

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL ISSUES

RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHY

FRIEDRICH, GERHARD. Utopie und Reich Gottes. Zur Motivation politischen Verhaltens. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen n.d. [1974.] 90 pp. DM 6.80.

The present booklet is a critical confrontation of Utopian thought with the Christian idea of the Kingdom of God; the subtitle is neither here nor there. The author's authority is the New Testament, but he does not fail to quote Popper's caution against any human attempt to make heaven on earth.

SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

BAKUNIN, MICHAEL. Selected Writings. Ed. and Intro. by Arthur Lehning. Transl. from the French by Steven Cox. Transl. from the Russian by Olive Stevens. Grove Press, Inc., New York 1974. 288 pp. \$ 4.95.

A provisional notice of this anthology (London edition) appeared in IRSH, XIX (1974), pp. 446f. As a further specification, it may be said that most texts have been taken from letters, Anarchist programmes and *L'Empire knouto-germanique* (both instalments, including the well-known "preamble" to the second). Bakunin's idea of materialism is a frequently recurring theme; his blueprint of an "invisible dictatorship" is expounded in letters to Richard and Nečaev.

For Dirk Struik. Scientific, Historical and Political Essays in Honor of Dirk J. Struik. Ed. by R. S. Cohen, J. J. Stachel, and M. W. Wartofsky. D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Boston 1974. xxvii, 652 pp. D.fl. 90.00.

This festschrift presented to Professor Struik on the occasion of his eightieth birthday consists of four sections: "Mathematics", "History of Mathematics and Science", "The Nature of Mathematics, Philosophy and Science", and "Cultural and Political Questions". The last one should be the first to cater for readers of this periodical, but apart from "The Evolution of Black Nationalism", by H. B. Davis, it contains little of value: Marxist theorizing (e.g., a contribution by H. Aptheker with the deceptive title "Falsification

in History"), indifferent essays (Th. de Vries on the "secret of Jheronimus Bosch" and A. Romein-Verschoor on the Dutch concept *burgerlijk*), and some recollections ("Lenin and the Americans at Kuzbas", by N. Sparks).

HIRSCH, WOLFGANG. *Philosophie und Sozialwissenschaften*. Vorwort von Gottfried Eisermann. Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart 1974. xii, 199 pp. DM 44.00.

Plato and Pliny the Younger, Machiavelli and Hobbes, Vico and Pareto, Brooks Adams and Max Weber, especially Marx and Engels, and numerous other writers are quoted in these essay-like studies. It is the author's aim to describe the main currents of thought, and at the same time to let the individuals speak who challenged them. Marx's attempt to combine philosophy and social science was, in his opinion, historically the most fermenting idea. He appreciates Marx more, however, as a moralist – whose motives were "noble" – than as a scientific thinker: Marx underestimated non-capitalist forces, and his views – the author repeatedly points out that they were not original – concerning the end of capitalism are fatalistic and chiliastic. There are also interesting studies on such subjects as early capitalism.

HUNT, RICHARD N. *The Political Ideas of Marx and Engels, I. Marxism and Totalitarian Democracy, 1818-1850*. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1974. xiv, 363 pp. \$ 11.95.

In the present volume, the author's prime concern is to test the widespread claim that Marx and Engels embraced "Babouvist-Blanquist prescriptions for minority revolution", at least in 1850, while "what separates Marx and Engels from the later attitudes of social democracy" will be chiefly dealt with in a second volume. The author holds that Marx and Engels never advocated totalitarian or "elitist" means. Speaking of the March 1850 *Circular*, he says that this does not express the writers' views, but that, under pressure from the radical artisans, who had found a potential leader in Willich, Marx and Engels were "obliged to eat humble pie". The author makes a stand against various interpretations of Marx.

KIERNAN, V. G. *Marxism and Imperialism*. Studies. Edward Arnold, London 1974. xi, 260 pp. £ 5.75.

This collection of six essays, which were previously published (in the last twelve years) in *The Socialist Register* and other periodicals, is preceded by a general essay on the "only" Marxist theory of imperialism, i.e., Lenin's. The author suggests that "Lenin tried to draw out the consequences of capitalism too symmetrically": "Capitalism is at bottom a relationship among human beings, and no human relationship, or its consequences, can have the logic of geometry." In the other essays (e.g., on the "Peasant Revolution" and "Marx and India") the author tends in the same way to supplement the traditional Marxist economic factors with factors of a social-psychological and political nature.

KÜHNE, KARL. *Ökonomie und Marxismus. I. Zur Renaissance des*

Marxschen Systems. II. Zur Dynamik des Marxschen Systems. Registerband. Luchterhand, Neuwied 1972; 1974. xvi, 499 pp.; xiv, 613 pp.; v, 89 pp. DM 52.00; 52.00; 14.80.

It was "intellectual honesty" which made Marx become an economist: "What he was concerned with was to investigate [...] whether his revolutionary inspirations could be translated into reality." In the light of such a statement it becomes clear that the author rejects any strongly voluntaristic approach towards the Socialist revolution. Marx the economist – and the (principally Socialist) economists on Marx: that is the theme of the first volume. An analysis of surplus value and profit leads to a study and elaboration of Marx's price theory. This volume, in which both older and recent commentaries and interpretations (for instance, those by Böhm-Bawerk, Oskar Lange, Varga and Harrod) are quoted at length, closes with a discussion of the theory of recurrent economic crises, which forms a transition to Vol. II. This volume is mainly concerned with the instability of the capitalist system as manifested by the steady fluctuation between economic depression and inflation. The author deals with Keynesian ideas, which he approaches from the angle of the necessary downfall of capitalism, regarded as an episode in a dynamic process of evolution. The *Registerband* contains a bibliography arranged by subject. This comprises many studies by East Europeans and Japanese (but also, under the heading of "Important Marx Biographies", an article by the late W. Blumenberg on the history of the Communist League, though not his Marx biography), and name and subject indices.

OLDFIELD, JOHN J. The Problem of Tolerance and Social Existence in the Writings of Félicité Lamennais 1809-1831. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1973. x, 268 pp. D.fl. 56.00.

The subject of the present volume is Lamennais's changing social and political philosophy up to 1831: from a traditionalist authoritarianism to an espousal, in behalf of the Church, of political liberalism and democracy. The author, a Roman Catholic priest, criticizes Lamennais in rather conservative terms: "Transposed from the high theological plane on which Lamennais fashioned his concept of eschatological progress to that of a secular messianism, the quasi-religious idea of progress brings with it a certain unrealistic and abstract approach to such concrete problems as social unity and tolerance."

POOLE, MICHAEL. Workers' participation in industry. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston 1975. x, 198 pp. £ 4.95.

The author, who is a lecturer in industrial sociology at the University of Sheffield, develops as his "central proposition" that "workers' participation and control is a function of certain underlying or latent power forces and a climate of values which may or may not be conducive to evolution along these lines". Participation is seen as dependent on power and value systems. Concrete practices for extending workers' participation since the First World War are examined (e.g., Germany after 1918), and the roles of trade unions and works councils (Yugoslavia) evaluated. The threats, on the one hand, of multinational companies (and the aspect, evaluated positively here,

of the "collapse of paternalistic ties" involved) and, on the other hand, of ecological calamities are intelligently commented upon.

RUBEL, MAXIMILIEN. *Marx critique du marxisme. Essais.* Payot, Paris 1974. 451 pp. F.fr. 77.65.

These articles and papers read at conferences (three translated from English) stem from the years 1957-73. The author has revised them, in some cases thoroughly. They have been grouped into five sections: "The Legendary Marxism", "The October Myth", "Party and Proletariat", "Ethics and Utopia", and "Knowledge of the *Oeuvre*" (Marx's notebooks and preliminary studies for *Capital*). The author summarizes his main theses in a forty-page epilogue: Engels's epigones made of Marxism a doctrine of revolution for the benefit of "parties and politicians who arrogated to themselves the role of guides towards the liberation of unconscious masses dulled and kept in ignorance by capital and its State"; a "State bourgeoisie" has monopolized its own conception of Marxism as an ideological instrument of power – to the cost of the proletariat; the ethic of Marx has been suppressed.

RUSSELL, D. E. H. *Rebellion, Revolution, and Armed Force. A Comparative Study of Fifteen Countries with Special Emphasis on Cuba and South Africa.* Academic Press, Inc., New York, San Francisco, London 1974. xiv, 210 pp. \$ 14.50.

In the present volume the author's main concern is to offer an explanation for the failure of a South African revolution and, a little less centrally, for the success of the Cuban Revolution. Fourteen more case-studies of successful and unsuccessful rebellions, such as Albania in 1924, Austria in 1934 and Colombia in 1948, complete the work. The author argues strongly that "armed-force disloyalty is necessary for a successful outcome of rebellion, but it is not a sufficient condition".

OTHER BOOKS

DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS, F. *Le socialisme en danger.* Ed. ét. par Jean-Yves Bériou. Payot, Paris 1975. 281 pp.

HISTORY

AGOSTI, ALDO. *La Terza Internazionale. Storia documentaria.* Pref. di Ernesto Ragionieri. I. 1919-1923. Editori Riuniti, Roma 1974. xxx, 884 pp. (in 2 vols.) Ill. L. 9000.

This is the opening volume of a planned three-volume documentary history of the Comintern. The arrangement is not completely chronological: the "colonial question" is dealt with in a separate chapter covering the period from the Second Congress to May 1923. This is dictated by the set-up of Agosti's introductions, in which – sometimes very briefly: Kronstadt – the problems under discussion are summarized and interpreted. The selection of documents (some of them in extract form) is representative; it should be noted that these are official Comintern documents, not comments. Resolu

tions, open letters, appeals and manifestoes succeed each other. In a biographical dictionary at the end – which contains some inaccuracies that have no political background – no embarrassing details in the history of Communism are glossed over, and a limited rehabilitation of some figures traditionally decried in the party historiography (e.g., Bordiga) may be noted.

BACKHAUS, WILHELM. *Marx, Engels und die Sklaverei. Zur ökonomischen Problematik der Unfreiheit.* Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, Düsseldorf 1974. 268 pp. DM 32.00.

The subtitle of the present volume is uninforming, and the main title is misleading in that the author heavily relies on those statements of the "classics" to which twentieth-century Marxists refer. Thus, the reader will look in vain for the dictum of the young Marx that to make slavery disappear is to ruin America, and consequently modern trade and civilization. Apart from that, Dr Backhaus, a pupil of Franz Kiechle (cf. *IRSH*, XV (1970), p. 129), has written an excellent critique of the Marxist thesis that slavery is economically unprofitable. He shows that this thesis was copied from abolitionist authors (who in turn adopted it from apologists of slavery), and that Marx and Engels simply projected it on to the "slave-owning" society of ancient times. Three of the six chapters deal with Negro slavery in the United States. Unfortunately, the author has not been able to use Fogel's and Engerman's *Time on the Cross*, in which similar conclusions are reached.

DE FELICE, FRANCO. *Fascismo, democrazia, fronte popolare. Il movimento comunista alla svolta del VII Congresso dell'Internazionale.* De Donato, Bari 1973. 569 pp. L. 4500.

The body of this book consists of a number of documents on the Comintern discussions round the popular-front strategy of the 'thirties; the focus is on the Seventh Congress. Blandly ignoring Stalin's need for an anti-Hitler coalition and the disappointing results of the new line, Mr De Felice makes much of the lasting value of what Dimitrov etc. propounded at the time.

DELORT, ROBERT. *Life in the Middle Ages.* Transl. by Robert Allen. Phaidon, London 1974. 345 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 12.95.

