

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL ISSUES

RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHY

HANAK, TIBOR. Die Entwicklung der marxistischen Philosophie. Schwabe & Co. Verlag, Basel, Stuttgart 1976. xiii, 326 pp. S.fr. 48.00.

With admirable clarity the author describes and analyzes the ideas of writers representing a broad scale of Marxist opinions. The discrepancies between them are in part due to the fact that Marx drew sketches of more than one system but did not complete any. The author points out the ambivalence of a conception such as *praxis* and the quasi-religious character of the view of a historical necessity. Writers dealt with are, for instance, Bernstein, Lenin, Stalin, Lukács, Korsch, Althusser and Garaudy. Special attention is given to the Yugoslav and Polish Marxist philosophers as well as to the "Prague Spring".

LABICA, GEORGES. Le statut marxiste de la philosophie. Editions Complexe, Bruxelles 1976; distr. by Presses Universitaires de France, Paris. 391 pp. B.fr. 743.

The present volume is essentially a panegyric upon the manner in which, in the author's view, the young Marx and Engels came to substitute *praxis* and science for philosophy. The title consequently implies a contradiction in terms. From an historical point of view the book is not particularly helpful, nor is it conspicuous for its pioneering qualities.

SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

BEYME, KLAUS VON. Gewerkschaften und Arbeitsbeziehungen in kapitalistischen Ländern. R. Piper & Co. Verlag, München, Zürich 1977. 381 pp. DM 29.80.

In a comparison of the roles and positions of trade unionism in the non-Communist highly industrialized countries of the world the author offers many data on organizational structures, ideological and political outlooks, and strategies. He demonstrates, for instance, that it is incorrect to assume that the financially stronger unions are more likely to use the strike weapon. His own views come most to the fore when he deals with the two poles of

integration into the modified, yet fundamentally capitalist, society on the one hand and conflict on the other. The author says to have great expectations of a gradual growth of a Socialist democracy.

CASSINELLI, C. W. *Total Revolution. A Comparative Study of Germany under Hitler, the Soviet Union under Stalin and China under Mao.* Clio Books, Santa Barbara (Calif.), Oxford 1976. vi, 252 pp. \$ 19.75. (Paper: \$ 6.25.)

Notwithstanding errors of fact, a number of simplifications and the meagreness of sources (only literature available in English), the present essay has certain qualities in that it sets the reader thinking. The author argues the perfect logic in what seems madness in "bourgeois" eyes. Thus, "the Final Solution was dictated by the most abstract revolutionary logic", and "Stalin's destruction of his officer corps was fully justified by the logic of his revolution". In the three regimes the author sees as dominant the rejection of "bourgeois" civilization and the striving for an "antihistoric order". He recognizes, of course, great differences, but "For an understanding of revolution in the twentieth century, the themes are more important than the variations."

EAGLETON, TERRY. *Marxism and Literary Criticism.* Methuen & Co Ltd, London 1976. viii, 88 pp. £ 2.50. (Paper: £ 1.00.)

In four chapters, "Literature and History", "Form and Content", "The Writer and Commitment", and "The Author as Producer", Dr Eagleton sheds his light on the main problems of Marxist literary criticism. In his view art is both part of the ideological superstructure and a clue to a critical understanding of it. He sets Trockiĵ's "blend of principled yet flexible Marxism and perceptive practical criticism" against "Stalin's cultural thug" Źdanov, and there is no lack of references to Lukács and Goldmann, Brecht and Benjamin.

Éléments pour une analyse du fascisme. Séminaire de Maria-A. Maciocchi, Paris VIII – Vincennes 1974-1975. Avec la participation [de] François Châtelet, Jean Toussaint Desanti, Roger Dadoun [e.a.] Union Générale d'Éditions, Paris 1976. 2 vols. 446 pp.; 440 pp. F.fr. 30.00.

Although the contributions to this seminar are in an "antifascist" vein, their general approach has no more to do with Marxist theorizing on Fascism as practised in the Federal Republic and in Communist countries than with international scientific research on the subject. Their common feature is a definite focus on the superstructure, on the psychology and the mass appeal of Fascism. Dadoun and other contributors sound the praises of Wilhelm Reich, and even subscribe to his diagnosis of Stalinism as a "Red Fascism"; in this connection they associate him with Solženicyn and André Glucksmann. The longest item is an indifferent essay by Maciocchi on women and (Italian) Fascism. Her epilogue, "Les stalino-refoullants' dans une *joyeuse* année d'études sur le fascisme", bristles with misprints.

HANSEN, EMMANUEL. Frantz Fanon. Social and Political Thought. Ohio State University Press, Columbus 1977. xi, 232 pp. \$ 15.00.

A biographical outline, which owes a great deal to Peter Geismar, is followed by a sympathetic but not uncritical analysis of Fanon's social and political ideas and ideals. Successively, his conception of freedom, his diagnosis of alienation, revolutionary violence, and his vision of the good society, "based on a fusion of Rousseau's ideal community and Marx's communistic ideal", come up for discussion.

KRADER, LAWRENCE. Dialectic of Civil Society. Van Gorcum, Assen, Amsterdam 1976. ix, 279 pp. D.fl. 59.00.

"The dialectic is the empirical fact of civil society, whose negation is prepared in the class conflict which makes up its history." Thus a central definition by Professor Krader, who sees in civil society "non-primitive society throughout its history", including ancient Egypt and Benin as well as modern bourgeois society. In a number of related essays historical, sociological and philosophical questions are dealt with, often in the form of a discussion of the views of a variety of thinkers. At least one of these essays was published elsewhere shortly before.

SELIGER, MARTIN. The Marxist Conception of Ideology. A Critical Essay. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, New York 1977. xiii, 229 pp. £ 6.50.

The author, who has set forth his own conception of ideology in a separate book (*vide* IRSH, XXI (1976), pp. 279f.), now describes and analyzes the inconsistencies and contradictions inherent in the Marxist notion of a class-determined distortion of reality ("false consciousness"). Apart from the "founding fathers", there come up for discussion Lukács (the faithful disciple), Lenin (*de facto* breakaway), Kautsky (reverential revisionism), Bernstein (intrepid inferences) and Mannheim (the way out of the vicious circle). Unfortunately, the author is not alive to other elements in Marx's and Engels's theory of knowledge, notably their frequent appeal to evidence or manifest truth ("under our very eyes", "obvious", etc.). Quite a few page references in the notes are wrong.

Soziale Innovation und sozialer Konflikt. Red. und hrsg. von Otto Neuloh. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1977. 274 pp. DM 56.00.

The contributions collected in the present volume approach the problem of social change, conflict and innovation. Those by the editor and Torsten Hägerstrand (the latter in English) are abstract in character; the majority are, however, devoted to concrete (nineteenth-century) historical events. Albin Gladen, for instance, deals with the strike of the Ruhr miners in 1889, which, though it had its roots in conservative motives, came to have a progressive function as a vehicle for change. Most contributions bear upon Germany, but there is also a study on Taylor as a social innovator.

HISTORY

CRATON, MICHAEL, JAMES WALVIN and DAVID WRIGHT [Eds]. *Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation. Black Slaves and the British Empire. A Thematic Documentary*. Longman, London, New York 1976. xiv, 347 pp. Ill. £ 7.95. (Paper: £ 4.50.)

Apart from a short general introduction, there are introductions to each of the six chapters into which this volume is divided and to individual extracts and groups of extracts. The selection of the latter has been such as to shed light on changes and on variations, for instance in the conditions of life of plantation slaves. Among the extracts on the intellectual origins of anti-slavery there are translations of French texts from the Enlightenment. Abolition and emancipation receive their share of attention in this documentary, which continues the story until the 1830's.

DE FELICE, RENZO. *Interpretations of Fascism*. Transl. by Brenda Huff Everett. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), London 1977. xvi, 248 pp. \$ 15.00.

The original version of this book by the well-known biographer of Mussolini was published nine years ago, and it has remained the best analytical survey of the enormous literature on Fascism as a European phenomenon to date. Therefore the present English translation appears none too early. The first section deals with the various overall theories, including those advanced by the Marxists and by social scientists, while the second section focuses on how Italian writers and historians, beginning with Salvatorelli, have interpreted Italian Fascism.

