deserves the introductory essay by the editor, which discusses in a subtle way the peculiarities of the British lower middle class compared with that in other European countries.


The editor has brought together fifteen studies, most of them written by sociologists, concerning the influence of the area on the community of the County of Durham. Six of the contributions have already been published elsewhere, three others are extracts from mimeographed reports deposited in the Library of Durham University. Much attention is paid to the history of the area and of its population (from 1918 onwards). Special mention deserve two contributions by the editor: "Employment and Unemployment in Mining 1920-70" and "Change, Policy and Planning since 1918". Of the three appendices the "Guide to Further Reading on County Durham" is the most important.

"The essential argument of this book has been that the failure of the Industrial Relations Act did not arise from conditions unique to industrial relations — such as the alleged inappropriateness of legal regulation — but sprang from the wider conflict between functional and parliamentary representation. It follows that some accepted relationship must be established between the two systems if cooperation and consent is to be secured.” The author’s concern in analyzing the failure of the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 is mainly confined to the cybernetic side of the problem. There is no separate bibliography.


A common starting-point of the eight contributors to the present volume is that the British Welfare State has not been the outcome of a unified process, but rather the resultant of different and even contradictory forces. Thus, J. R. Hay and John Brown draw attention to the concept of social control. Among the other contributions we mention, more or less at random, “The Later Years of the Workhouse 1890-1929”, by M. A. Crowther, “Unemployment and Unemployment Policies in Glasgow 1890-1905”, by J. H. Treble, and “Family Allowances and Less Eligibility”, by John Macnicol.


The author of this popular account of the 1919 police strike suggests that more attention should be paid to the grievances of the policemen concerning their pay and working conditions. His main attention goes to the disturbances in Liverpool, allegedly for “its embittered industrial history and its mixture of communities and loyalties” a city quite similar to present-day England. His description appears to rest mainly upon interviews, newspapers and memoirs; it lacks any specified references to sources.


Dr Evans has brought together a considerable number of extracts that shed light on social attitudes, social ideas and social policies. They are grouped under three headings: “State Intervention: The Tempering of Individualism c. 1830 — c. 1870”, “The Viability of Collectivism, 1870-95”, and “The Birth-pangs of Welfarism, 1895-1914”. Unfortunately the extracts are printed with many excisions.

The present volume is the last of a series, the other four of which were noticed in IRSH, XX (1975), p. 474, and XXII, pp. 464f. It differs from its predecessors in that it not only succinctly describes the papers found among the belongings of the individuals in question, but also often states in which other collections letters etc. written by them can be found. Of the hundreds of men and women included we mention Cole, Laski, the Pankhursts, Bertrand Russell and Bernard Shaw (both covered in considerable detail), Tawney, and Beatrice Webb (Sidney Webb is in Vol. 4).


Although Promenades dans Londres is one of those books that tell more about their author than about their subject, it nevertheless contains solid bits of first-hand information on contemporary England, notably on the seamy side of society. The present volume is a reprint of the second edition (1842), plus the chapter on Owen from the first edition (1840), a useful introduction, a good number of editorial notes, a specified comparison of the two editions, and an index of names.


This checklist contains 4,125 entries on labour periodicals published in the United Kingdom; periodicals in languages other than English are also included. Each entry gives information on the publisher, the place of publication and the period during which the periodical appeared. It also mentions where copies are kept in Great Britain and Ireland, and sometimes the character of the periodical is specified. A classification of the periodicals indicates whether they were produced by workers, by non-workers who took the side of the workers, or by non-workers who just addressed themselves to the workers. The criteria of selection are sufficiently explained, and two indices (one according to date and one according to subject) make the volume even more useful.


“The principle of this book is to transform what is in fact a contemporary
document — the annual editions of *Dod's Parliamentary Companion* — into a compilation of the fullest and most useful entries that Dod provides on each MP's parliamentary career. These little political 'biographies' have been rounded off with material that was no part of Dod's concern: the ostensible cause of a man's departure from the House of Commons, the leading features of his subsequent career, if any, and the date of his death.” The biographies give in a short compass factual information (parentage, address, membership of clubs, career etc.) and a brief indication of political principles and views on controversial or important issues of the person described. The presentation is very carefully done. There are no references to further literature on the MPs in question, however. Vols III and IV of the series will cover the period 1919-75.