The French historian Delort has prepared a magnificently illustrated work on mediaeval man and society in Western and Central Europe. Aiming at a wide readership, he successively deals with physical and living conditions, world-view, values and attitudes, and the component parts of society: the peasantry, the warriors and the clergy. A chapter on trade and commerce concludes the volume. The author emphasizes, and perhaps over-emphasizes, the static nature of the Middle Ages, which left its traces well into modern times.

Essays in Honour of E. H. Carr. Ed. by C. Abramsky, assisted by Beryl J. Williams. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1974. viii, 387 pp. £ 10.00.

The subjects of these sixteen contributions are all in fields with which Carr has been concerned: intellectual history in the nineteenth century, diplomatic history and international relations, Soviet studies, and "related studies" (one, by Mary Holdsworth, on Lenin's theory of imperialism in retrospect). Some examples are: I. Berlin's contribution on Sorel ("fiery, not wholly adult, outraged feeling" – "affinity with the young revolutionaries of our time"), A. Nove's essay on some of Bucharin's economic, sociological and political ideas, and the political-biographical article by Eleonore Breuning on Brockdorff-Rantzau. A bibliography of Carr's most important writings (including articles in various periodicals) is appended.

HAUPT, GEORGES, MICHAEL LOWY [et] CLAUDIE WEILL. *Les marxistes et la question nationale 1848-1914. Etudes et textes.* François Maspero, Paris 1974. 395 pp. F.fr. 46.00.

In an introductory study, Georges Haupt observes that the controversies over the nationalities question have often assumed the character of a struggle between the spirit and the letter of Marxism. The texts collected here, and provided with commentaries by the editors, include writings by Marx and Engels, Kautsky and Luxemburg, Renner and Bauer, Pannekoek, Lenin and Stalin. Less famous are Josef Strasser, the leader of the "Reichenberg Left" (extreme left wing of the Austrian Social Democracy) and the Irishman James Connolly. The reader gets a good synoptic view of ideas within European Socialism, which always purport to derive from Marx's thought but, in fact, vary enormously.

Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Hrsg. von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft außeruniversitärer historischer Forschungseinrichtungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. 1974. Ernst Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 1974. 584 pp. DM 75.00.

The above-mentioned *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* was established in 1972 as a clearing-house of historical research in the German Federal Republic. This purpose is mainly, though not exclusively, served by the publication of a yearbook. The present opening volume, which reflects the situation of 1972-73, contains as its principal items research reports (e.g., on Joseph Vogt's project on ancient slavery), conference reports (e.g., on the Berlin symposium on the pre-March workers' movement) and, last but not least, an *Index der Forschung*. This is a detailed survey of individual research projects on German and non-German subjects in various stages of progress, six stages being distinguished. It is a very useful tool, even if the intended author index is lacking in the present volume. .

JOLL, JAMES. *The Second International 1889-1914.* 2nd ed. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston 1974 [*recte* 1975]. ix, 224 pp. £ 3.75.

In revising his book for the present new edition (the first appeared in 1955), the author has taken into account "some of [the] recent research". This is especially evident in the notes, the epilogue and the select bibliography. The influence of the German and French parties, and the controversies over the attitude vis-a-vis "official" Marxism are in the focus of attention. The

book in its renewed form is once again a useful tool for those who wish to get acquainted with the Second International and its issues.

MARWICK, ARTHUR. *War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century. A comparative study of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States.* Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1974. x, 258 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 5.00. (Paper: £ 2.50.)

In spite of some obvious errors (for instance, in no decade immigration into the USA amounted to six million a year), and notwithstanding the fact that the author's theses may be widely open to debate, this book is worth mentioning here because of its striking approach. A "model" was designed in order to screen, as it were, the effects of the two world wars. It deals with the following aspects: first, the destructive and/or disruptive consequences; secondly, the aspect of testing the functioning of existing institutions; thirdly, the extent to which participation is to the advantage of underlying groups (workers in Germany, Negroes in America); and fourthly, the psychological repercussions. As compared to social and economic structures, political structures are shown "to be the last and the least to be affected by war"; to change them, a total collapse (Russia 1917; Germany 1945) would seem necessary.

Michel Bakounine et ses relations slaves 1870-1875. Textes ét. et annotés par Arthur Lehning. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1974. xc, 586 pp. Ill. D.fl. 220.00.

The writings, letters and documents that make up the present volume form a whole with those in the two preceding volumes of the *Archives Bakounine* (cf. IRSH, XIII (1968), pp. 90f., and XVIII (1973), p. 168). Texts in Russian, Polish and Serbian have been included both in the original language and in a French translation. The volume contains a Herzen necrology (the introduction mentions the friendship as well as the political contrasts between Bakunin and Herzen), letters on the revolutionary movement in Russia, correspondence with Lavrov, Ogarev, Ralli and Ross, etc. The appendices contain documents, for instance on the conflicts in the International, which, again in the introduction, are heavily emphasized (especially the opposition to Marx and the role of Utin), so that the "Slav relationships" tend to be overshadowed.

NEHLSSEN, HERMANN. *Sklavenrecht zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Germanisches und römisches Recht in den germanischen Rechtsaufzeichnungen. I. Ostgoten, Westgoten, Franken, Langobarden.* Muster-schmidt, Göttingen, Frankfurt, Zürich 1972. 432 pp. DM 78.00.

This is the first volume of a *Habilitationsschrift* presented at the University of Göttingen. The problems dealt with are, first, the penal provisions in Germanic law, as codified in the so-called *Leges Barbarorum*, for crimes committed by slaves, and, second, the question of in how far those provisions were influenced by Roman law. The present volume is devoted to the tribes that occupied territories of the Roman Empire; the Lombards

maintained the un-Roman stand of holding the slave-owner, not the slave, responsible.

POLLACK, HERMAN. *Jewish Folkways in Germanic Lands (1648-1806). Studies in Aspects of Daily Life.* The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge (Mass.), London 1971. xix, 410 pp. Ill. \$ 17.50.

The subject of the present volume is the Jewish way of life as it was practised, alongside of the official *Halakhah*, in Central Europe on the eve of the Enlightenment. The author's approach is reminiscent of folklore and traditional social history, but his book is extremely well documented; about half of it consists of specified references and a bibliography. The impact of non-Jewish customs and beliefs is dealt with at some length.

RICE, C. DUNCAN. *The Rise and Fall of Black Slavery.* Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1975. xiii, 427 pp. Ill. £ 10.00.

This account of black slavery is primarily intended for the general reader. The author bases his study on a large number of, mainly recent, investigations, to which he has added some of his own research findings. The documentation in the notes is extensive. The volume, very well written, gives an excellent synopsis of the slave trade (the role played by African chiefs, economic importance for Europe), of slavery itself, and of the abolitionist movement which came up in the eighteenth century (after 1760). The interpretation of this movement is among the best parts of the work: at the time that, in substantial areas, slavery and the slave trade became "less profitable" the religiously and intellectually motivated abolitionist movement gained such a momentum of its own, that it ultimately achieved its purpose even where slavery was still viable as an economic system, as it was in the South of the United States. The former British colonies receive more attention than those that belonged to other countries.

SCHULZ, GERHARD. *Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus. Versionen und theoretische Kontroversen 1922-1972.* Propyläen, Frankfurt/M., Berlin, Wien 1974. 222 pp. DM 20.00.

Professor Schulz, a distinguished German historian, has written an essay on contemporary interpretations of Italian Fascism and German Nazism, to which a sketchy outline of post-war research on the subject is appended. The essay is based on a rather random selection, and does not bear comparison with Renzo De Felice's analytical survey *Le interpretazioni del fascismo* (third ed., Bari 1971). The various Marxist contributions come in for severe criticism.

SEIBT, FERDINAND. *Utopica. Modelle totaler Sozialplanung.* Verlag L. Schwann, Düsseldorf 1972. 327 pp. DM 40.00.

According to Professor Seibt, the hallmark of Utopianism is rational social planning; sociologically, it has its origin in a class of non-professional intellectuals. This class dates back to the High Middle Ages, and Utopia is not a specific product of the Renaissance. As a matter of fact, the author of

the six essays that make up the present volume highlights Utopian thought in Central Europe since the days of the Taborites and Cusanus. Unfortunately, his concept of Utopianism is a rather vague one, and he does not even stop short of Machiavelli.

SIJES, B. A. *Studies over jodenvervolgving*. Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., Assen 1974. viii, 184 pp. Ill. D.fl. 38.50. (Paper: D.fl. 29.50.)

The present volume consists of eight studies and addresses on Nazi anti-semitism, its Austrian background, and the "final solution". Much attention is paid to the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands and the part played by such people as Eichmann. The author offers a shrewd interpretation of the available source material, but he does not refer to recent publications on the subject (e.g., Schleunes, Hillgruber, Adam and Adler).

Workers in the Industrial Revolution: Recent Studies of Labor in the United States and Europe. Ed. by Peter N. Stearns [and] Daniel J. Walkowitz. Transaction Books, New Brunswick (N.J.) 1974. x, 442 pp. \$ 14.95. (Paper: \$ 5.95.)

In their introduction the editors state that labour history "too often ignores the workers, and that its emphasis on unions and political parties neglects the important social and cultural aspects of working-class life". The volume contains "examples" of recent studies; for the greater part they are concerned with local and regional issues in the nineteenth century. The contribution by Professor Stearns on the importance of national characteristics for European labour history bears a more general character. Of the other studies we mention Hobsbawm's contribution on the "labour aristocracy" in Britain, that by W. H. Sewell, Jr, on the social structure and the political behaviour of the workers of Marseilles during the Second Republic, and that by M. Dubofsky on working-class radicalism in the West of the USA at the turn of the century.

World History of Psychiatry. Ed. by John G. Howells. Baillière Tindall, London 1975. xxv, 770 pp. Ill. £ 14.50.

One of the ideas upon which the present volume is built is that what is new in psychiatry is not necessarily sound, nor what is sound necessarily new. The twenty-nine contributions of which the volume consists "sink shafts", as the editor puts it in his introduction, into psychiatry past and present in separate countries and areas all over the world. The authors are practitioners rather than historians, but their sense of history is a feature that commands respect. Author and subject indices are appended; the numerous illustrations merit special mention.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BRAVERMAN, HARRY. *Labor and Monopoly Capital. The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. Foreword by Paul M. Sweezy. Monthly Review Press, New York, London 1974. xiii, 465 pp. \$ 12.50; £ 5.30.

"A genius like Marx could analyze the labor process under capitalism without ever having been immediately involved in it", writes Paul Sweezy in his foreword. Apparently, later Marxists were unable to continue Marx's work concerning that labour process for lack of genius. The author of this book, who gained experience as a worker himself, is therefore presented as authorized to take up the task. Starting from the contrast between the increasing specialization and the ever more repulsive work, he creates a gloomy picture of growing active dissatisfaction, the explanation of which is to be sought in the final crisis of developed capitalism. Attempts at "humanization of work" are of no avail, for these attempts are subject to the laws of capitalist production.

EVANS, PETER. *The Protest Virus*. Pitman Publishing, London 1974. x, 166 pp. Ill. £ 2.50.

In this essay, the author investigates the backgrounds of the protest of such groups as the black minorities. He gives an absorbing account of the dehumanizing effects of modern technology and economy, which tend to strengthen "tribal" feelings: solidarity among those threatened by the Great Society (Enoch Powell is described as a British tribalist). The question is raised – and implicitly answered in the negative – whether, for instance, it is absolutely necessary for Britain to compete in economic growth with Germany and Japan.

STATERA, GIANNI. *Death of a Utopia. The Development and Decline of Student Movements in Europe*. Oxford University Press, New York 1975. ix, 294 pp. \$ 10.95.