Fascism. A Reader's Guide. Analyses, Interpretations, Bibliography. Ed. by Walter Laqueur. Wildwood House, London 1976. x, 478 pp. £ 16.95.

Most of the twelve contributions to this volume are critical guides to the ever growing literature on European Fascism; there is also a survey of research on populism and would-be fascism in Latin America. The two longest contributions, however, are pioneering studies in their own right, viz., "Some Notes Toward a Comparative Study of Fascism in Sociological Historical Perspective", by Juan J. Linz (with a number of tables on the social characteristics of the leaders and members of Fascist movements), and "Fascist Ideology", by Zeev Sternhell.

GERHARD, DIETRICH. *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 54.] Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1977. 303 pp. DM 65.00.

A first collection of Professor Gerhard's papers appeared under the title *Alte und neue Welt in vergleichender Geschichtsbetrachtung*, and was noticed at some length in IRSH, VII (1962), p. 472. The present fourteen papers, most

of them dating from the 'sixties and several written in English, deal with the same type of subjects: the corporative organization of pre-revolutionary Europe, the history of the United States, comparative educational history, etc. Articles on Harnack, Hintze and Holborn constitute a separate section.

The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents. Progress Publishers, Moscow n.d. [1977]; distr. by Lawrence & Wishart, London. 758 pp. Ill. £ 4.00.

The present volume is a sequel to the minutes of the General Council, 1871-72 (cf. IRSH, XIII (1968), p. 454). It contains the minutes made by the official secretary, Benjamin Le Moussu, from the third sitting onwards. The notes by Friedrich Sorge of all the sittings (including a preliminary one) are also reproduced in full. They are followed by statements, proposals and amendments. A wide range of other documents on the Congress are included, among them the famous report of N. Utin and other materials on the conflict with Bakunin. Texts have been translated from the original languages into English; for the arrangement of the volume and the notes the Russian edition is followed.

KOCHAN, LIONEL. *The Jew and his History*. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1977. x, 164 pp. £ 7.95.

Mr Kochan has cast his subject-matter into *capita selecta*; neither Flavius Josephus nor Spinoza come up for discussion. He deals with the interpretations the Jews of the Diaspora have given of their own history, and also with their (modest) attempts at historiography, notably Graetz's and Dubnow's. The messianic idea and its subsequent secularization are of course the central themes.

LAQUEUR, WALTER. *Guerrilla. A Historical and Critical Study*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1977. xiii, 462 pp. £ 8.95.

The author presents this work as the first part of a wider study, viz., "a critical interpretation of guerrilla and terrorist theory and practice throughout history to the present age". That first part is devoted to guerrilla warfare, and notably to a search for common patterns. Its history up to the Peninsular War (1808-13), when the term guerrilla was coined, is treated very concisely; the author only gives some pertinent examples. He concentrates on the twentieth century, though the chapter on the origins of guerrilla doctrine in the nineteenth century deserves to be mentioned. The current idea that the theory and practice of contemporary guerrilla warfare were invented in China in the 1930's does not bear examination: roughly a century earlier, Polish and Italian writers developed very similar views, also on the political aspects. "Urban guerrilla" – a misnomer – comes up for a short discussion.

LASKY, MELVIN J. *Utopia and Revolution. On the Origins of a Metaphor, or Some Illustrations of the Problem of Political Temperament and Intel-*

lectual Climate and How Ideas, Ideals, and Ideologies Have Been Historically Related. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1976. xiii, 726 pp. \$ 35.00.

This very interesting, essentially essayistic and of necessity highly eclectic historical study in comparative ideology, which spans roughly five centuries, is (together with a sequel yet to come) a revised and enlarged version of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Lectures of 1965. Its origin cannot help showing itself repeatedly. The author gives innumerable examples, from Cromwell and Robespierre to Marx and Lenin, in his effort to catch the relationship between Utopia, the vision of a perfect society, and revolution, the movement towards violent social change, ushering in various forms of dogmatic control, which breeds heresies and leads to a return to (new) Utopian visions. A fundamental dilemma becomes clear in the juxtaposition of Popper and More: Popper's difficulty "is that he wishes to hold fast to attractive and humanizing social ideals" and yet "prefers to remain unemotionally aloof from utopian clarity about [. . .] the kind of commonwealth we should consider best"; More's difficulty "is in the tragic tension between the utopian's clear-eyed perception of the good and the reformer's heavy-hearted burden of practical compromise". In Kant the author sees a reconciliation of opposites: "a revolutionary and a reformer, a utopian and a gradualist, a militant and yet a moderate".

LUXEMBURG, ROSA. *J'étais, je suis, je serai! Correspondance 1914-1919. Textes réunis, trad. et annotés sous la dir. de Georges Haupt par Gilbert Badia, Irène Petit [et] Claudie Weill. François Maspero, Paris 1977. 430 pp. F.fr. 65.00.*

The present second volume of selected correspondence (for the first cf. *IRSH*, XXI (1976), pp. 449f.) contains some 200 letters (many of them appearing for the first time in a French translation); a few are addenda to the first volume. In his introduction Georges Haupt describes how hard Rosa Luxemburg was hit by the attitude the Social Democrats took to the war. In many letters her political convictions come less to the fore than her human warmth. The introduction gives an exposé of her views, e.g., those on the rigidity of the Bolshevik regime.

MCBRIDE, THERESA M. *The Domestic Revolution. The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France 1820-1920. Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., New York 1976. 160 pp. Maps. \$ 18.00.*

It is interesting to notice the reason why historians have neglected the subject discussed for England and France in this lively written and scholarly account: it is partly because household servants did not constitute a "true social class". The author draws a sharp picture of master-servant relationships in the middle-class household. Her concern is, however, preponderantly with the causes of the rise and, since about 1880, fall in the supply of domestic labour (one of them is the growth of a white-collar class

providing new employment opportunities for women). The impact of urbanization, of the low birth rate (France) and of large-scale industrialization (England) is analyzed with acumen.

MESMER, BEATRIX. *Steuerreform als Übergangsmassnahme. Die Rezeption der Forderung nach progressiver Besteuerung in den frühsozialistischen Programmen.* Verlag Herbert Lang, Bern, Frankfurt/M. 1976. 239 pp. S.fr. 58.40.

In an original approach the author discusses a number of French and German early Socialists from the angle of their evaluation of graduated taxes as a means of bringing about a fundamentally new society. The first section of this well-documented study deals with the theoretical foundations. Here the author begins with Babeuf, and continues with Saint-Simon and the Saint-Simonians. Then she introduces the less known Charles Danré de Coyolles, to whom graduated taxation was a panacea, and rounds off by a discussion of Fourier and the *Ecole sociétaire*. The second section is devoted to the reception of these theories in the circles of French and German Socialists and Communists.

PHAYER, J. MICHAEL. *Sexual Liberation and Religion in Nineteenth Century Europe.* Croom Helm, London; Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa (N.J.) 1977. 176 pp. Maps. £ 7.50.

The emergence of sexual tolerance among the "rural proletariat" – while religious belief remained unimpaired – is the theme of the present study, which deals with the Roman Catholic parts of Germany, German-speaking Switzerland and Austria, where there was a sudden sexual revolution in the wake of the reforms of the Napoleonic era, and with France. Interesting data have been collected on popular culture. It is regrettable that in many German and French titles in the notes there are some serious spelling errors.

PHILIP, ANDRE. *Histoire des faits économiques et sociaux de 1800 à nos jours.* Tome I. *La révolution industrielle et l'économie des grandes unités.* Nouvelle éd. revue et mise à jour par Loïc Philip. Tome II. *Le monde de la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle.* 2e ed. Revue et mise à jour par Loïc Philip. Aubier Montaigne, Paris 1976. 383 pp.; 296 pp. F.fr. 66.00.

The original edition of this work was published in 1963, and noticed in *IRSH*, VIII (1963), p. 296. While Vol. I of the present edition is practically a reprint, Vol. II has been thoroughly recast and updated. Loïc Philip has proceeded on the lines of his father's *idées forces*. Apart from an adapted bibliography, Vol. II has separate name and subject indices covering both volumes.

Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas. Neue Forschungen. Hrsg. von Werner Conze. [Industrielle Welt, Band 21.] Ernst Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 1976. 401 pp. DM 69.00.