OTHER BOOKS


Italy


Drawing upon a wealth of both published and unpublished sources, the Swiss author has written a political biography of Salvemini up to his "democratic interventionism" in 1915. The treatment is both detailed and full of expert knowledge. Salvemini's ambivalent relationship with Socialism (he left the PSI in 1911) and his concern with the North-South problem are among the principal aspects that come up for discussion, but if there is one single theme throughout it is the pursuit of democracy.


The *Statuto dei Lavoratori* was one of the gains labour made in the "hot autumn" of 1969. It is the purpose of the legal studies that make up the present volumes to analyze and evaluate its administration. Special attention is paid to the political background of the law, the propensity of workers and unions to institute legal proceedings, and the attitudes of the judiciary.

OTHER BOOKS

The Netherlands


Mr Frieswik deals with Socialism in the province of Friesland during a period "in which the North of the country held an important place in the whole of the Dutch workers' movement", a statement that is not really substantiated. His somewhat incoherent survey is to a large extent based on primary sources. It deals with the practical actions rather than with the theoretical preoccupations of the Frisian Socialists, who were indeed practice-oriented, emphasizing as they did the struggle for universal suffrage and action for higher wages. The author pays special attention to repressive measures taken by the local authorities and to the activities of Socialist women and youth organizations. Important is the appendix: a list containing the Frisian sections of the Social Democratic League, the number of their members and the period during which they existed. Several well-chosen illustrations are included.


The present volume consists of ten reprinted and rather heavily edited texts on the pre-1914 Dutch working-class movement. These are grouped in the following way: genesis (one contribution by I. J. Brugmans), parliamentarism versus anti-parliamentarism, trade unionism (one contribution by A. J. C. Rüter), Left and Right in the Social Democratic parties, and the denominational trade unions. There is neither index nor bibliography.


This doctorate thesis fills an important gap in Dutch historiography: the history of the twentieth-century antimilitarist and peace movement. The author has mainly confined himself to an analysis of the ideas of Dutch (and Belgian) antimilitarists. The movement reached its height during the 'twenties and 'thirties, when it developed two concepts in antimilitarist and pacifist thought that are still of interest today. The first concerns the problem of a non-violent transition to Socialism, the second the idea of non-violent defence. Dr Jochheim repeatedly analyzes the development of the ideas of Henriette Roland Holst and Bart de Ligt. He shows that antimilitarist thought had already reached a considerable level before the
reception of the ideas of Gandhi. The analysis is based mainly on primary sources, and much of the author's complaint about Dutch historiography regarding political parties is justified. However, the existing literature (theses, memoirs) would have informed him about parties (the CDU and, to a lesser extent, the SDAP) and organizations (e.g., Kerk en Vrede) which he has more or less neglected, and, to some extent, about the influence of the antimilitarist movement.


More than half of the present doctorate thesis is devoted to the living and working conditions of Dutch workers in the years 1870, 1872 and 1880-81. The author provides the results of three inquiries conducted in those years. Pièce de résistance are the 58 reactions Domela Nieuwenhuis received to his questionnaire, which was an adaptation of the draft anonymously published by Marx in the Revue Socialiste of April 20, 1880. Though not representative, this sample of reactions is very important. First because sources on contemporary living and working conditions are scarce, and second because the answers were written by workers themselves. Dr Welcker mentions the latter aspect only in passing. In point of fact she gives lengthy extracts grouped according to the 63 questions posed by Domela Nieuwenhuis, and publication of the reactions in toto and in their original form remains highly desirable. The rest of the volume consists of three essays on Dutch Anarchism (biographies of J. C. Ph. H. Methöfer and H. J. van Steenis, plus a history of the “Walden” community), and one on the relations between the Social Democratic Party and the Dutch Trade Union Congress (NVV) during the latter’s early years. These essays have already been published elsewhere, but are presented here in an extended and rewritten form. A summary in English is appended.

Spain


The present volume is “a vast revision and expansion” of The Grand Camouflage, which was first published in 1961, and reviewed at considerable length in IRSH, VII (1962), p. 157. In the mean time the author has unearthed a wealth of further details on the remarkable rise of the Communists, by means of all sorts of machinations, during the first ten months of the Civil War. There are two entirely new chapters, “Catalonia: Revolution and Counterrevolution” and “Barcelona: The May Events”, and an epilogue that is to be developed into a separate volume. Unfortunately, the numerous notes are no longer at the foot of the pages.