The author is professor of sociology and methodology of social research at the University of Rome. He concentrates his account – historical *capita selecta* with sociological evaluations – on the Federal Republic (more comparable to the USA in many respects), France and Italy. In a detailed description of an anti-authoritarian, "utopian" stage leading to a Marxist-Leninist one, which in fact coincides with the "decline", special attention is paid to Dutschke and Cohn-Bendit. The volume contains some thought-provoking elements. An irritating shortcoming is the wrong spelling of a number of German and French terms.

CONTINENTS AND COUNTRIES

AFRICA

Kenya

CLAYTON, ANTHONY and DONALD C. SAVAGE. *Government and Labour in Kenya 1895-1963*. Frank Cass, London 1974. xxiv, 481 pp. £ 15.00.

The introduction of colonial rule entailed drastic economic and social change. The present volume contains a very informative and thorough history of

the labour policy designed in London and Nairobi, and applied in the farms and in industry. Up to 1914, the keynote was not "one of large-scale labour exploitation but one of large-scale harshness". Later this exploitation increased, and during the depression years widespread unrest arose, for instance over taxes. Especially during the Second World War a marked class-consciousness, strongly linked with racial awareness, emerged in Mombasa. The late Tom Mboya's role as a trade-union leader and as a politician rightly receives much attention.

Nigeria

LLOYD, P. C. Power and independence. Urban Africans' perception of social inequality. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston 1974. xvi, 248 pp. £ 5.95.

This study in the field of social anthropology, which is methodologically interesting as well, deals with the Yoruba population in the cities of Lagos and Ibadan, consisting largely of recent migrants. A description of strikes in Lagos and a peasant rebellion in Ibadan and environs serves to show that the traditional attitudes link up with a social structure which has always been fairly open. The Yoruba were not accustomed to regard themselves "as exploited by the powerful" – power, it is true, was related to inequality of income, but wealth in itself was less important than power. There is hardly any question yet of an emerging "class-consciousness".

Zambia

BERGER, ELENA L. Labour, Race, and Colonial Rule. The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, London 1974. xiv, 257 pp. Maps. £ 6.00.

The present volume contains a detailed description of forty years of development in the copper-mining industry, and especially of the social conflicts which resulted from the discrimination of the black workers. Serious disturbances took place as early as 1935, an African strike – demands for more equal pay – followed a strike of European workers in 1940, and since then the antagonism between white and Negro unions over wages has remained paramount. The attempts of the colonial government to solve controversial issues receive much attention.

AMERICA

ALLEMANN, FRITZ RENÉ. Macht und Ohnmacht der Guerilla. R. Piper & Co., München 1974. 532 pp. Maps. DM 38.00.

The author begins his absorbingly written account of guerrilla warfare with a description of the Prestes Column in Brazil (1925-27) and Sandino's guerrilla movement in Nicaragua about 1930. He goes on to discuss the Cuban Revolution (which should have failed with a "Marxist" start), and the attempts to imitate this, as in Venezuela, Guatemala and Bolivia, where the country guerrilla, to all intents and purposes, came to an end

with the death of Guevara and the destruction of his movement. In the author's view, Guevara's and Debray's assessment of the situation as acutely revolutionary had been wrong. In the same way, the defeat of the city guerrillas can be explained from their inability to make small-scale vanguard action grow into a violent mass movement which could have held its own against the counter-terror of the government. The *Tupamaros* were defeated when they broadened their organization.

KOHL, JAMES and JOHN LITT [Eds]. *Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America*. The MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), London 1974. ix, 425 pp. Maps. \$ 12.50.

The editors state that they aim to redress the distortion of regarding the urban guerrillas in Latin America as "terrorists", "and to explore the origins, development, strategy, and tactics". In their introductory essay they discuss such subjects as the USA intervention in Guatemala, the causes of the failure of *foquismo* – difference of conditions for rural risings between Latin America and, for instance, China –, and the emergence of urban guerrillas, chiefly in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. These countries are also represented in the "documents": for Brazil, writings by Carlos Marighella and others, for Uruguay the *Tupamaros'* "Program for Revolutionary Government", and for Argentina an interview with Héctor Víctor Suarez. A number of explanatory notes has been added to the documents.

Canada

The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century. Ed. by Michael S. Cross. Oxford University Press, Toronto 1974. xii, 316 pp. C\$ 6.95.

Michael Cross has selected short extracts from a great variety of contemporary sources; these throw light, not only on the condition of working men, women and children in the towns, but also on the situation in agriculture and (gold) mining. Of special interest are, for instance, the reports of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital. The impact of the ideas of Bellamy and Henry George, who contributed to the emergence of Socialism in Canada, and the origins of trade unionism in the country (strong influences from across the border) are reflected in a number of items.

Chile

BLANCPAIN, JEAN-PIERRE. *Les Allemands au Chili (1816-1945)*. Préface de Pierre Chaunu. Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Wien 1974. xxxiii, 1162 pp. Ill. Maps. DM 220.00.

Chile – particularly the South – was one of the main destinations of the German emigrant stream in the nineteenth century. Basing himself on abundant source material (many contemporary publications), the author shows various aspects of the emigration movement and the German colonization: the Chilean policy of populating empty regions; the motives for emigration and the choice of Chile made by many Germans even before 1848 (e.g., the construction of a free German community, which was later to have a salutary

influence on the mother country); the Chilean fear of a state within the state; the wide diffusion of German education and German culture in general. The impact of the German victory of 1870, and the repercussions of the two world wars and National-Socialism (the Chilean Popular Front was not immune to bribery) are among the subjects. A very extensive source survey and a systematically arranged bibliography are included.

Cuba

MESA-LAGO, CARMELO. *Cuba in the 1970s. Pragmatism and Institutionalization*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque 1974. xiii, 179 pp. \$ 9.95. (Paper: \$ 3.95.)

The author, using home and foreign policies, and aspirations, as criteria, distinguishes five periods in the Cuban developments since 1959. The fifth period, the end of which is not in sight yet, was foreshadowed in 1968, when Castro approved of the invasion in Czechoslovakia; it became manifest in 1970. It is characterized by the abandonment of the idea of exporting the revolution to the mainland, increasing subordination to Moscow, a more flexible economic policy, and a harder cultural line, in which there is no room for ultra-leftist experiments. The author has written this survey with detachment and has included an assessment of Castro's position: his scope for manoeuvring has definitely been curtailed.

Mexico

STEVENS, EVELYN P. *Protest and Response in Mexico*. The MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), London 1974. viii, 372 pp. \$ 17.95.

A discussion of the characteristics of the mass media in Mexico and of the political parties ushers in an account of three strikes and protest movements: the railway strikes of 1958-59; the doctors' strikes of 1964-65; and the students' riots of 1968. The uncommonly harsh suppression of the latter (200 killed in one day) is explained as a consequence of the lack of open communication, and the Government's (temporary?) return to violent methods. These methods had largely been abandoned in view of the citizens' political apathy.

United States of America

The American Radical Press 1880-1960. Ed. with an Introd. by Joseph R. Conlin. Greenwood Press, Westport (Conn.), London 1974. xiv, 720 pp. (in 2 vols.) \$ 29.95.

Some of the essays collected in this work were previously published in the framework of the reprint project *Radical Periodicals in the United States 1890-1960*; others appear here for the first time. A great number of periodicals is represented, from the *Journal of United Labor* and the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* to the *Monthly Review*, *Alternative* and *Liberation*. The essays included are frequently by former editors or contributors, and provide interesting details. We mention – a random selection – M. Dubofsky (on

the *Industrial Worker* of the IWW and other papers), H. A. Levenstein (e.g., on the Communist *Daily Worker*), J. Hansen (*The [Trotskyist] Militant*), P. Mattick (*International Council Correspondence, Living Marxism and New Essays*), R. Drinnon (Anarchist publications), Dorothy Day (*Catholic Worker*), S. Hook (*The Modern Quarterly*), and D. Bell (the post-war *Modern Review*). Some of the essays shed light on the contrasts that existed among the various groups and currents of the Left.

BAILEY, ROBERT, JR. *Radicals in Urban Politics. The Alinsky Approach*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1974. xii, 187 pp. \$ 9.95.

The author of the present volume lived and worked in South Austin for two years, and his investigation into the Organization for a Better Austin, one of the so-called Alinsky groups, is based on personal experience as well as on many interviews. South Austin is predominantly middle-class; nevertheless the percentage of blacks is very high, as is the crime rate. The conclusion of the book is that the Alinsky organizations are neither Communist nor subversive, but play a positive role in combating corruption and bad administration.

Black Sociologists. *Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Ed. by James E. Blackwell and Morris Janowitz. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1974. xxii, 415 pp. \$ 16.00.

"From the earliest years of the discipline in the United States, black sociologists were not only scholars. They engaged in social and political protest against the treatment of blacks", says the introduction to this anthology of essays. The first section contains contributions on Du Bois, Ch. S. Johnson, and E. Franklin Frazier (whose career was crowned by the chairmanship of the Department of Sociology at Howard University). These "founding figures" strongly influenced later developments. In the other four sections, attention is concentrated on the problems of segregation, the impact of political and social unrest on the outlooks of the present sociologists, and on the question of institutional adaptations and the justification of a separate "black sociology".

ELDER, GLEN H., JR. *Children of the Great Depression. Social Change in Life Experience*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1974. xxiii, 400 pp. \$ 15.00.

The author has studied the life-histories of some 170 persons born in 1920-21, in order to evaluate the long-term impact of the Great Depression on the (later) careers, mentality, thought, value systems, etc., of people from the working and middle classes. Among the themes he discusses are: views on women's roles, the effects of loss of status, and political choices. Forty-five tables summarize part of the information.

GENOVESE, EUGENE D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll. The World the Slaves Made*. Pantheon Books, New York n.d. [1974.] xxii, 825 pp. \$ 17.50.

Although Genovese emphatically rejects the institution of slavery completely, he declares that "the slaveholders had to establish a stable regime with which their slaves could live". He has collected a wealth of statements by masters and, especially, (former) slaves, which as a whole provide a many-sided picture of the paternalist structure of the Southern society. The Civil War and its aftermath also receive much attention. The author's observations about the importance of religion and its experience by whites and blacks are exceedingly illuminating. The volume excels in providing detailed information and is, moreover, absorbingly written.

HOLLON, W. EUGENE. *Frontier Violence. Another Look.* Oxford University Press, New York 1974. xiii, 279 pp. Ill. \$ 7.95.

In the Western frontier society during the second half of the nineteenth century gun culture, together with racial bigotry, was a harsh reality. Yet the author of the present volume is convinced "that the Western frontier was a far more civilized, more peaceful, and safer place than American society is today". There was, moreover, more violence in American cities in the period under consideration than there was on the frontier. These conclusions are arrived at after an exceedingly readable description, supported by a great deal of source material, of conditions in a number of frontier regions.

LEVISON, ANDREW. *The Working-Class Majority.* Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., New York 1974. 319 pp. \$ 8.95.

The author goes to war against what he regards as a series of myths. According to him, sixty per cent of the Americans are "truly working-class", and of these not more than twelve to fifteen per cent are "affluent". It is not correct to include service workers, such as postmen, policemen, firemen or typists, in the white-collar category. Also, due to unfamiliarity with the life of the blue-collar workers, middle-class liberals have a distorted picture of their political disposition. These workers only support such figures as Wallace for lack of a progressive-democratic alternative, in which more attention would be paid to their own position than to that of such fringe groups as the hippies.

MILLER, SALLY M. *Victor Berger and the Promise of Constructive Socialism, 1910-1920.* Greenwood Press, Inc., Westport (Conn.), London 1973. xii, 275 pp. \$ 11.50.