The essays collected in the present volume are revised papers of a conference held in Bad Homburg in April 1975, in which scholars from West Germany, Austria, Sweden, Great Britain and the United States took part. Of the fifteen contributions four are in English, and two have been translated from that language into German. Changes in the family and household structures as a consequence of industrialization and urbanization constitute the general theme, which is treated in different ways. Some contributions are largely methodological generalizations, others deal with special regions and periods. Moreover, there is a diversity of opinions, for instance on Hans Medick's conception of a proto-industrial type of family structure.

TANNENBAUM, EDWARD R. 1900. *The Generation Before the Great War*. Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City (N.Y.) 1976. xii, 463 pp. Ill. \$ 10.00.

Around 1890 "economic and political concentration, electricity, railroads, steamships, cheap daily newspapers, and compulsory education began to affect the daily lives of millions of Europeans in most countries"; mass movements emerged, thinkers and artists developed new views of reality. This process of modernization, in which traditional methods, opinions and behaviour were more and more rejected, impregnated the period called the *belle époque*, depicted by the author as dynamic rather than static. The volume is very readable and is based on penetrating insights into the economic and social as well as the cultural trends in most European countries.

WURM, SHALOM. *Das Leben in den historischen Kommunen*. Bund-Verlag, Köln 1977. 342 pp. DM 40.00.

The present volume cannot properly be considered to be a scholarly achievement. Not only are there no specified references, but parts of the story apparently have not been brought up to date either. Yet the book is attractive as a good account of (the motives for) life in communities, religious and secular, over more than four centuries. The first chapter is on the Hutterites, who in the sixteenth century started communal life on a co-operative basis in Moravia. Their history is one of persecution and migration (to Hungary, Russia, USA and Canada); it is amazing that, after communal life and work were given up at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were re-introduced some decades later. Other communities dealt with (Fourierism and Owenism have been omitted by the author) are, for instance, Oneida, "Icarian" experiments, the Socialist community of Llano and Eberhard Arnold's *Bruderhöfe*.

ZEHR, HOWARD. *Crime and the Development of Modern Society. Patterns of Criminality in Nineteenth Century Germany and France*. Croom Helm, London; Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa (N.J.) 1976. 188 pp. £ 7.50.

Testing “the social disorganisation, the relative deprivation, and the social conflict models”, the author of this comparative study on primarily lower-class violence and crime against property in France and Germany, 1830-1914, argues that there is scarcely a correlation between theft rates and the process of urbanization itself, and that “violence is not necessarily peculiarly associated with the city”. The increase in property crime is considered to have a social meaning, “A modern society implies – and, in fact, requires – rising expectations”, which society was often unable to fulfil. The volume will be found to be thought-stimulating even by readers who are not familiar with cliometrician methods.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

LEVESQUE, JACQUES. L'URSS et la révolution cubaine. Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris; Presses de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal 1976. viii, 221 pp. F.fr. 75.00.

The impact of the Cuban Revolution, in its various stages, on Soviet foreign policy (notably with regard to Latin America) is analyzed here with acumen. The study is largely based on a thorough exploration of the Soviet press (*Pravda*, *Izvestija*, several periodicals). The author, fully aware of various serious setbacks, finds that in the long run the Soviet Union's profit measured in the expansion of its influence more than balanced the heavy costs of its involvement. These included not only the material expenditure, but also the ideological confusion and conflicts as exemplified, for instance, by the adoption of tactics (Guevara, Debray) different from and opposed to the approach advocated by Moscow.

MARCOU, LILLY. Le Kominform. Le communisme de guerre froide. Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris 1977. vii, 344 pp. F.fr. 150.00. (Paper: F.fr. 120.00.)

The founding of the Cominform is interpreted by the present author as the Communists' reply to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan; originally, Stalin did not want more than a consolidation of the freshly conquered glacies. With the end of the Cold War – of which the intervention in Greece, where “the United States supported a regime which had all the characteristics of a totalitarian regime”, was an opening stage – the Cominform was dissolved (1956). The conflict with Yugoslavia is singled out for special treatment.

Sozialismus und Tradition. Hrsg. von S. N. Eisenstadt und Yael Azmon. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1977. iv, 286 pp. DM 78.00.

This is a good German translation of the volume *Socialism and Tradition*. For a survey of the contents we may refer to our review of the original edition, in *IRSH*, XXI (1976), p. 284.

CONTINENTS AND COUNTRIES

*AMERICA***Canada**

Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada. Ed. by Samuel D. Clark, J. Paul Grayson [and] Linda M. Grayson. Gage Educational Publishing Ltd, Toronto 1975. viii, 437 pp. C\$ 12.70.

In his general introduction the first-mentioned editor outlines a theoretical framework. He asserts that it "is almost impossible for a social movement to routinize in precisely the form prescribed by its ideology", and that nevertheless "most members [...] ultimately accept routinization". The volume further contains essays published before. These are grouped in six chapters, which are preceded by special introductions written by the second and third editors, who are also responsible for the selection made. We mention John A. Irving's study on the Social Credit movement (dating from 1948; all other contributions were written in the 1960's or 1970's) and essays on the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation as well as on nationalism in Quebec.

United States of America

COX, OLIVER C. Race Relations. Elements and Social Dynamics. Wayne State University Press, Detroit 1976. xv, 337 pp. \$ 17.50.

The late Professor Cox (1901-74) is in the present volume "concerned particularly with the universal manifestation of race relations and their functions, especially in the United States". Subjects dealt with range from the impact of slavery to the growing tendency in society to take interracial marriages for granted, and from differences between whites and non-whites as to life expectancy and causes of death to the observation of a "relative absence of traditional authority and cultural purposiveness in the Negro father". The question whether the ghetto has advantages (for the development of Negro business, for consciousness of particular values) is discussed in several chapters; the author stresses the disadvantages.

DAWLEY, ALAN. Class and Community. The Industrial Revolution in Lynn. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), London 1976. x, 301 pp. Ill. \$ 17.50.

One of the theses argued in this popularly written monograph on the shoemakers of Lynn (Mass.) is that the undermining of the position of skilled artisans preceded the introduction of the modern factory system by several decades, as is exemplified by the shoemakers' strike of 1860, the

greatest in American history before the Civil War (when that system began to take roots). The author stresses the shoemakers' secular belief in equality, a tradition originating in the late eighteenth century and kept alive during the worst years of poverty (and wealth for the employers) around 1870. He also pays much attention to the time of successful union organization and the rise of Socialism (1890-1900).

FONER, PHILIP S. *Organized Labor and the Black Worker 1619-1973.* International Publishers, New York 1976. xi, 489 pp. \$ 4.50.

"This study is [...] an examination of both the exclusionary history of organized labor with respect to black workers until very recently and also — the minor theme — black-white unity." In the light of the fact that until the middle of the 1930's unions as a rule strongly discriminated against the blacks it is logical that the history of the CIO receives special attention. Here, political issues come to the fore, and notably the role played by the Communists is discussed at some length (and not uncritically). As to the future, the author, who recognizes definite improvements in the last decades, fears that increased automation will cause unemployment among blacks to grow, given the fact that unions still fail to insist on equality in upgrading and promotion.

GREEN, GIL. *What's Happening To Labor.* International Publishers, New York 1976. v, 305 pp. \$ 12.00. (Paper: \$ 4.50.)

As a consequence of the author's Communist convictions, the present volume has become a critical interpretation of American capitalism (in 1972 "a rate of exploitation of 200 percent") and of the weaknesses of trade unionism rather than an historical account of the labour movement at large since the emergence of the CIO. The author deplors the lack of unity among unions and is of the opinion that "whatever issues confront the workers, they are above all political".

HODGE, WILLIAM. *A Bibliography of Contemporary North American Indians. Sel. and Partially Annot. with Study Guide.* Interland Publishing Inc., New York 1976. xvi, 310 pp. \$ 24.75.

Some 2,600 entries (books, articles in periodicals and newspapers, government bulletins; there are items in Indian languages) are contained in this systematically arranged bibliography, which is contemporary in that it covers roughly the last hundred years, from after the end of the military conquest of the native peoples in North America. The bibliography proper (which includes a few titles on Canada) is preceded by a two-part study guide: one part for Indian life prior to 1875, the other dealing with the century following.