This study, which is based on a doctorate thesis, opens with an important chapter on the bourgeois revolution and the “liberal model” in Spain. Against this background the author gives a well-balanced and documented account of the introduction of Socialism by the Spanish followers of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet and Proudhon. Among these early Socialists, who looked for an alternative to the liberal model, are José Andrew de Covertspring (identified by the author as Pedro Felipe Monlau), Francisco Díaz-Morales, Joaquin Abreu, the Icarians of Barcelona, and Ramón de la Sagra. A second study will deal with the workers’ organizations. Among the many documents used we mention Sagra’s letters to the Baron de Colins (two of these are published in the appendix).


The author states in his preface: “the principal argument of the book is that the most central conflict of the Second Republic, and the main cause of the civil war, was the struggle between the PSOE and the legalist Right, particularly the CEDA, to impose their respective views of social organisation on Spain by means of their control of the apparatus of the state.” His study, based on printed source material only, gives a very interesting analysis of the long-neglected history of the policy of the PSOE, its internal and ideological divisions, and the influence of the pressure of rank-and-file aspirations. It also deals with the very successful policy of Gil Robles and his CEDA of frustrating the Socialist reform programme, as well as with the failure of the “legal road to the corporative state”. Other political and social organizations are peripheral in this political rather than social history.

Sweden


The subject of the present volume, a joint doctorate thesis, is the complicated relationship between demographic developments and the proletarianization of crofters and tenant farmers in the provinces round Stockholm. To a considerable extent the interesting findings are conveyed in the form of numerous tables and diagrams.
Switzerland


The relation between working conditions in one single factory at Schaffhausen (belonging to Georg Fischer Ltd), the conflict of interests in that factory and the genesis of class-consciousness are the objects of this innovating investigation. The author analyzes in considerable detail the work situation of various groups of workers in the factory and differences between workers caused by, inter alia, pay and employment policies. In the wake of Horst Kern and Michael Schumann he focuses on possibilities for co-operation and communication, relations between management and workers in the production process, health conditions, etc. The working conditions appear to have had an important influence on trade unionism, the class struggle and, through these, on the class-consciousness of the workers. A full account of the conflicts between management and workers in the factory shows, e.g., that the trade unions at Schaffhausen were not led by Germans. In an appendix the reader is provided with many tables.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — Russia


A discussion of the various elements and traditions which Lenin amalgamated into the system bearing his name is preceded and followed by a scathing critique of that system. The author is deeply influenced by Solzhenicyn, also in that he resorts to a kind of argumentation that is as hard to prove or disprove as Leninism itself. At one time “the ideology” is radically different from gnosis, at another time it is called une gnose au pouvoir, and there is no lack of wisecracks such as “Hear, O Lenin: matter your God, matter is one”. In spite of this allusion to Deuteronomy, Leninism is represented as a corrupted religion, just as it is a corruption of science, and indeed of both Eastern and Western traditions.


The present volume is a detailed analytical study of Russian Jacobinism from the Decembrists to Leninism. The tradition in question, which centred upon the idea of a revolutionary (minority) dictatorship, was later also referred to as Blanquism, although Lenin of course rejected this label. The author is scarcely alive to the formative impact of the Russian autocracy on that supposedly outlandish tradition.
Mr Brockmann condemns tendencies in Western sociology to regard Soviet sociologists as unscientific and unreliable. Instead he takes them seriously, but goes his own way when their research is narrowed down for political reasons or due to the limitations of their approach. In doing so he not only investigates Soviet society, but also Soviet sociology. He shows, after having presented a thorough sociological description of Soviet society, that there are strong differentiating tendencies, mainly as a result of the technological revolution. These tendencies will not be neutralized by integrative forces such as patriotism and public opinion. The author expects both a stronger and a more elastic control of daily life as an integrative force, and he sees preparations for this in current sociological research.


The present volume links up with the one noticed in IRSH. XVI (1971), p. 121. For the period under discussion the author approaches the Civil War less in terms of a military conflict, and primarily "as a political competition between the two major antagonists in which each tried to impose its will on a reluctant people". In this contest the Bolsheviks were victorious thanks to their greater administrative and political skill.


Piecing together the scanty source material available to him, Professor Radkey has made a case-study of one of the peasants' revolts that broke out after the defeat of the Whites. Because of its proximity to Moscow the uprising in the province of Tambov was a real menace to the Communist regime, and men such as Antonov-Ovseenko and Tuchachevskij had to step in for it to be suppressed. The stigmatization of the rebels as kulaks boils down to Communist propaganda.