Berger joined the Socialist Labor Party as early as 1889, but from the beginning he was in opposition against the radical Marxism of a De Leon; he became one of the most prominent members of the social-democratic Socialist Party, for which he was the only member of the House of Representatives. An outline is given of Berger's attempts to combine his Socialist views with a more pragmatic approach towards American politics. The author of this book, which is supported by a great deal of material, is among those who hold that American Socialism only fell into a decline in consequence of the First World War.

ROWE, JOHN. *The Hard-Rock Men. Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier.* Liverpool University Press, Liver-

pool 1974. xii, 322 pp. Ill. £ 5.50.

The background of the Cornish immigrants to the United States – mostly miners, but also small farmers and others – is drawn in detail; their traditions (e.g., copper-mining) and peculiar character (dialect) are brought into relief. The bulk of the volume is concerned with the immigrants' contribution to the economic growth of the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, California, etc., with their motives (often literally gold-digging), and with their adjustment to new surroundings, in which they generally managed to preserve their own identity.

Three Centuries of Social Mobility in America. Ed. and with an introd. by Edward Pessen. D. C. Heath and Co., Lexington (Mass.), Toronto, London 1974. xxii, 313 pp. \$ 3.95.

The editor's introduction leads up to the statement that "vertical mobility before the twentieth century was not nearly so pervasive as sociologists and general readers thought it was". In the introductory note to the second section (on "The Surprising Immobility of the 'Era of the Common Man', 1820-1850"), the opinion voiced by Tocqueville and others "that America was an egalitarian society" is considered invalid. Among the various essays which have been collected here – grouped into four sections, the final section covering the twentieth century – we mention (on account of the subject) S. Thernstrom's contribution on working-class upward mobility in Newburyport in the second half of the nineteenth century. The selection clearly shows the variation in approaches, also among modern sociologists.

WEISS, NANCY J. *The National Urban League 1910-1940*. Oxford University Press, New York 1974. xiv, 402 pp. Maps. \$ 12.50.

The National Urban League, without whose existence the plight of the blacks in the cities might have been even worse, was founded before the commencement of the first great migration to the cities (First World War). The author gives a precise account of the history of this organization, in which she throws light on the influence of political and social currents such as those embodied in the NAACP. The League, however, always remained an organization with a concrete, practical aim. Highlights were the struggle to compel the AFL to abolish the colour bar (in some cases the League succeeded in making it less stringent), and the partially successful actions to ensure the Negroes' share in relief programmes under the New Deal. The League's attempts, by means of a group of social workers of its own, to raise the cultural level of the Negroes (use of sanitation, etc.) should also be mentioned.

ASIA

Bangla Desh

The Economic Development of Bangladesh within a Socialist Framework. Proceedings of a Conference held by the International Economic

Association at Dacca. Ed. by E. A. G. Robinson and Keith Griffin. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1974. xxii, 330 pp. £ 10.00.

Scholars and members of the Bangla Desh Planning Commission read the papers at the conference mentioned in the title, and participants from other countries (India, Japan, USA, USSR, etc.) contributed to the "comments" and the discussion. Taken as a whole, the papers give a clear and balanced picture of the interrelated problems which confront the country: extreme poverty, population pressure (an excellent contribution, in which a radical population policy is pressingly advocated, is that by Badrud Duza of Chittagong University), priorities for development stimuli, both in agriculture and in industry, and the prospects for employment.

China

The Chinese City Between Two Worlds. Ed. by Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1974. xiii, 458 pp. Maps. \$ 18.75.

The historical period covered in the present volume does not extend beyond 1949, except for Taiwan. Dr Elvin, in his introduction, points out that, although important changes took place in the urban structure, the percentage of the Chinese population living in cities did not grow between 1840 and 1950. In one of the twelve contributions Rhoads Murphey discusses these structural changes as they occurred in the treaty ports. Robert A. Kapp investigates the importance of "Chungking as a Center of Warlord Power, 1926-1937". Irene B. Taeuber compares patterns of migration and urbanization in Japan, Taiwan and North-East China in the 1920's and 1930's. Other studies deal with local developments.

OTHER BOOKS

KEN LING, MIRIAM LONDON und LI TA-LING. Maos Kleiner General. Die Geschichte des Rotgardisten Ken Ling. Mit einem Nachwort von Ivan D. London. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München 1974. 534 pp. [Cf. IRSH, XVII (1972), p. 746.]

Japan

THURSTON, DONALD R. Teachers and Politics in Japan. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1973. xiv, 334 pp. \$ 14.50.

The Japan Teachers' Union "can seriously claim to represent the more than 500,000 teachers" in the elementary and lower secondary schools. The organization, which sharply opposes the pre-war educational system and the national values it had to serve, has close affinities with the Socialist Party. Especially at the local level, the JTU has functioned "as the most significant countervailing power in the field of education to the government and the Ministry of Education". The stress on the political role is gradually making way for an emphasis on the union as an organization for the advancement of the economic interests of its members.

Workers and Employers in Japan. The Japanese Employment Relations System. Ed. by Kazuo Okochi, Bernard Karsh [and] Solomon B. Levine. Princeton University Press, Princeton; University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo n.d. [1974.] xii, 538 pp. \$ 20.00.

Eleven Japanese and two American scholars have contributed to the present volume. The emphasis is on industrial relations since the Second World War. Despite the fact that many innovative changes have taken place since Japan began its modern economic development, "an immutable set of employer-employee relationships drawn from the Japanese cultural heritage" has persisted. The labour organizations, collective bargaining and the settling of labour disputes are among the subjects treated in this very informative book.

Malaysia

SHORT, ANTHONY. The Communist Insurrection in Malaya 1948-1960. Frederick Muller Ltd, London 1975. iv, 547 pp. £ 8.95.

The author has had full access to the confidential and secret papers of the Malayan Government, which had intended to publish his findings uncensored; later, however, the Malaysian Government opposed the publication. The work is distinguished by the detailed description of the origins, the development and the successful suppression of the insurrection. As reasons for that success the author, who handles these complicated matters lucidly and with great knowledge of the subject, points out the stability of the organs of authority, the confidence of the population (including, increasingly, that of the non-Communist Chinese), the absence of military and political escalation, and the success of the "New Villages".

EUROPE

L'operaio multinazionale in Europa. [Di] A. Serafini, C. Greppi, Y. Moulrier [e.a.] A cura di Alessandro Serafini. Feltrinelli Editore, Milano 1974. 244 pp. L. 3200.

The common subject of the nine essays that make up the present volume is the employment of foreign labour in the developed countries of Europe, notably France and the Federal Republic. The contributors are quite hopeful that, by resorting to this type of labour, capitalism is at last producing its own grave-diggers.

Austria

Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Karl R. Stadler zum 60. Geburtstag. Hrsg. von Gerhard Botz, Hans Hautmann und Helmut Konrad. Europaverlag, Wien 1974. 583 pp. S 320.

The present studies and essays reflect the various fields in which Professor Stadler has made his mark. Some are original contributions to social history. Ernst Wangermann discusses the problem of reform and revolution in

German and Austrian Social Democracy. Stephan Verosta publishes, and comments upon, a curious letter of Otto Bauer to Jean Longuet dated January 9, 1919. Gustav Otruba compares the social and economic position of the workers during the First Republic with that of the peasants. A bibliography of Professor Stadler and an index of names are appended.

Österreich 1927 bis 1938. Protokoll des Symposiums in Wien 23. bis 28. Oktober 1972. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München 1973. 276 pp. DM 37.00.

This is the first volume to be published by the *Wissenschaftliche Kommission des Theodor-Körner-Stiftungsfonds und des Leopold-Kunschak-Preises zur Erforschung der österreichischen Geschichte der Jahre 1927 bis 1938*. The proceedings of the Viennese symposium convened by the same committee include the often very lively debates, in which all sorts and conditions of scholars, including Communists and Americans, participated. The dramatic events (1927, 1933-34, 1938) and the crucial problems (e.g., the record of the Socialists) in the history of the First Republic come up for discussion.

Belgium

HUYSMANS, CAMILLE. Geschriften en documenten. I. C. Huysmans in Brussel. [Uitgeg. door] Denise De Weerd [en] Wim Geldolf. Standaard Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij, Antwerpen, Amsterdam; Uitgeverij Ontwikkeling, Antwerpen n.d. [1974.] xi, 137 pp. Ill. B.fr. 320.

The present volume is the first in a planned series of nine (plus a *Colloquium-boek*) based on the Huysmans papers. Pieces written by or concerning Huysmans in other collections have designedly been left out of account. In the present richly illustrated volume we find, apart from an introduction, thirty-nine completely printed documents and a large number of extracts from others. The latter have been incorporated in the (extensive) connecting text as well as in the notes. Huysmans's political development and his activities in Brussels (advocating better social insurance) are the central theme. Letters to and from Dutch sympathizers are also among the documents; they include a statement of his position regarding Marx's "ethical" pronouncements in the *Inaugural Address*. Huysmans's secretaryship of the Second International has been reserved for a later volume.

MAN, HENDRIK DE. Persoon en ideeën. I. Autobiografie. [Uitgeg. door] M. Claeys – Van Haegendoren. Met een inl. door H. Brugmans. II. Psychologie van het socialisme. Opbouwend socialisme. [Uitgeg. door] L. Magits. Standaard Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij, Antwerpen, Amsterdam n.d. [1974.] 551 pp. ; 611 pp. B.fr. 700 per vol.

In his introduction to this series, which has been planned in six volumes, Professor Brugmans sketches De Man's political evolution against the background of the dramatic defeats of Social Democracy after the First World War. "He [De Man] might be reproached with obstinacy and one-sidedness, but never with base opportunism." Vol. I draws on De Man's

memoirs *Après coup* (Dutch: *Herinneringen*), *Cavalier seul*, and *Gegen den Strom*. The editor carefully states which of these works she selected for which periods, and why. Vol. II reprints most of the Dutch translation of *Psychologie des Sozialismus*, and some essays, including De Man's address at the Easter Conference at Heppenheim (1928; affinity with Religious Socialism). Existing Dutch translations have been revised.

SIMON-RORIVE, MARCELLE. *La presse socialiste et révolutionnaire en Wallonie et à Bruxelles de 1918 à 1940*. Editions Nauwelaerts, Leuven-Louvain; Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, Paris 1974. 254 pp. B.fr. 400.

This repertory of the Walloon and Brussels Socialist, Communist, Trotskyist and Anarchist press is presented as not exhaustive. Nevertheless, the volume contains a wealth of information, also on short-lived and obscure little papers. Wherever possible, the first and last dates of appearance, the nature of the paper (daily or weekly, etc.), price, format, editorial staff and publisher, as well as present place of custody, are provided.

Czechoslovakia

BACHSTEIN, MARTIN K. *Wenzel Jaksch und die sudetendeutsche Sozialdemokratie*. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, Wien 1974. 306 pp. DM 44.00.

Although in this doctorate thesis a great deal of material is put forward, e.g., documents in Czech custody which the author was allowed to consult in 1968 and after, no clear analysis is provided. On the basis of this material, however, which includes many, sometimes lengthy, quotations, the reader can create a picture of Jaksch for himself. The understandable waverings of this politician (for him the emphasis lay either on loyalty to the Czechoslovak State as a stronghold of democracy or on the rights of the German minority) were less relevant to the course of events than was the impact of international politics. The book, which begins with Jaksch's political apprenticeship in Vienna, covers his career up to 1945.

MASARYK, TOMÁŠ G. *The Meaning of Czech History*. Ed. and with an Introd. by René Wellek. Transl. by Peter Kussi. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1974. xxiii, 169 pp. \$ 9.95.

The present volume consists of selections from *Česká Oltzha* (1895) and other writings in which Masaryk expounds his philosophy of Czech history. The translation of these texts, which makes them available in English for the first time, is, to say the least, liberal rather than literal, and the numerous excisions are not even indicated.