SWANBERG, W. A. Norman Thomas. *The Last Idealist*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1976. xii, 528 pp. Ill. \$ 14.95.

In this biography there is an even balance between the account of Thomas's personal life (for instance, of his warm friendship with Angelica Balabanoff) and the exposition of his views on, and role in, politics. The author makes no secret of his admiration for Thomas's character and the loftiness of his motives, though he is at the same time critical of his political tactics. "Lacking the belief in God that had once sustained him" (Thomas had chosen to serve as a clergyman in a New York slum area), "he had to accommodate his thinking to the two most shocking political events of his lifetime – the awful perversion of Socialism in Russia and the equally awful urgency of coming to satisfactory terms with a ruthless and unfathomable Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which held the power to destroy civilization." It is characteristic of this biography that it does no less justice to Thomas's interest in international affairs than to his many-sided activities in domestic politics.

ASIA

China

The City in Late Imperial China. Ed. by G. William Skinner. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1977. xvii, 820 pp. Ill. Maps. \$ 35.00.

The nineteen essays that make up the present volume deal with the several types of city in China during the Ming and Ch'ing eras; no less than three of them have Taiwan for their scene. There are studies on the prevailing ideas on town-planning, on the relations of the cities to the countryside, and on their internal organization. This last group is the most relevant to social history, for instance Peter J. Golas's contribution on early-Ch'ing guilds. The volume is lavishly provided with illustrations, maps, tables and diagrams.

DAVIS, FEI-LING. *Primitive revolutionaries of China. A study of secret societies in the late nineteenth century*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Henley 1977. vii, 254 pp. Ill. £ 4.95.

After a concise exposé of the ideological background to Chinese society between 1840 and 1912, the author presents a good account of the origins, formation, geographical distribution and organizational structures of secret societies. It is argued that they provided their members with those political, economic and social benefits which mightier and wealthier individuals enjoyed by right of birth; and, further, that the societies were important instruments of revolutionary change. Among the appendices there is an extract from articles of an oath to be sworn by new members of such an organization.

DOMES, JÜRGEN. *China after the Cultural Revolution. Politics between Two Party Congresses.* With a contr. by Marie-Luise Näth. Transl. from the German by Annette Berg and David Goodman. C. Hurst & Co., London 1976. xii, 283 pp. £ 6.95.

The original edition of this study appeared in 1975, and was noticed at some length in *IRSH*, XXI (1976), pp. 126f. Its shrewd analysis of the basic problems of the People's Republic is hardly affected by post-Mao developments, which the author could not take into account.

LIU, ALAN P. L. *Political Culture & Group Conflict in Communist China.* Clio Books, Santa Barbara (Calif.), Oxford 1976. xvii, 205 pp. \$ 17.95. (Paper: \$ 5.75.)

To a large extent the present volume is based on broadcasting reports, Red Guard publications and (five) eyewitness accounts. The author has also drawn upon current political and sociological theories (Dahrendorf, Oberschall, Smelser and many others), and the historian might find his picture of events and motives at times rather entangled. All the same, it is made very clear how the national leaders round Mao deprived the local leaders of their authority and thus precipitated the student rebellion. The movement, once instigated from above, soon got a momentum of its own. "The Red Guards and rebels combined were a small minority of the total population" and, moreover, scattered over numerous groups, but this – the author argues – only added to their radicalism and to the difficulties involved in bringing them under control. The separate treatment of categories such as students and youth, workers ("antiintellectual bias") and peasants is of equal interest.

Japan

BERNSTEIN, GAIL LEE. *Japanese Marxist. A Portrait of Kawakami Hajime 1879-1946.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), London 1976. xiv, 221 pp. Ill. \$ 13.00.

In the author's opinion the economist Kawakami epitomizes a category of Japanese intellectuals and their problems: of samurai descent, he was converted from patriotic nationalism to Marxism – "a natural outgrowth of his previous academic interests and intellectual orientation" – and eventually to revolutionary Communism (he gave up his professorship and was imprisoned for years in the 1930's). The author dwells on the conflict of traditional values and attitudes on the one hand, and the demands of modernization on the other, as symbolized by Kawakami's intellectual evolution.

Japanese Industrialization and Its Social Consequences. Ed. by Hugh Patrick, with the assistance of Larry Meissner. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1976. x, 505 pp. \$ 25.00.

Eighteen scholars have contributed to the present volume, the result of a conference held in August 1973 and organized by the University of Washington, Seattle. The period covered runs from 1868 up to the present day. We mention two contributions that illustrate the width of the volume's scope and its valuable contents. Hiroshi Hazama, writing on the historical changes in the life style of industrial workers, gives many data on the rise of the standard of living and draws interesting parallels with developments in other countries. John W. Bennett and Solomon B. Levine deal with consequences of industrialization – "Welfare, Environment, and the Post-industrial Society in Japan" (thus the subtitle).

The Philippines

STURTEVANT, DAVID R. *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines 1840-1940.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, London 1976. 317 pp. Maps. \$ 17.50.

"The transition from mysticism to relative sophistication constitutes the central theme of this four-part study", but the epilogue makes it clear that after independence was won extreme poverty and destitution could give rise to new waves of mysticism. The author gives a vivid account of various rebellious and oppositional movements both during the Spanish and the American administration, ranging from religious millenarism to social banditry. The gradual convergence of urban and rural movements is demonstrated.

Thailand

POTTER, JACK M. *Thai Peasant Social Structure.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1976. xi, 249 pp. Ill. Maps. \$ 17.50.

For more than a year the author did field-work in a Northern Thai village. As a result of this work, and of a new interpretation of data contained in a great amount of research by others, he adopted the position – counter to current views of the village societies being loosely structured – that a strong and lively co-operative ethic and practice marked the existence of a highly structured society. Interesting details are given on social groups and stratification in the village, and on familial and kinship usages.

Turkey

ÖZBUDUN, ERGUN. *Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey.* Princeton University Press, Princeton n.d. [1977.] xiii, 254 pp. \$ 13.50.

The present volume is concerned with the ways in which political participation, notably voting participation, is influenced by economic and social modernization. The author has collected much material, with the help of which he arrives at remarkable evaluations. Thus, a decline in voting

participation does not necessarily refute the modernization theory; one of the explanations is that it is precisely among the more backward people that there is usually a readiness to respond to electoral wishes expressed by local elites. The volume also gives information on the working of the Turkish parties at large.

AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA

Australia

AMOS, KEITH. *The New Guard Movement 1931-1935*. Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Vic.) 1976. xii, 142 pp. Ill. A\$ 10.80.

The story of the rightist New Guard as told by its leader, Eric Campbell (*vide* IRSH, XI (1966), p. 145), has now got a scholarly counterpart, which is mainly based on contemporary evidence (including manuscript sources). The author offers a balanced account of the historical background, the organization and the political record of the New Guard, but has almost nothing to say on its social composition. There is a separate chapter on the question of in how far the movement may be described as a fascist one.

EUROPE

Austria

BAUER, OTTO. Werkausgabe. Hrsg. von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für die Geschichte der österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung. Band 1. Band 2. Band 3. Band 4. Europa Verlag, Wien 1975; 1976. ix, 940 pp.; 967 pp.; 1039 pp.; 1012 pp. S 900 per vol.

The present four volumes contain mostly writings by Bauer which at some time appeared in book or pamphlet form. They are published here in a chronological order; when a second edition is followed, the year of appearance of the first is decisive for its place. Forewords etc. by others are included, as are contemporary judgments on Bauer, notably those given after his death in 1938 (cf. Vol. IV). A selection from Bauer's speeches which were not printed as pamphlets and from his articles in newspapers and periodicals will appear in the projected Vols V-VII. For the biographical introduction to the four volumes (divided in four sections, one per volume) the editors have used an essay written by the late Julius Braunthal. In Vol. I the pivotal text is *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (with the famous definition of a nation as an "aus Schicksalsgemeinschaft erwachsene Charaktergemeinschaft"; first edition 1907, second edition 1924). The impact of the Balkan Wars is another important theme. The years covered are 1907-13. Vol. II (writings published from 1917 to 1924) concentrates on the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism on the one hand, and on the Austrian Revolution and Bauer's short term of office as a Minister of Foreign Affairs on the other. Vol. III (1925-34) presents a variety of

theoretical and practical subjects. We mention the agrarian question, legislation in protection of tenants, "Social Democracy, Religion and Church" (1927), and the first analysis by Bauer of the *Schutzbund* insurrection (1934). Vol. IV contains *Die Internationale und der Krieg* (1935; as co-authors signed Theodor Dan and Jean Zyromski), other works on the Great Depression, the rise of Fascism (remarkable is the analysis of the class structure), the crisis of democracy and Socialism in the 1930's, and *Einführung in die Volkswirtschaftslehre* (published for the first time in 1956). Throughout, editorial notes are restricted to a minimum, but wherever they have been inserted they are useful.