France

Aujourd'hui l'histoire. Avec la collab. de Jacques Berque, Jean Bouvier, Jean Bruhat [e.a.] Editions Sociales, Paris 1974. 352 pp. F.fr. 50.00.

An introduction by A. Casanova and F. Hincker, here published for the first time, contains an evaluation, from a Marxist viewpoint, of the use of history as a science, and a critical discussion of recent historiographical tendencies. The volume itself consists of contributions to *La Nouvelle Critique* by more than twenty historians, who accepted an invitation to co-operate in an investigation into their own field of research from 1968 to 1973. The subjects are dealt with in a systematical order. We mention contributions by P. Vi-lar on "theoretical problems of economic history", by C. Willard, J. Bruhat and J. Girault on the history of the workers' movement, and by, e.g., A. Soboul on the French Revolution.

DEPREUX, EDOUARD. *Servitude et grandeur du P.S.U.* Editions Syros, Paris 1974. 297 pp. F.fr. 24.00.

As compared with the *Souvenirs d'un militant* (cf. IRSH, XVII (1972), pp. 758f.) this sequel, which covers the years of Depreux's leadership (national secretary) of the *Parti Socialiste Unifié* (1960-67), is less clear and more rambling. The reader is confronted with a host of details, speculations and parallels, not all of them related to the subject proper. Yet for the history of the PSU – the years after 1967 are reviewed in brief – this book is of major importance. The role played by the party has been of more consequence than might be expected from the number of its members or from its electoral results: with emphasis, Depreux points at the fermenting action on "the Left" by a party of "Socialists only". Conflicts within the party are described without reserve.

Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français. Publié sous la dir. de Jean Maitron. Tome XI. Tome XII. Troisième partie: 1871-1914. De la Commune à la Grande Guerre. Bou à Del. Del à Gue. Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris 1973; 1974. 350 pp.; 359 pp. F.fr. 90.00; 110.00.

The opening volume of the 1871-1914 series of the *Dictionnaire* was noticed in IRSH, XVIII (1973), p. 307. The present volumes are again cram-full of information on the grass-roots of the French workers' movement. Of several individuals who lived well beyond 1914, e.g., Briand, Calvignac and Guesde, full biographies are given here. The article on Brousse links up with that on his early years in Vol. IV.

DIXMIER, ELISABETH et MICHEL. *L'Assiette au beurre*. Revue satirique illustrée 1901-1912. François Maspero, Paris 1974. 382 pp. Ill. F.fr. 48.00.

Six hundred issues in all appeared of this illustrated weekly; it contained numerous caricatures, in which anticlericalism often ran riot, and social conditions in the *Belle Époque* (little attention for the farmers, much for the workers), colonial politics and such phenomena as alcoholism were targets. Many caricatures are included as illustrations. They and others are described in a systematic order, and in the description much attention is given to the political line of the paper (moving in a socialist, and at the last in a more nationalist direction; sympathy for the Russian Revolution of 1905).

HUFTON, OLWEN H. *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, London 1974. xiii, 414 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 9.00.

Among the numerous sources consulted for this very instructive study, we mention those in several departmental archives on the subjects of poor relief, mendicancy and charitable institutions. The author relates the growing poverty of the period to the population growth, and explores the extremely complicated field of private charity. She devotes special attention to criminality in various forms (vagrancy, theft, but also infanticide).

KAPLOW, JEFFRY. *Les noms des rois. Les pauvres de Paris à la veille de la Révolution*. Trad. de l'anglais par Pierre Birman. François Maspero, Paris 1974. 285 pp. F.fr. 42.00.

The present volume is a translation of *The Names of Kings* (New York 1972); a sketchy outline was published in IRSH, XII (1967), pp. 277ff. Apart from the living conditions, culture and attitudes of the "labouring poor" in eighteenth-century Paris, the author enters into the question why it was that they did not become politically conscious until the French Revolution had broken out.

MAITRON, JEAN. *Le mouvement anarchiste en France. Tome I. Des origines à 1914. Tome II. De 1914 à nos jours. Anarchisme et marxisme. Bibliographie*. François Maspero, Paris 1975. 486 pp.; 440 pp. F.fr. 45.00 per vol.

A brief study of Anarchism before Proudhon is followed by a concise review of his ideas, both serving to introduce the Mutualist movement. This movement, the Jura Federation and the "anti-authoritarian" International are regarded as precursors of the Anarchist movement proper, which is discussed in a masterly way for the period from 1880 to 1972 with all its facets and in great detail. Syndicalism, too, is given a central place. In Vol. I we find, further, interesting treatises on Anarchist analyses of the population problem (Neo-Malthusianism), and on endeavours towards a more transparent and simple form of society. Vol. II is devoted to the impact of the Russian Revolution, the recent revival of Anarchist ideas, etc. It also contains a synthetic essay on Marxism and Anarchism. Special mention is due to the extensive bibliography with a list of periodicals containing information on places of publication and custody, year or years of appearance, and number of issues.

MIEGE, BERNARD. *Les comités d'entreprises [sic], les loisirs et l'action culturelle*. Préface de Henri Bartoli. Editions Cujas, Paris 1974. vi, 538 pp. F.fr. 80.00.

This is a slightly abridged version of a doctorate thesis from 1968; no publications later than 1967 are listed in the bibliography. Basing himself on numerous interviews and written inquiries carried out by an interdisciplinary team, the author gives a very extensive survey of the cultural and leisure activities provided by enterprises both within and outside their walls. In his view, these activities should in no way be regarded as part of a

development towards a progressive substitution of "leisure" for "work" occurring automatically under capitalism. They are, on the contrary, to be seen as partial improvements, though as yet not much appreciated, in the workers' living conditions within the framework of the class struggle; the *comités d'entreprise* should consciously promote these improvements.

PROST, ANTOINE. *Vocabulaire des proclamations électorales de 1881, 1885 et 1889*. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1974. 196 pp. F.fr. 95.00.

The present volume, edited early in 1970, is a study of the "political manifestoes" which, due to an initiative of the delegate Barodet, were collected by a special parliamentary commission from 1881 onward. The method of working up the material is mainly statistical. How frequently were terms like *progrès*, *républicain* etc. used in the three election years under investigation? What terms were used by which groups? The influence of Boulangism is noticeable in the terminology (especially that of the Right). This is an interesting study, and it is to be hoped that it will inspire similar investigations into other times and other countries.

SAINT-SIMON, CLAUDE-HENRI DE. *Opere*. A cura di Maria Teresa Bovetti Pichetto. Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, Torino 1975. 1162 pp. Ill. L. 19000.

The editor, in her introduction, strongly emphasizes Saint-Simon's rejection of Roman Catholicism as an obsolete religion, and goes into the religious and ethical ideas of Saint-Simon's followers (especially *Enfantin*). This introduction precedes a chronology, a bibliography, and a survey of those writings by Saint-Simon that have been included in the present volume, with brief explanatory notes. These writings are presented in an Italian translation, from the *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève* to *Nouveau christianisme*; they include the most important items, such as *L'Industrie*, *Du système industriel*, *Catéchisme des industriels*, and *De l'organisation sociale*.

WATSON, DAVID ROBIN. *Georges Clemenceau. A Political Biography*. Eyre Methuen, London 1974. 463 pp. Maps. £ 9.50.

The author of this well-written and well-documented biography puts the main emphasis on Clemenceau's role as a politician and statesman; he has expertly embedded the biographical information in his account of the political developments of the time, with highlights on some aspects of his subject's private life, such as his friendship with the painter Monet. Less well-known periods in Clemenceau's career are treated with as much feeling for detail as is his role as war leader. His ideas on the working of parliamentary democracy (initially he was an advocate of a one-chamber system, but lack of belief in the infallibility of "the people" later led him to appreciate the Senate) are lucidly explained.

OTHER BOOKS

HEIST, WALTER. *Die Entdeckung des Arbeiters. Der Proletarier in der fran-*

- zösischen Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Kindler, München 1974. 240 pp.
- HESS, REMI. Les maoïstes français. Une dérive institutionnelle. Editions Anthropos, Paris 1974. x, 244 pp.
- NANIA, GUY. Le P.S.U. avant Rocard. Prés. de Jean Popereen. Editions Roblot, Paris 1973. 253 pp. Maps.

Germany

BÖHNKE, WILFRIED. Die NSDAP im Ruhrgebiet 1920-1933. Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1974. 239 pp. DM 32.00.

The present doctorate thesis, which was finished more than five years ago, is essentially an organizational history of the NSDAP in the Ruhr area before 1933. Some attention is paid to the social characteristics of the movement (lower middle class). The Nazis were not very successful in winning over the industrial workers, and big business proved even less responsive.

DOMANN, PETER. Sozialdemokratie und Kaisertum unter Wilhelm II. Die Auseinandersetzung der Partei mit dem monarchischen System, seinen gesellschafts- und verfassungspolitischen Voraussetzungen. Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1974. viii, 244 pp. DM 48.00.

The attitude of Social Democracy towards the Hohenzollern Monarchy is here brought into relief for the years 1890-1914, and the developments of 1914-18 are here and there referred to. The author, basing himself on a great deal of material (such as speeches in the *Reichstag*), depicts the acceptance, even by the left wing, of the perspective of a monarchy – though a less “plebiscitary” and more parliamentary one – for the foreseeable future. He also deals with the assessment of the Prussian royal reign and of the role played by the army and the nobility. His emphasis is often unusual, and therefore all the more marked: the views which came to the fore in practical politics create a different impression than do statements made within the framework of the official theory.

DÜLMEN, RICHARD VAN. Der Geheimbund der Illuminaten. Darstellung, Analyse, Dokumentation. Frommann-Holzboog, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1975. 453 pp. DM 58.00.

The secret society of the Illuminati originated in Bavaria in the late 1770's. Their aspirations, a curious blend of elitism and enlightened humanitarianism, were more impressive than their achievements, but their conservative enemies, who soon brought about their official suppression, took these aspirations very seriously and created the bogey of a universal revolutionary conspiracy. To Dr v. Dülmen, the Illuminati are interesting for their own sake, and he pays much attention to their ideology and their organization. About two thirds of the volume consist of primary materials: regulations, instructions, letters, reports, and government documents.

ENKE, EDO. *Oberschicht und politisches System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Soziale Mobilität und Karrieremuster von 800 Inhabern von Spitzenpositionen der westdeutschen Gesellschaft.* Herbert Lang, Bern; Peter Lang, Frankfurt/M. 1974. ix, 189, xxxvii pp. S.fr. 32.00.

The 800 persons interviewed for this study include high civil servants, leading figures in industry and trade, university professors, trade-union leaders, and representatives of the press, radio and television. This sociological inquiry, in which methodological issues receive great attention, is mainly concerned with such problems as social origins, conditions for ascending to elite positions, and the need of self-legitimation. The author's judgment on the working of the electoral system of the Federal Republic as compared to that of Great Britain is favourable.

FREYMOND, JEAN. *Le IIIe Reich et la réorganisation économique de l'Europe 1940-1942. Origines et Projets.* A. W. Sijthoff, Leiden; Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales, Genève 1974. xxii, 302 pp. D.fl. 59.00.

The initial successes during the Second World War gave rise to a flood of economic planning for a German Europe, which was supposed to be just around the corner. Since Hitler refused to commit himself in a field which, moreover, was not of prime importance in his eyes, most of this planning is not specifically National-Socialist, but it does reflect the variety of economic and ideological interests that coexisted in the Third *Reich*. The present monograph has an interesting appendix of documents, the bulk of which is published for the first time.

FRIESEN, ABRAHAM. *Reformation and Utopia. The Marxist Interpretation of the Reformation and Its Antecedents.* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band 71.] Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1974. xv, 271 pp. DM 52.00.