CARSTEN, F. L. *Faschismus in Österreich. Von Schönerer zu Hitler*. Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 1977. 373 pp. DM 48.00.

As is suggested by the title of this study, which is based on an impressive amount of printed and unprinted sources, its scope is broader than Fascism (and National-Socialism) proper. Not only are the *Alldeutsche* and racial antisemitism in pre-1914 Austria dealt with, but the *Heimwehren* in the years when they could not yet be styled fascist come up for a thorough discussion. It is said of the latter organization that it possessed "little social dynamism" (the role of Starhemberg and his views show much that is characteristic of Austrian peculiarities). The Austrian NSDAP (split in 1925-26, both factions swore allegiance to Hitler) had a social composition different from its German counterpart; this fact and the party's tendency towards parochialism are accentuated.

FELDBAUER, PETER. *Stadtwachstum und Wohnungsnot. Determinanten unzureichender Wohnungsversorgung in Wien 1848 bis 1914*. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München 1977. 340 pp. DM 49.00.

Title and subtitle sum up exactly the contents of the present volume. In his valuable contribution to economic and social history the author provides much information on the building trade, the housing of the various layers of the population, the expansion of the city, and the emergence of a pattern of socially conditioned quarters. Many figures help to illustrate the extent of the housing shortage, notably affecting the workers, and the fluctuations therein.

KYKAL, INEZ [und] KARL R. STADLER. Richard Bernaschek. *Odyssee eines Rebellen*. Europaverlag, Wien 1976. 317 pp. Ill. S 198.

This portrayal of the one-time *Schutzbund* leader of Upper Austria, as such responsible for the armed resistance to the *Heimwehren* in Linz in 1934, is based on reminiscences of friends and materials of various provenience (e.g., the Viennese *Adler-Archiv*), and enriched by contemporary documents, published both in the text proper and in a special chapter. Remarkable (since he belonged to the left wing of Austrian Social Democracy) is Bernaschek's short-lived "positive attitude towards National-Socialism"

when he tried to combine all anti-Dollfuss forces. In 1938 Bernaschek joined a resistance group, a step which eventually led to his death in a concentration camp (1945).

OTHER BOOKS

- HAUTMANN, HANS [und] RUDOLF KROPF. Die österreichische Arbeiterbewegung vom Vormärz bis 1945. Sozialökonomische Ursprünge ihrer Ideologie und Politik. Mit einem Vorwort von Karl R. Stadler. 2. korrigierte und erg. Aufl. Europaverlag, Wien n.d. [1977.] 218 pp. [Cf. IRSH, XIX (1974), p. 298.]
- SCHROTH, HANS. Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung 1894-1934. Eine Bibliographie. Mit einem Geleitwort von Bruno Kreisky. Einl. und Register: Ernst K. Herlitzka. Europaverlag, Wien 1977. 63 pp.

Belgium

MAN, HENDRIK DE. Persoon en ideeën. III. De socialistische idee. [Uitge- door] L. Hancké. IV. Planisme. [Uitge- door] P. Frantzen. V. Een halve eeuw doctrine. Verspreide geschriften. [Uitge- door] H. Balthazar. VI. Massificatie en cultuurverval. [Uitge- door] W. de Brock. Bibliografie. ([Door] Wouter Steenhaut). Standaard Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij, Antwerpen, Amsterdam 1975; 1976. 447 pp.; 407 pp.; xii, 551 pp.; 407 pp. B.fr. 800 per vol.

Vols I and II of this series, in which biographical and interpretative essays on De Man are combined with a broad selection from his writings, were reviewed in IRSH, XX (1975), pp. 291f. Vol. III reproduces, with minor corrections, the Dutch translation of *Die sozialistische Idee* (1931). In his readable introduction the editor points to the close relation of the ideas of this work to Religious Socialism, and to its flavour being less anti-Marxist than that of *Psychologie des Sozialismus*. Vol. IV contains an unabridged translation of *Réflexions sur l'économie dirigée* (1932) and a selection of writings on economic planning as conceived by De Man. A fiercely critical pamphlet by the Soviet economist E. Varga, with a reply by De Man, is included. Vol. V contains miscellaneous writings (mostly articles) covering the years 1903-49. It is interesting to compare De Man's views on the First World War (articles in *Le Peuple*, 1919) with his attitude at the beginning of the Second. The editor announces a special edition of some of the most important writings excluded from the present one. The concluding Vol. VI is a translation of *Vermassing und Kulturverfall* (1951). In a commentary the editor strikes a curious note: "The labour movement remains, notwithstanding the absorption of which De Man was afraid, the most important weapon against the leading conservative and reactionary elements manipulating through attempts at massification." A selective list of books and articles on De Man and an extensive bibliography of his writings are appended.

Czechoslovakia

SKILLING, H. GORDON. *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1976. xvi, 924 pp. \$ 45.00.

The outstanding quality of this work of scholarship is its thoroughness. The first chapters deal – essentially in a chronological order – with the history of the CP and the twenty years of Communist rule until the fall of Novotný. The author finds that “the Soviet model, in its Stalinist form, had been imposed on a country whose national tradition and special circumstances made it entirely inappropriate”. Much attention is paid here to the views on economic reform of Šik, Turek and others. The events leading up to the invasion in August 1968 are then related in detail. Chapters on special issues follow. The author demonstrates – the evidence is abundant – that at the time of the invasion there was “no agreement on critical aspects of reform or on how the political system would in fact function in its more or less permanent form”. After a detailed discussion of the aftermath of the invasion (until the definite downfall of Dubček, whose moderate position, e.g., on the leading role of the party, is described with acumen), the conclusions as to what could have become of Czechoslovak Socialism if there had been no Soviet intervention are formulated, as can be expected, with caution.

France

1914-1918. *L'autre front. Etudes coordonnées et rass. par Patrick Fridenson. Avec [la collab de] J.-J. Becker, S. Berstein, M. Dubesset [e.a.]* Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris 1977. 238 pp. F.fr. 54.00.

The essays collected in the present volume concentrate on life behind the front lines, the territory occupied by the enemy included; a good description of different attitudes of the population of a small municipality – ranging from total resignation to attempts at resistance – is given by Louis Köll. Mr Becker has used notes made by teachers at the time for his interesting discussion of the far from optimistic mood of the population, especially in the South of the country, at the outbreak of the war. Other contributions are devoted to the decline of the Radical Socialist Party, Albert Thomas and the war industry, and industrial conflicts.

BLECH-LIDOLF, LUCE. *La pensée philosophique et sociale de Simone Weil*. Herbert Lang, Berne; Peter Lang, Francfort/M. 1976. ii, 222 pp. S.fr. 36.00.

Without making use of the well-known biography by Simone Pétrement and the documents published therein, the author presents, after a biographical outline, a very sympathetic survey of Simone Weil's ideas. The focus is on her anthropology and her metaphysics, and there is a tendency to read such texts as *La condition ouvrière* in the light of her later thought.

BRANCIARD, MICHEL. *Société française et luttes de classes. Tome III. 1967-1977. Chronique Sociale de France, Lyon 1977. 243 pp. F.fr. 56.00.*

The first two volumes of this summary appeared over ten years ago; for a short notice we refer to IRSH, XII (1967), p. 499. The first half of the present sequel is in the May 1968 constellation, while the remainder deals with the Pompidou boom and the subsequent recession.