In his introductory chapters, Dr Friesen places the conflict between Luther and Münzer in a broad historical framework, viz., the antagonism between St Augustine and heretics such as Joachim of Fiore, the Marxists belonging to the heretical camp. The main part of the volume is focused on the Marxist historiography of the above conflict; Engels's appraisal of Calvinism over against Lutheranism is not so much as mentioned. The author pays special attention to the shifts in the interpretation of both Luther and Münzer. Nor does he fail to emphasize the problems arising from the postulate of the German Reformation as an "early bourgeois" revolution, but since he approaches the Marxists in religious or quasi-religious terms, he has great difficulty in following their specific line of thought (he is obviously not familiar with Nipperdey's important analysis mentioned in IRSH, XIII (1968), p. 89). Dr Friesen's most valuable contribution consists in the data he has unearthed on Wilhelm Zimmermann and his history of the Peasants' War (1841-43), on which Engels and many other Marxists relied so heavily.

GELLATELY, ROBERT. *The Politics of Economic Despair: Shopkeepers and German Politics 1890-1914*. Sage Publications, London, Beverly Hills 1974. xvi, 317 pp. £ 6.00.

Drawing upon a wealth of unpublished sources, the author describes and analyzes the economic and political mobilization of the small-scale retail trade before 1914. Although they were equally hemmed in between capital and labour, the interests of these "shopkeepers" were not identical with those of the artisans and the white-collar workers. Nor were they conspicuous for their co-operative capacities. The *Kartell der schaffenden Stände* and, later, the Nazi Party are seen as logical termini.

HOSS, DIETRICH. *Die Krise des »Institutionalisierten Klassenkampfes«. Metallarbeiterstreik in Baden-Württemberg*. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt, Köln 1974. 226 pp. DM 19.00.

In the metalworkers' strike of 1963 a discrepancy of ideas became manifest that had been growing between the union leadership, who were inclined to compromise within the existing socio-economic system, and the militants among the employees, who did not accept that system as a norm. The author gives an account of the strike, and discusses its background from the point of view of what is now, more than ten years later, considered highly topical.

Johann Jacoby Briefwechsel 1816-1849. Hrsg. und erläutert von Edmund Silberner. Fackelträger Verlag, Hannover 1974. 669 pp. Ill. DM 140.00.

Jacoby's papers were lost in the fall of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), but copies of (parts of) letters had been made by Gustav Mayer. With excerpts made by others, these copies constitute the principal material printed in this carefully edited work. A second volume, and a biography, to be written by the editor, are in preparation. The present volume comprises more than 600 letters written by and to Jacoby, prominent "democrat and freedom fighter". A number of other documents (e.g., letters to newspaper editors) are included. Among the correspondents are R. Blum, J. Fröbel, A. Ruge, O. Wigand, and many well-known (Mazzini) and less familiar names.

KALS, HANS. *Die soziale Frage in der Romantik*. Peter Hanstein Verlag GmbH, Köln, Bonn 1974. x, 328 pp. DM 48.00.

The present volume is an essay on what the German romanticists, including Fichte, had to say on the emerging "social question", and what solutions they propounded. The essay and the appended bibliography bear witness to the author's variegated reading, but informed and critical readers may well find the net result rather meagre.

KNEIP, RUDOLF. *Jugend der Weimarer Zeit*. Handbuch der Jugendverbände 1919-1938. Dipa-Verlag, Frankfurt/M. 1974. 383 pp. Ill. DM 48.00.

Mr Kneip, a one-time *bündisch* leader and a historian of the German youth movement, has prepared a valuable alphabetical handbook. Hundreds of *bündisch*, denominational and working-class organizations of the inter-war period, both in and outside Germany, are included with significant characteristics, and often with their emblems. Information on the Nazi era is given in items such as *Bündische Opposition*. A bibliography and indices of persons and organizations are appended.

KRABBE, WOLFGANG R. *Gesellschaftsveränderung durch Lebensreform. Strukturmerkmale einer sozialreformerischen Bewegung im Deutschland der Industrialisierungsperiode*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1974. 181 pp. DM 34.00.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Germany was one of the countries where many people became convinced that the big cities had grown into "plague-sores of culture". All kinds of reform ideas (teetotalism, garden cities, vegetarianism, etc.) emerged, which led to new, mostly small, but sometimes influential movements aiming at a reformation of society by means of new ways of life. Of these movements the author gives an absorbing and well-documented account. Eschatological moments receive their due, but there are also ideas that can pass the test of present-day "environmental" criticism.

KÜHN, PETER. *Materialien zu einer Geschichte der Mannheimer Unterschichten in der Zeit von 1835-1862 (1871)*. Herbert Lang, Bern; Peter Lang, Frankfurt/M. 1974. x, 257 pp. S.fr. 43.20.

From a multitude of sources – regulations, factory inspection, industrial archives, etc. – the author has built up a detailed statistical survey. He discusses the economic development of Mannheim, but the strongest emphasis is on the position of the lowest strata of society, their numerical importance and socio-economic conditions, as well as on the various mutual and other aid and support organizations, such as sickness benefit funds.

LATTIMORE, BERTRAM GRESH, JR. *The Assimilation of German Expellees into the West German Polity and Society Since 1945. A Case Study of Eutin, Schleswig-Holstein*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1974. xiii, 158 pp. D.fl. 36.90.

In 1950, more than thirty per cent (a higher percentage than in any other *Land*) of the population of Sleswick-Holstein consisted of expellees from the East. A good survey is given of the (ultimately very successful) measures to promote integration, the initial resistance against them, and the influence of that integration on the possibilities of a new *Ostpolitik*, freed from the claims of a protracted revanchism.

LEHR, STEFAN. *Antisemitismus – religiöse Motive im sozialen Vorurteil. Aus der Frühgeschichte des Antisemitismus in Deutschland 1870-1914*. Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München 1974. viii, 291 pp. DM 20.00.

By "religious motifs" in pre-Nazi antisemitism Dr Lehr understands both traditional Christian prejudice (deicide, ritual murder, etc.) and "enlightened" criticism of the Jewish religion. In his view, the two are closely connected, having a good deal of racialism and demonism in common. Much evidence has been worked up in this mimeographed book, but a clear definition of the problem is lacking. Unfortunately, the author has not been able to make use of Cobet's inventory *Der Wortschatz des Antisemitismus in der Bismarckzeit* (cf. IRSH, XIX (1974), p. 303).

LUDWIG, KARL-HEINZ. *Technik und Ingenieure im Dritten Reich*. Droste Verlag, Düsseldorf 1974. 544 pp. DM 78.00.

Although the technical intelligentsia played an important part in the Third *Reich*, this well-documented and thoughtful monograph suggests neither an elective affinity nor a managerial revolution. The basic picture is that of the exploitation of a specific kind of *antikapitalistische Sehnsucht* by the Nazis. "Dr.-Ing." Fritz Todt compares very favourably with the unreliable glamour boy Albert Speer, who is severely criticized.

NA'AMAN, S., unter Mitw. von H.-P. Harstick. *Die Konstituierung der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung 1862/63. Darstellung und Dokumentation*. Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., Assen 1975. xxiv, 967 pp. D.fl. 168.00.

The authors present a multitude of arguments to the effect that the young workers' movement in Germany grew from a variety of roots: the appearance side by side, and opposing each other, of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein* and the *Vereinstag Deutscher Arbeitervereine* was not fortuitous, but the outcome of a differentiated historical development; the authors trace this development in detail. The document section comprises newspaper articles, appeals, protocols of meetings, and letters; it bears witness to the fact that viewpoints and approaches differed regionally as well. The exceptionally extensive notes may be called a documentation in themselves, containing a great deal of original source material, often printed integrally. Besides a bibliography and a name index, a list of the newspapers and periodicals used and a geographical index are included.

NOLTE, ERNST. *Deutschland und der Kalte Krieg*. R. Piper & Co. Verlag, München, Zürich 1974. 755 pp. DM 64.00.

Professor Nolte, who during the 'sixties made his mark by his pioneering study of Fascism, has now written a bulky volume on the East-West conflict and the place of divided Germany therein. Once more, there is a strong emphasis on ideological over against economic factors, and this time the basic picture is that of a fanatical Marxist creed which, all over the world, challenges an essentially defensive pluralistic society. The denunciation of a "party of the GDR" in the Federal Republic reflects the author's unpleasant experiences with the New Left, but he does not rule out the possibility of peaceful coexistence. Although the general approach is open to criticism, this book is of considerable value, if only because of the many interesting details it contains.

SAUL, KLAUS. Staat, Industrie, Arbeiterbewegung im Kaiserreich. Zur Innen- und Außenpolitik [*recte* Sozialpolitik] des Wilhelminischen Deutschland 1903-1914. Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, Düsseldorf 1974. 620 pp. DM 75.00.

The author points out that there existed a guerrilla (*Kleinkrieg*) of the authorities, the judiciary and the employers' organizations against the "domestic enemy". With reference to protocols of meetings, periodical articles, annual reports of organizations, and a large number of other primary sources he shows how the workers' movement was thwarted even in the smallest details. He also studies the policies and interprets the roles of "national" or "patriotic" organizations, including workers' organizations bearing these labels. The specified references are impressive.

STEINEBACH, NIKOLAUS. Die Gehaltsstruktur der Angestellten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 1973. 314 pp. DM 76.00.

Supporting his study with numerous tables, the author gives a picture of wage differences among the white-collar workers in the Federal Republic. He compares the situations in certain years (in 1957, for instance, the best-paid category was white collar in the mining industry), and investigates the differences over longer periods. One of his conclusions is that, in times of economic growth and full employment, any changes in wage differences among the various categories are not so much due to social-psychological or institutional causes as chiefly to economic circumstances.

Die Weizsäcker-Papiere 1933-1950. Hrsg. von Leonidas E. Hill. Propyläen Verlag, Berlin 1974. 684 pp. DM 48.00.

Dr Hill, whose aim is a large-scale rehabilitation of the diplomat Ernst von Weizsäcker, has begun by editing his papers from the years 1933-50. During most of this time Weizsäcker served Hitler, notably as State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (1938-43), whereupon he was tried as a war criminal. No doubt he attempted "to prevent the worst", but since he was not successful in this respect his actual role boiled down to that of a "buffer", a "façade" (his own terms), and a "qualified" instrument. The private notes, letters and diaries which, together with a few official documents, make up the present volume can only confirm this basic picture.

Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Geschichte. [Von] Alfred Grosser, Eberhard Jäckel, Robert Jungk, Peter Christian Ludz [und] Peter Penzkofer. J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart 1974. xi, 291 pp. DM 28.00.

The present volume is a kind of festschrift for the Frankfurt banking-house B. Metzler seel. Sohn & Co., which was established in 1674. Apart from an outline of the history of this firm and the Metzler family, by Bernd Lutz, there is a detailed study of over 150 pages, by Professor Penzkofer, of private banking in Germany since 1870. The other contributions deal with the

German divergence (Jäckel), the cultural identity of the Federal Republic (Grosser), similarities and differences between the Federal Republic and the GDR (Ludzk), and the future (Jungk).

WRIGHT, J. R. C. 'Above Parties': The Political Attitudes of the German Protestant Church Leadership 1918-1933. Oxford University Press, London 1974. xvii, 197 pp. Ill. £ 5.00.

Apart from summarizing the findings of a detailed doctorate thesis on the attitudes of the leaders of the Protestant churches vis-a-vis the Weimar Republic, about one third of this book is concerned with the predicament of those churches during the Third *Reich*. The first one hundred pages are no doubt the most important. Here, the author demonstrates that in spite of conservative leanings the Protestant elite was not averse to a *modus vivendi* with the Republic. A full chapter is devoted to the Prussian *Kirchenvertrag* of 1931.