CENSER, JACK RICHARD. *Prelude to Power. The Parisian Radical Press 1789-1791. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, London n.d. [1977.] xiv, 186 pp. Ill. \$ 12.50.*

In the present volume six Parisian dailies and weeklies stand for journalism of the extreme Left during the period May 1789 – October 1791. They are best known under the following names: the *Ami du Peuple* (Marat), the *Journal Universel* (Audouin), the *Mercure National* (Robert), the *Orateur du Peuple* (Fréron), the *Révolutions de France* (Desmoulin), and the *Révolutions de Paris* (the most widely read; Fabre d'Églantine, Chaumette). The author points out as general characteristics the treatment of "all the *peuple* with the same overwhelming compassion", the ingenuousness of the radical journalists (with the exception of Danton), and their concern with participatory politics rather than with the proceedings of the National Assembly. It is strongly argued that the principles of the *sansculottes* and Robespierre "were most certainly articulated" already in the radical press of 1789.

DERFLER, LESLIE. *Alexandre Millerand. The Socialist Years. Mouton, The Hague, Paris 1977. xiii, 326 pp. Ill. D.fl. 47.00.*

Private collections of Millerand papers are among the important materials on which this remarkable study is based. The author gives ample evidence of Millerand's consistency in the reformist approach he developed shortly after being converted to Socialism. Very illuminating is the chapter on Millerand as a Minister; in this capacity he managed to introduce a fair measure of social legislation and of state interference in the economy. The "case" is thus placed against a background allowing of meaningful evaluation.

FRUIT, ELIE. *Les syndicats dans les chemins de fer en France (1890-1910). Préface de Jean Maitron. Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris 1976. 216 pp. Ill. F.fr. 42.00.*

The heterogeneous composition of the railway workers is reflected in the complexity of their trade-union organizations. The author underlines the special position of these workers: the military, political and economic importance of the railways led the State to interfere for better wages, while at the same time restricting civil rights. He gives an interesting analysis of a moderate, "reformist", practice as opposed to the (rather vague) revolutionary objective the unions adhered to; the two lines are exemplified in the views and the practical leadership of Eugène Guérard.

GEREMEK, BRONISLAW. *Les Marginaux parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*. Trad. du polonais par Daniel Beauvois. Flammarion, Paris 1976. 355 pp. Maps. F.fr. 60.00.

Basing himself upon a considerable amount of manuscript sources, the author provides a fascinating account of those inhabitants of Paris who, during the later Middle Ages, lived outside the corporate order and did not participate in the production process. Criminals, travelling scholars, beggars, prostitutes etc. pass in review, and the relations of these people with the citizens proper are also discussed.

GIRAULT, JACQUES, avec la collab. de Bernard Chambaz, Jean-Paul Depretto, Annie Fourcaut [e.a.] *Sur l'implantation du Parti communiste français dans l'entre-deux-guerres*. Editions Sociales, Paris 1977. 348 pp. Maps. F.fr. 55.00.

In the studies collected in the present volume the focus is on structural conditions, election returns, and direct and indirect influences exerted by the PCF. A variety of contemporary sources have been tapped, among them oral ones: militants, rank-and-file members, opponents. We mention essays on the thirteenth *arrondissement* of Paris (Pascal Plagnard), the working-class municipality of Ivry (Chambaz), an automobile factory (Depretto) and the Cher Department (Anne-Marie and Claude Pennetier).

GROSS, JEAN-PIERRE. *Saint-Just. Sa politique et ses missions*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1976. 570 p. Maps. F.fr. 115.00.

Drawing on many printed and unprinted sources, the author of this impressive study sheds light not only on Saint-Just's activities, from January 1793 onwards, as a *représentant en mission* with several French armies for the operations of which he bore responsibility, but also on the policy of the *Comité de salut public*. Of special importance are the many details that help to sharpen the picture of Saint-Just as a politician. Notably his conceptions of state interference in the economy in the interest of a stepped-up war effort gain much in depth. The documentation is beyond all praise.

JOUBERT, JEAN-PAUL. *Révolutionnaires de la S.F.I.O. Marceau Pivert et le pivertisme*. Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris 1977. vii, 296 pp. F.fr. 95.00.

The author, who does not make a secret of his political views (today's task is said to be the constitution of "a new leadership of the proletariat capable of realizing the laws of history"), has collected an impressive amount of material on left-wing currents inside and outside the SFIO; he concentrates on Pivert during the 1930's. The *Gauche révolutionnaire*, formed by Pivert and others in October 1935 – a group within the SFIO of a heterogeneous composition –, the impact of the Civil War in Spain (co-operation with the POUM) and the short history of the *Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan* are

discussed in detail. Pivert's greatest concern was the revolutionary perspective. It is interesting to note that the Popular Front to him came to have the meaning of "the revolutionary struggle being abandoned for a new *union sacrée* to be prepared".

KORS, ALAN CHARLES. *D'Holbach's Coterie. An Enlightenment in Paris.* Princeton University Press, Princeton 1976. xi, 359 pp. \$ 17.50.

This very illuminating study shows that the circle of the Baron d'Holbach, to which people such as Diderot and Helvétius belonged, consisted of individuals less radical in their views and less persecuted by the Government than they themselves may have thought and current historiography has assumed. It was not until the Revolution that some of them came to serious harm. Under the *ancien régime* they were, as "academicians, censors, editors with royal privilege [. . .] and friends of the great in France and of foreign kings and queens, [. . .] in positions to aid themselves and each other continually".

LARIZZA LOLLI, MIRELLA. *Il sansimonismo (1825-1830). Un'ideologia per lo sviluppo industriale.* Edizioni Giappichelli, Torino 1976. 401 pp. L. 8000.

In the present volume the focus is not on the Utopian projects of the Saint-Simonians, but on the way in which the *Producteur* and the *Doctrine de Saint-Simon* commented upon the actual process of industrialization in France. Their critical analysis of the attendant social problems is of course not neglected, and there is a final chapter on the "religious transformation" of Saint-Simonianism.

LOUGEE, CAROLYN C. *Le Paradis des Femmes. Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France.* Princeton University Press, Princeton 1976. ix, 252 pp. \$ 16.50.

The public influence which salon-running ladies were able to exercise in seventeenth-century France is here aptly related to their social position and their social background. The Marquise of Rambouillet was imitated by women of less noble and even non-noble rank, and this development was resented and ridiculed by the traditional nobility. The boarding school of Saint-Cyr (founded in 1686) served as an anti-feminist and conservative counter-institution.

MOSS, BERNARD H. *The Origins of the French Labor Movement 1830-1914. The Socialism of Skilled Workers.* University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1976. xiii, 217 pp. \$ 12.95.

This study traces the origins of the French labour movement with a view to elaborating its underlying ideological objectives. The author develops the interesting thesis (which might provoke equally interesting discussions) of a

federalist trade Socialism (including Anarchist currents) of skilled workers. These workers – proletarians as well as artisans, who long suffered from bad conditions of life and work – cherished under the July Monarchy the idea of association. Its evolution through (non-Marxist) collectivism and Broussist federalism (strong in the *Parti Ouvrier*) to syndicalism is sketched vividly.

Régions et régionalisme en France du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours. Actes publiés par Christian Gras et Georges Livet. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1977. 594 pp. F.fr. 135.00.

Since the 'sixties ideas of regionalism and decentralization have become something of a vogue even in France. The above proceedings of a symposium held in Strasbourg in 1974 shed much light on the historical background to these ideas, in whatever part of the country and to whatever effect they have been championed. The volume includes an interesting contribution on Alsatian Communism in the inter-war period by Bernard Reimeringer.

OTHER BOOKS

CARR, REG. Anarchism in France: the case of Octave Mirbeau. Manchester University Press, Manchester 1977. xvii, 190 pp.

ZSIGMOND, LÁSZLÓ. Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon. A XIX. század politikai gondolkodásának történetéből. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1977. 291 pp. Ill.

Germany

BARTOL, GERDA. Ideologie und studentischer Protest. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung deutscher Studentenbewegungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Verlag Dokumentation, München 1977. viii, 272 pp. DM 48.00.

Borrowing freely from Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, the author develops a "model" which enables her to come to grips with a group-specific social protest movement possessed by ideology. Her case is the romantic-nationalist *Burschenschaft*. A concise historical treatment is given of this movement: here it is observed that it lacked the support of a revolutionary class – a situation with which the student movement of our time is equally confronted. In both, the author finds an identification with other social groups (in one direction).

BORGERT, HEINZ-LUDGER. Die Marineplanungen in Deutschland 1860-1867 und Friedrich Engels. Peter Lang, Frankfurt/M.; Herbert Lang, Bern 1977. ii, 382 pp. Ill. S.fr. 73.20.

News about the experience gained with recent types of battleships in the USA led Engels to a comment (*Artilleristisches aus Amerika*) in September 1863, published here in accordance with the norms of textual criticism. The

author places Engels's advocating the building of a strong and modern German navy against his and Marx's ideas on military affairs and their function in the doctrine as a whole. Engels's standpoint, at a first glance totally un-Socialist, is thus explained by the revolutionary perspective inherent in the conception of the bourgeois revolution as the necessary precondition for a proletarian one.

BUCHBINDER, REINHARD. *Bibelzitate, Bibelanspielungen, Bibelparodien, theologische Vergleiche und Analogien bei Marx und Engels.* Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin 1976. 451 pp. DM 58.00.

The writings of Marx and Engels contain a considerable number of references and allusions to biblical texts and other religious dicta. The author of the present doctorate thesis is a philologist, who has carefully investigated the manner in which Marx and Engels had, to put it in the words of *Capital*, "recourse to the mist-enveloped regions of the religious world" in explaining their thought and in fighting their enemies. It was not often for support that they turned to the Bible and ecclesiastical history. Their usual approach was an ironical one, especially in their parodies aimed at Schelling and "critical criticism" (which "so loved the mass that it sent its only begotten son" etc.); religion was a medium rather than an object of their attacks. Arnold Künzli's thesis of a repressed biblical religiosity does not bear examination. All the same, Marx's theory of money (to give one example) is full of religious associations, and Dr Buchbinder's interpretation of these is very useful and commendable indeed. Indices of persons, biblical texts and Marx-Engels *loci* are appended.

EDLER, ERICH. *Die Anfänge des sozialen Romans und der sozialen Novelle in Deutschland.* Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt/M. 1977. 367 pp. DM 68.00.

The importance of this publication lies in the wealth of the material, the fruit of several decades' collecting, which started in the 'twenties. The author stresses the contemporary significance attached to the social novel (and novelette, light reading is included), and explains the fact that it is less known today from it having been supplanted, around 1860, by reading matter with a nationalist flavour. Socialists such as Dronke, Weerth and Püttmann (influenced by Eugène Sue), radicals (e.g., Luise Otto) and liberals (Gutzkow, Auerbach) are represented, but also conservative authors who opposed capitalist industry.

EVANS, RICHARD J. *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933.* Sage Publications, London, Beverly Hills 1976. xiv, 310 pp. £ 9.00. (Paper: £ 4.50.)

"The present work seeks to examine the history of one particular social movement which formed part of the infrastructure of German liberalism." It is based on materials in many archives as well as on published sources,

and deserves to be called a pioneering study. A central issue is the “sharp turn to the right” taken by the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* between 1908 and 1914, which meant that it shed the liberal individualism that had characterized the feminist movement in Germany until then, as it still did its counterparts in other countries. The author’s interpretation of liberalism and feminism under the Weimar Republic leans heavily on conclusions drawn from that significant turn. Throughout, his concern is the BDF; the history of, e.g., SPD and other women’s organizations is almost completely omitted.

FELDMAN, GERALD D. *Iron and Steel in the German Inflation 1916-1923*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1977. xix, 518 pp. \$ 26.50.

Much manuscript material has been worked up in this detailed study on the role the captains of heavy industry played in economy and politics under the conditions of scarcity of coal, iron and steel, and of inflation. Of particular interest is the discussion of how heavy industry made use of its advantageous position in its dealings with the manufacturing industries. The story of how the employers tried to abolish the eight-hour day in the Ruhr under French occupation deserves to be signalized.

FRICKE, DIETER. *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1869-1914. Ein Handbuch über ihre Organisation und Tätigkeit im Klassenkampf*. Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1976. 17*, 975 pp. M 24.00.

Students of the labour movement’s history, including those who will demur at the author’s strictly partisan interpretation and vocabulary (bad “opportunists” *versus* good “revolutionaries”), still must be grateful for the wealth of information the present volume offers in a clearly arranged way. Non-Socialist (e.g., Christian) organizations are not taken into account. Detailed data are produced on the organizational structure, leadership, social composition of the rank and file of the Social Democratic parties, and women’s, youth and trade-union organizations. A special section is devoted to international organizations.

GOGUEL, RUDI. *Antifaschistischer Widerstand und Klassenkampf. Die faschistische Diktatur 1933 bis 1945 und ihre Gegner. Bibliographie deutschsprachiger Literatur aus den Jahren 1945 bis 1973*. Unter bibliographischer Mitarbeit von Jutta Grimann, Manfred Püschner [und] Ingrid Volz. Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Berlin 1976. 568 pp. M 27.50.

Although the word “antifascist” used in the title has of course the well-known Communist connotation, the scope of this bibliography of German-language books and articles is wide enough to include numerous

West German writings on resistance to Hitler, and even a book like Adolf Heusinger's *Befehl im Widerstreit*. As a matter of fact many items deal with the Nazi regime *per se*, and at the same time the volume lists writings on, e.g., the Spanish Civil War (including the book by H. G. Dahms, cf. IRSH, VIII (1963), p. 344). The appended indices of authors and titles on the one hand, and persons and subjects on the other, considerably enhance its usefulness.

Im Dienst an der Republik. Die Tätigkeitsberichte des Landesvorstands der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Badens 1914-1932. Hrsg. und bearb. von Jörg Schadt unter Mitarbeit von Michael Caroli. Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln 1977. 239 pp. Ill. DM 34.00.

In a commendable introduction the editor deals with the history of Social Democracy in Baden from its beginnings as an organized movement (1868) until its suppression in 1933 (with a short appendix on persecution and resistance up to 1945). Much information is given on the party's growth, on the structure of its organization and on results at the polls, while auxiliary organizations (especially those of women) receive a fair share of attention. In a number of cases the reports are presented in an abridged form. They reflect, for instance, issues arising from coalitions with "bourgeois" parties, conflicts with the KPD, and attitudes towards growing National-Socialism.

Industrialisierung und Gewerbe im Raum Berlin/Brandenburg. Band II. Die Zeit um 1800 / Die Zeit um 1875. Hrsg. von Otto Büsch. Mit Textbeiträgen von Otto Büsch und Wolfgang Scharfe. Colloquium Verlag, Berlin 1977. xiii, 186 pp. Loose-leaf maps. DM 98.00.

Professor Büsch's map of the industries in Berlin and Brandenburg *circa* 1849 was published independently ten years ago, and also as a loose-leaf appendix to both his *Industrialisierung und Gewerbe* and the *Untersuchungen* on the subject (cf. IRSH, XVII (1972), pp. 764f., 772). The present volume consists of two equally detailed maps illustrating the situation *circa* 1800 and 1875, and of comments, a diagrammatic excursus and indices.

Kirche zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Huber und Johannes Schwerdtfeger. Ernst Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 1976. 627 pp. DM 43.00.

The present volume is a counterpart to *Frieden, Gewalt, Sozialismus*, which was noticed in IRSH, XXII (1977), pp. 260f. Most of the twelve studies of which it consists deal with Protestant and neo-Protestant attitudes towards peace and war, but some contributions have, at least in part, the churches and social conflict for their subject. One of the latter is Karin Jaeger's essay on the Roman Catholics and the "revolution" of 1848. Summaries in English and separate name and subject indices are appended.

LADEMACHER, HORST. *Moses Heß in seiner Zeit*. Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, Bonn 1977. 194 pp. Ill. DM 38.00.

In a series of sketches the author outlines Hess's position in the evolution of Socialist thought. Although no new vistas are opened (the author himself has no pretensions whatsoever on this account), still there is a (synthetizing) discussion of pivotal questions such as the intellectual relationship between Hess and Marx. *Rom und Jerusalem* is not judged to be a definite deviation, but to be embedded in a process of adaptation of social and political views that had been ripening in the previous decades.