ZUNKEL, FRIEDRICH. *Industrie und Staatssozialismus. Der Kampf um die Wirtschaftsordnung in Deutschland 1914-1918*. Droste Verlag, Düsseldorf 1974. 227 pp. DM 48.00.

The theme of this very informative study is the range of expectations and aims concerning the economic order after the end of the First World War. The experience of a war economy led to "State Socialist" ideas on a permanent change in socio-economic relationships, not only in academic circles (Jaffé, Plenge), but also among administrators (e.g., Wichard von Moellendorff, who, besides Rathenau, receives much attention) and in industry itself. The resistance of the "heavy industry" and the attitude of the trade-union movement (agreements between Stinnes and Legien, which were intended to help prevent a revolution after the war by early partial concessions) are among the subjects under scrutiny.

OTHER BOOKS

Die zweite Republik. 25 Jahre Bundesrepublik Deutschland – eine Bilanz. Hrsg. von Richard Löwenthal und Hans-Peter Schwarz. Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart 1974. 970 pp.

Great Britain

Annals of Labour. Autobiographies of British working-class people 1820-1920. Ed. by John Burnett. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, London 1974. 364 pp. \$ 10.95.

Even before the advances in education in the 1870's "the records of working people of many kinds – skilled men, factory workers, domestic servants, farm labourers [...] – are still sufficiently numerous to constitute perhaps not a sociological 'sample' but at least a cross-section of many different occupations, geographical regions and standards of living". The majority of the (longer) extracts presented here, each preceded by a brief biographical note, has been taken from manuscript sources. Except for alterations in the

punctuation, the original form has been preserved. This material is of great interest; the value of the volume is made even greater by the introduction, which deals especially with wage developments.

BACKSTROM, PHILIP N. *Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England*. Edward Vansittart Neale and the Co-operative Movement. Croom Helm, London 1974. vii, 238 pp. £ 5.95.

The subtitle conveys a better idea of what the present volume is about than the main title does. Even before the decline of original Christian Socialism, in which he was a prominent figure, Neale conceived of co-operatives, and notably producers' co-operatives, as a means of implementing working-class democracy and overcoming capitalism. Unfortunately, in the author's view, he was unable to put over his vision to the co-operative movement, the CWS being one of the main obstacles.

BRENAN, GERALD. *Personal Record 1920-1972*. Jonathan Cape, London 1974. 381 pp. Ill. £ 6.00.

The first volume of Gerald Brenan's autobiography appeared in 1962 and was noticed in *IRSH*, VIII (1963), p. 511. The present volume likewise sheds light on contemporary social history, although it deals primarily with the author's private life. It includes interesting portraits of Brenan's Bloomsbury friends, and two important chapters on the Spanish scene in 1936.

COLLOMS, BRENDA. *Charles Kingsley. The Lion of Eversley*. Constable, London; Barnes & Noble, New York 1975. 400 pp. Ill. £ 5.00.

This is a popular biography of the well-known protagonist of the socially concerned wing of the Anglican Church. The author does not exactly lionize Kingsley, but she does present a sympathetic portrait of his personality, for which she draws rather heavily on the memorial volume by his widow.

HARRISON, STANLEY. *Poor Men's Guardians. A Record of the Struggles for a Democratic Newspaper Press, 1763-1973*. Lawrence and Wishart, London 1974. 256 pp. Ill. £ 4.00. (Paper: £ 1.95.)

The author, who is chief sub-editor of the *Morning Star* (successor to the Communist *Daily Worker*), begins his account with a description of seventeenth-century champions of the free printed word (Lilburne; Milton – plea "for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing"). He then gives an outline of the radical press in the eighteenth century, the struggle against the tax on press organs and for Chartism (*Northern Star*), and the emergence of Socialist and Labour papers in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the final chapters the vicissitudes of the Communist press are the centre of attention. Newspaper headlines were used as illustrations, e.g., from *The Bee-Hive*, *The Red Republican* and *The Call*.

JARRETT, DEREK. *England in the Age of Hogarth*. Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, London 1974. 256 pp. Ill. £ 4.25.

The England of the 1750's was "the England of Hogarth", who excelled in "the portrayal of the London crowd". Many of Hogarth's engravings are here reproduced together with other contemporary pictures. The author highlights various aspects of life in the "unpoliced society", in which country gentlemen dominated, but the "crowd" possessed a strong feeling of self-esteem and English superiority. He gives extensive descriptions of such fringe phenomena as smuggling and prostitution, depicts the eating and drinking customs of the common people, and illuminates other social facets such as marriage customs.

The Long Debate on Poverty. Eight essays on industrialisation and 'the condition of England'. [By] R. M. Hartwell, G. E. Mingay, Rhodes Boyson [a.o.] 2nd ed. The Institute of Economic Affairs, London 1974. xxxii, 243 pp. £ 2.50.

The first edition of these essays on the relationship of the Industrial Revolution and living conditions appeared in 1972, and was noticed in IRSH, XVIII (1973), p. 321. The present volume is a facsimile with a thought-provoking analysis, by Norman Gash, of what reviewers have written pro and con.

McKIBBIN, ROSS. The Evolution of the Labour Party 1910-1924. Oxford University Press, London 1974 [*recte* 1975]. xviii, 261 pp. £ 5.75.

"I have tried to illustrate the character of the Labour Party by an analysis of its mass organization, to suggest reasons why it replaced the Liberal Party as the principal party of the left, and, finally, I have tried to show that the attempt of the Labour leadership to create a 'global' working-class movement [...] was very largely a failure", writes the author in his introduction to this exceptionally lucid and well-documented account. He stresses Labour's continuity of policy and organization over the years under discussion. Increasing centralization of the party organization and growing union predominance were not set in motion – though they were accelerated – by the war. Local records are given much room in an exposition of the feelings and expectations of the rank and file.

McLEOD, HUGH. Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City. Croom Helm, London 1974. xii, 360 pp. Maps. £ 6.95.

The present volume is a well-documented study of religious attitudes and practice in London from about 1880 to 1914. The author has investigated these separately for the East End, the suburbs, and the West End. Although his chief theme is the social setting of both religion and irreligion, he avoids explaining either as a mere superstructure, let alone as a reflection of economic conditions.

MASSARDO MAIELLO, ADELE. Laburismo e Russia Sovietica 1917-1924. Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore, Milano 1974. iv, 380 pp. L. 6500.

Labour's attitude towards Soviet Russia is the central theme of this book, which is largely based on British sources (Foreign Office files, newspaper

articles, etc.) and the literature. The viewpoints of radical Socialists outside the Labour Party (e.g., Sylvia Pankhurst) are also included in the discussion of the period in which the revolution itself and its politico-ideological diffusion were in the foreground. Labour's anti-interventionism receives less attention than do the endeavours to establish relations with a stabilized Soviet Union and the attitude of the First Labour Government. The appendices include the text of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of August 1924.

MORGAN, KENNETH O. Keir Hardie. Radical and Socialist. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1975. xii, 343 pp. Ill. £ 8.00.

Few political biographies attain the level of balance and power of integration regarding the specific part played by the subject and his surroundings that characterize the present volume. It is based on a great deal of source material collected in numerous places. Hardie, though "far from being the typical working man", worked as a miner; he embraced temperance and Christianity, and advocated "sobriety, self-education and education" as "the keys to progress". His development from radical Liberalism to Socialism was a long process. The Scottish Labour Party, which merged with the ILP in 1894, was a typical Lib-Lab product. In the Labour Party, Hardie often found himself in an isolated position. His "tendency to self-identification as a kind of Christ-like prophet" was coupled with a highly unorthodox interpretation of Marx. Hardie's role on the international scene ("revisionist", but supporting the "general-strike" idea) is lucidly analyzed.

Popular Protest and Public Order. Six Studies in British History 1790-1920. Ed. by R. Quinault and J. Stevenson. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1974 [*recte* 1975]. 242 pp. £ 5.25.

The editors' introduction gives a good summary, beginning with R. F. Wearmouth, of the historiography of popular protest, in which they challenge the uniqueness of the British political evolution, purported to be characterized by stability. J. Stevenson discusses the food riots in England from 1792 to 1818, and E. Richards the structural upheavals in the Scottish Highlands from 1790 to 1860. F. C. Mather investigates the (unsuccessful) semi-revolutionary strike movement in the manufacturing districts of Britain in the summer of 1842, D. Philips the riots and unrest in the Black Country from 1835 to 1860, and R. Quinault the attitude of the Warwickshire County Magistracy towards popular disturbances (*circa* 1830-70). The last contribution – by Iain McLean – is devoted to the Red Clydeside, 1915-19, whose "bark was shown to be worse than its bite".

ROSEN, ANDREW. Rise Up, Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union 1903-1914. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston 1974. xix, 312 pp. £ 6.95.

Hitherto unpublished papers, such as the letters written by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel – of whom the author draws telling portraits –, but also the Asquith and the Balfour papers, have been used as sources for this absorbing and thorough survey of the history of the Women's Social and Political Union. The importance and effectiveness of the suf-

fragette movement stand out clearly against the background of Liberal government policies. The movement during the First World War, and its success in 1918 – the vote – are outlined in an epilogue.

THOMIS, MALCOLM I. *The Town Labourer and the Industrial Revolution*. B. T. Batsford Ltd, London, Sydney 1974. vi, 247 pp. £ 4.00. (Paper: £ 2.00.)

"This book aims simply to look again at some of the topics discussed by the Hammonds" in their famous work *The Town Labourer* (first edition 1917). In doing so, the author looks critically at numerous other studies as well (by G. F. E. Rudé, G. D. H. Cole, Asa Briggs and others). He has also used primary sources, for instance, contemporary political writings and novels. Questions like the development of a working-class consciousness, the extent to which the Industrial Revolution meant a break in social conditions, the mentality of the propertied classes, and government measures (such as the Factory Acts) are re-assessed with acumen.

WINCOTT, LEN. *Invergordon Mutineer*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1974. vii, 183 pp. £ 2.95.

The author of this absorbing autobiography, son of a drunkard and a hard-working mother, was employed as an errand-boy until he entered the Royal Navy at the age of sixteen. He gives a vivid description of the ratings of his time, and concludes his story with an account of the Navy mutiny of 1931 following a severe pay-cut. Since 1932 he has lived in Russia, where he survived eleven years in a labour camp.

Hungary

Soziologie und Gesellschaft in Ungarn. Aus dem Ertrag des ersten Jahrzehnts der neueren ungarischen Soziologie. Hrsg. und mit einer Einl. vers. von Bálint Balla. Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart 1974.

I. Historische Entwicklung und sozialer Wandel. viii, 160 pp. DM 48.00.

II. Marxistische Soziologie, Politik und Planung. viii, 128 pp. DM 39.00.

III. Familie, Jugend und Bildungssystem. viii, 186 pp. DM 49.00.

IV. Vom Agrarland zur Industriegesellschaft. viii, 154 pp. DM 44.00.

The wider latitude allowed to research under the Kádár regime since the early 'sixties brought about a recovery of sociology, which had long been regarded as un-Marxist. The editor points out that recently a harder line is being taken, so that the 32 contributions in the present four volumes should perhaps be regarded as providing a "retrospective view" of an already closed period. These contributions are of interest for more than one reason: they acquaint the reader who does not read Hungarian with some remarkable professional achievements, and they clearly demonstrate the limits imposed on subjects and on the interpretation of research findings even by a flexibly operated state ideology. For instance, to make jazz logically admissible, the

previous condemnation of jazz as an expression of capitalist decadence has to be replaced by the reverse evaluation of jazz as an expression of Negro folk culture, as well as of the will of the white American worker to demonstrate class feelings. Many contributions are concerned with questions of social mobility, "Marxist sociology", education, and the consequences of industrialization and urbanization.

Italy

Anarchismo e socialismo in Italia 1872-1892. Atti del Convegno di studi «Marxisti e "riministi"», Rimini 19-21 ottobre 1972. A cura di Liliano Faenza. Pref. di Enzo Santarelli. Editori Riuniti, Roma 1973. xxiii, 321 pp. L. 3500.

The sixteen shorter and longer essays that make up the present volume have their origin in a symposium convened on the occasion of the centenary of the founding congress of the Italian Federation. Although several contributors (e.g., Bravo, Cerrito and Lehning) have anti-Bakuninist or anti-Marxist axes to grind, most of the volume goes beyond a repetition of the old formulas. The debates of the symposium are not included, but in several cases documents are appended. Apart from the Rimini Congress and the impact of Bakunin, the contributions deal with various aspects of the emerging workers' movement in Italy, and with the Spanish Federation and politics (G. P. Biagioni).

GAMBASIN, ANGELO. Parroci e contadini nel Veneto alla fine dell'Ottocento. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma 1973. ix, 316 pp. Maps. L. 9000.

In his foreword to this opening volume of the *Biblioteca di Storia Sociale*, which will focus on Venetia and the Mezzogiorno, Gabriele De Rosa stresses the socio-historical importance of the Roman Catholic Church at the grass-roots level: the parish. Dr Gambasin substantially bears him out with reference to Venetia, a backward region where the parish priest held a key position during the final decades of the nineteenth century. Drawing upon a wealth of unpublished materials, the author sheds an interesting light on the "parroco neotomista, antimagico, antimassone, astensionista antimoderato", popular devotion, and the stand taken by the Church vis-a-vis social problems.

GRAMSCI[, ANTONIO]. — dans le texte. Recueil réalisé sous la dir. de François Ricci en collab. avec Jean Bramant. Textes trad. de l'It. par Jean Bramant, Gilbert Moget, Armand Monjo [e.a.] Editions Sociales, Paris 1975. 797 pp. F.fr. 60.00.

In the introduction it is pointed out that, terminologically, the *Lettere del carcere* may have been partially determined by the pressure of circumstances: the Fascist warders could easily have recognized a traditionally Marxist usage as rebellious. The *Lettere* form the *pièce de résistance* in this French-language anthology, too. Long extracts from them are preceded by some articles from *Avanti!* and *L'Ordine Nuovo*.

GRAMSCI, ANTONIO. *Ecrits politiques. I. 1914-1920. Textes choisis, prés. et annotés par Robert Paris, trad. de l'it. par Marie G. Martin, Gilbert Moget, Armando Tassi, Robert Paris.* Gallimard, Paris 1974. 461 pp. F.fr. 69.00.

"Marx – that is the entrance of the *intelligenza* into the history of humanity". This is a statement by Gramsci in one of his articles in *Il Grido del Popolo* (May 1918), of which many have been collected here, together with items from *L'Ordine Nuovo* and other periodicals of the years 1919-20. The analyses of the social and political relationships in Italy are full of interest, as are the sharp denunciation of Syndicalism, the comments on events in Russia in 1917, and the evaluations of "political Jacobinism", which was "nefarious for the development of history"; Gramsci, who early pronounced for the "Maximalists", noted with some surprise that the Russian February Revolution did not pass through a Jacobin phase.

Movimento sindacale e contrattazione collettiva 1945-1973. [Di] Eugenio Guidi, Domenico Valcavi, Gianni Salvarani [e.a.] 4a ed. aggiornata e ampliata. Franco Angeli Editore, Milano 1974. 659 pp. L. 6500.

The present volume is a very useful documentation of Italian trade unionism and collective bargaining at various levels since 1945, and especially since 1959. Numerous agreements come up for discussion, and the volume contains many tables. Unfortunately, there is no index.

PICHIERRI, ANGELO. *Le classi sociali in Italia (1870-1970).* Loescher Editore, Torino 1974. 480 pp. L. 3600.

Extracts from works of the 1960's and 1970's, written by authors of different political views, have here been collected and provided with a general introduction, as well as with special introductions to the four sections. These sections cover the period from Unification to what is called the "Big Leap" at about the turn of the century (strong economic expansion), the period from *circa* 1900 to the First World War, the era of Fascism, and the years since 1945. Special attention is devoted to separate developments (Sicily), agricultural labourers and peasants, but also to such groups as mental patients. Contrasts and differences within the bourgeoisie, and the importance of bureaucracy receive some stress.

PIEMONTESE, GIUSEPPE. *Il movimento operaio a Trieste. Dalle origini all'avvento del fascismo.* Pref. di Vittorio Vidali. Editori Riuniti, Roma 1974. 535 pp. L. 4500.

Unlike the study by Maserati, which, as regards the period under discussion, partly overlaps it (cf. IRSH, XIX (1974), p. 478), the present volume is strongly autobiographical in character. The first part – up to and including the First World War – appeared in a first edition in 1961, and mainly contains information on the political struggle in the last two decades before 1914. This information is based both on personal recollection and on the

material that is still available after years of fascism and German occupation (chiefly newspapers). The second part is devoted to the exciting years 1919-22 with the struggle against *squadristo*. An appendix contains "testimonies" by Mario Malatesta and Ignazio Silone, and other items.

Socialismo e socialisti dal Risorgimento al fascismo. Di Gaetano Arfé, Dino Cofrancesco, Sandro Galante Garrone [e.a.] De Donato editore, Bari 1974. 357 pp. L. 4200.

The present volume reprints eight historical studies from *Omaggio a Nenni* (Rome 1973). Apart from Valiani's report on European Socialism between 1914 and 1939, originally submitted to the Thirteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences (1970), the focus is on the Italian workers' movement, including Revolutionary Syndicalism (A. Riosa). The longest contribution is an analysis, by B. Vigezzi, of the Turati-Kulisioff correspondence in reference to the Libyan War.

I Socialisti. Cronaca inedita dell'Unità d'Italia. A cura di Aldo De Jaco. Editori Riuniti, Roma 1974. xl, 767 pp. Ill. L. 12000.

As in *Gli Anarchici* (vide IRSH, XVIII (1973), p. 324), Aldo De Jaco has here compiled documents, or rather extracts from documents, of various provenance, once more without an index. The subject is the struggle of the Italian workers during the nineteenth century as seen by themselves and by their enemies rather than the emergence of organized Socialism.

The Netherlands

TICHELMAN, FRITJOF. Henk Sneevliet 1888-1942. Een politieke biografie. Van Gennep, Amsterdam 1974. 136 pp. D.fl. 13.90.

A remarkable feature of this political biography is the large number of details drawn from a multitude of sources. Sneevliet's role in the Dutch labour movement and the Indonesian endeavour towards emancipation, and his work as a Comintern agent ("Maring") in China, are described with critical sympathy. On the complicated party relationships to the left of the SDAP in the later 'twenties and the 'thirties, and the increasing opposition against Moscow within these parties, the book provides as much information as on Sneevliet's curious position, which should be attributed to his own qualities of character.

Rumania

EIDELBERG, PHILIP GABRIEL. The Great Rumanian Peasant Revolt of 1907. Origins of a Modern Jacquerie. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1974. xii, 259 pp. Maps. D.fl. 64.00.

"This book is not a blow-by-blow description of the 1907 peasant revolt. The aim is rather to analyze the *causes* of the revolt and to trace its social, economic, political and ideological antecedents." Throughout, the author concentrates on Moldavia, where the rebellion started but remained com-

paratively moderate. He pays much attention to the rent issue and to the conservative-populist movement of Kogălniceanu.

Spain

MEAKER, GERALD H. *The Revolutionary Left in Spain, 1914-1923*. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1974. xi, 562 pp. \$ 18.95.

Professor Meaker describes, in an exceedingly careful way, a very important and little studied period in the history of the Spanish workers' movement, in which he mainly investigates the response to the Russian Revolution and the question of why the Communist Party remained so small. He especially enters into the relationships between and within the various organizations, focusing on their "elites" and the roles of persons. In these respects the volume will undoubtedly remain a standard work. It should be stated, however, that some of the conclusions are already contained in the – debatable – starting-points. Although many studies, and recent ones among them, conclude differently – which he leaves unmentioned –, the author regards Leninism as the only "authentic" form of revolutionary organization; he characterizes the Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalists as "ideologically retarded" and "lagging behind". This detracts from the merits of the two great currents in the Spanish workers' movement. The view that the Catalan CNT can be explained by the "agrarian-religious crisis" in Southern Spain is out of date. That the CNT was chiefly dominated by potential reformists or violent Anarchists is not correct. On occasion the repression and the rightist violence used against the workers are judged very mildly here.

Switzerland

SPILLMANN, CHARLES. *Otto Lang 1863-1936. Sozialismus und Individuum*. Herbert Lang, Bern; Peter Lang, Frankfurt/M. 1974. 140 pp. S.fr. 28.00.

Lang's diary and his correspondence with his friend Werner Sombart (mainly from the first decade of the century) are among the starting-points from which the author has studied Lang's Socialist views. In his discussion of Bernstein's revisionism, Lang pronounced for the "ultimate aim", which, however, did not mean a farewell to political democracy. The party programme of 1904 of the Swiss Social Democrats, reprinted in the appendix, was mainly Lang's work. His views could be defined as Kautskyan-Marxist, but without the fatalistic strain.

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics - Russia

ALLARD, SVEN. *Stalin und Hitler. Die sowjetrussische Außenpolitik 1930-1941*. Francke Verlag, Bern, München 1974. 315 pp. S.fr. 54.00.

The present volume is an enlarged German edition of *Stalin och Hitler*, published in Swedish in 1970. Curiously, Thomas Weingartner's book (*vide* IRSH, XVI (1971), p. 255), which is based in part on the same sources, is not mentioned among the most recent literature. The author argues that

Stalin – who, he writes, conducted a “revolutionary” rather than a “traditionally Russian” foreign policy, and who advocated a neutral position of the USSR in any conflict that might arise between other states – began to make attempts of *rapprochement* towards Hitler as early as 1934. He considers the popular-front policy and the treaties with France and Czechoslovakia to be comparatively less important. Stalin’s admiration of Hitler (e.g., of his destruction of a potential opposition in the NSDAP – June 1934) receives great emphasis.

ELWOOD, RALPH CARTER. *Russian Social Democracy in the Underground. A Study of the RSDRP in the Ukraine, 1907-1914.* Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., Assen 1974. xix, 304 pp. D.fl. 62.50.

On the basis of much original source material, collected in several archives, the author creates an absorbing picture of the relationship between emigrants and RSDRP groups. These groups operated partly underground, and their number declined rapidly after 1907, to grow again from 1912 onwards; by that time they were working more legally. Since 1905 they had mainly consisted of workers. The irritation they felt at the political (and personal) quarrels among the emigrants, the resources (bank robberies; bequests) of the organizations, which regularly smuggled thousands of newspapers to Russia from abroad (Paris), and the special problems of the Ukraine are among the subjects dealt with in an illuminating manner.

PLANTY-BONJOUR, GUY. *Hegel et la pensée philosophique en Russie 1830-1917.* Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye 1974. viii, 343 pp. D.fl. 71.75.

Throughout the nineteenth century Hegel met with a wide response in Russia. Not even the Slavophiles, who rejected him as a Western rationalist, could afford to ignore him. As a matter of fact his philosophy was interpreted in a highly eclectic way, but from Bakunin to Lenin it provided powerful stimuli; Herzen called it “the algebra of revolution”. The present volume is a well-documented account of the subject, which also includes the (significantly weak) Hegelian Right.

OTHER BOOKS

Revoljucionnaja situacija v Rossii v 1859-1861 gg. Izdatel'stvo “Nauka”, Moskva 1974. 383 pp.