LANGKAU-ALEX, URSULA. *Volksfront für Deutschland? Band 1. Vorgeschichte und Gründung des "Ausschusses zur Vorbereitung einer deutschen Volksfront", 1933-1936*. Syndikat, Frankfurt/M. 1977. 364 pp. DM 48.00.

This scholarly study is very well documented; the notes refer to partly rare sources or give information additional to that contained in the text. The author starts with the constellation of the left-of-centre political forces as it manifested itself at the *Reich* President elections of 1932. She demonstrates the stubbornness of this constellation even under the conditions of the emigration. A penetrating analysis is given of the numerous attempts at advancing an understanding between Liberals, Social Democrats, Communists and other leftists. The present volume ends with the *Lutetia-Comité* (president: Heinrich Mann) reaching agreement on a Popular Front to be created. Eight interesting documents on efforts to arrive at close co-operation appear here in print for the first time.

LINSE, ULRICH. *Die anarchistische und anarcho-syndikalistische Jugendbewegung 1919-1933. Zur Geschichte und Ideologie der anarchistischen, syndikalistischen und unionistischen Kinder- und Jugendorganisationen 1919-1933*. Dipa-Verlag, Frankfurt/M. 1976. 330 pp. Ill. DM 44.00.

In this very informative study, for which much spade-work had to be done, the focus is on the *Freie Jugend* and the *Syndikalistisch-anarchistische Jugend Deutschlands* (the "unionists" mentioned in the subtitle are only represented by the Rühle wing and by an experiment carried through by Mr and Mrs Rühle). Throughout, the problem whether the youth movement should be independent or part and parcel of the political organization of the adults is brought to the fore. The account includes interesting folkloristic and ritual details.

MÖLLER, HORST. *Aufklärung in Preussen. Der Verleger, Publizist und Geschichtsschreiber Friedrich Nicolai*. Colloquium Verlag, Berlin 1974. viii, 629 pp. DM 138.00.

The present volume is a very detailed monograph on Nicolai's numerous

activities and their social setting. What the author, a pupil of Thomas Nipperdey, provides is not so much an intellectual or political biography as a pioneering study in the social history of ideas. He has very pertinent things to say on the *milieu* of the Berlin Enlightenment, on Nicolai's view and criticism of contemporary society, and on the social composition of his readership.

NA'AMAN, SHLOMO. Von der Arbeiterbewegung zur Arbeiterpartei. Der Fünfte Vereinstag der Deutschen Arbeitervereine zu Nürnberg im Jahre 1868. Eine Dokumentation. Colloquium Verlag, Berlin 1976. ix, 186 pp. DM 44.00.

The *pièce de résistance* of the documents reproduced in this book is the report of the fifth congress of the *Deutsche Arbeitervereine* (Nuremberg 1868), which decided on affiliation to the First International. It meant an important move towards the creation of a (second) workers' party without participation of the Liberals. The editor deals in his introduction with the political background in the years 1862-69 (unification of Germany under Prussia or otherwise?), the role of the Lassallean *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein* and the gradual emancipation of the *Arbeitervereine* (formerly *Arbeiterbildungsvereine*) from Liberal tutelage.

PETZINA, DIETMAR. Die deutsche Wirtschaft in der Zwischenkriegszeit. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1977. vii, 205 pp. DM 18.00.

The author, who frequently draws parallels with the developments in the Federal Republic, asserts that increasing state interference, a shift from individual to collective decision making and concentration of economic power were overall characteristics for the first half of the century. The volume offers a good survey, and gives much information in figures as well as in the text. Of the National-Socialist period it is said that it saw a relative worsening of the economic position of the lower-paid. The statistic material presented does not, however, generally or unequivocally support this thesis.

POPPINGA, ONNO, HANS MARTIN BARTH [und] HILTRAUT ROTH. Ostfriesland. Biographien aus dem Widerstand. Syndikat, Frankfurt/M. 1977. 187 pp. DM 14.00.

This booklet does not consist of biographies, but of spoken reminiscences. The compilers have interviewed a number of East Frisians who opposed the Nazi regime. Most of them are militants of the working-class movement, but these include non-proletarian persons such as Walther von Schwichow.

RECK, SIEGFRIED. Arbeiter nach der Arbeit. Sozialhistorische Studie zu den Wandlungen des Arbeiteralltags. Vorwort von Thomas Kleinspehn. Focus Verlag, Lahn-Giessen 1977. 289 pp. DM 19.80.

Private life and leisure occupations of workers in different periods are the

main themes in the present volume. The first section contains information on conditions of life (working hours, housing, real wages). The second section intends to give a qualitative analysis of family life and of the role played by pubs and organizations (a classification of these is made according to orientation).

RITTER, GERHARD A. Arbeiterbewegung, Parteien und Parlamentarismus. Aufsätze zur deutschen Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1976. 412 pp. DM 64.00.

These ten studies were published before in books and periodicals; some have been considerably revised and brought up to date. The author's central concern is the discrepancy between economic and political modernization in the Second Empire and the evolution, also in our time, of parliamentarism and anti-parliamentarism (of the left-wing as well as of the right-wing brand; there are striking similarities). In one chapter a very thoroughgoing comparative analysis is given of the constitutional history of Germany and Great Britain. The excellent annotation offers – accidentally – valuable stimuli for further research.

ROSEN, ZVI. Bruno Bauer and Karl Marx. The Influence of Bruno Bauer on Marx's Thought. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1977. x, 254 pp. D.fl. 88.40.

The first section of this very well documented study deals with Bauer's intellectual evolution as a Young Hegelian, who "attempted to give Hegel's thought an intellectual-atheistic character like that of Voltaire and Holbach". Bauer's political views (he advocated for Prussia "drastic and violent change deriving from the tradition of the French Revolution") are set forth in detail. The second section is devoted to the personal, intellectual and political relations between Bauer and Marx. Bauer's disappointment with the masses and his repudiation of Communism as leading of necessity to the suppression of freedom became manifest in 1843 and exacerbated the polemic with Marx.

RUCKHÄBERLE, HANS-JOACHIM (Hrsg.) Frühproletarische Literatur. Die Flugschriften der deutschen Handwerksgehilfenvereine in Paris 1832-1839. Scriptor Verlag, Kronberg/Ts. 1977. 261 pp. DM 48.00.

Contrary to "bourgeois" historiography the editor believes that the pamphlets stemming from émigré circles of craftsmen and intellectuals reveal a process of learning and an evolution from liberal-democratic positions towards a Babouvist Communism, which in its turn was overtaken by Weitling (not represented in the texts), who introduced the notion of the whole class to be mobilized. The annotation of the selected texts is excellent; they originate from groups such as the League of the Just.

SCHÄFERS, BERNHARD. Sozialstruktur und Wandel der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ein Studienbuch zu ihrer Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München; Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart 1976. xvi, 337 pp. DM 12.80.

In the present volume a very fine balance is struck between factual information and (cautious, but straightforward) evaluation. Figures, data and commentaries are conveniently arranged. Subjects dealt with include demographic developments, social security, political parties, interpretations of economic and social facts and trends. The volume will certainly appeal to a wide diversity of readers.

SCHÖCK, EVA CORNELIA. Arbeitslosigkeit und Rationalisierung. Die Lage der Arbeiter und die kommunistische Gewerkschaftspolitik 1920-28. Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, New York 1977. 280 pp. DM 20.00.

It is the author's opinion that, considered in terms of cause and effect, the split in the labour movement was engendered by the evolution of capitalism, but that Communist policies, notably in and with regard to the trade unions, broadened the rift. Miners, workers in chemical industries and metal workers receive special attention in this study, which strives throughout to demonstrate origins and course of the "movements of the workers".

SOELL, HARTMUT. Fritz Erler — Eine politische Biographie. Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH, Berlin, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1976. xvii, 1232 pp. (in 2 vols.) DM 60.00.

Dr Soell has considered it necessary to adopt for the years since 1949 a treatment according to subjects (e.g., efforts at unification of Germany, the evolution towards the Godesberg Programme, Erler and American foreign policy). Moreover, he has included more than one excursus. Consequently, the whole is rather ponderous, and the style does not make for readability either. Yet the author deserves praise for the thoroughness with which he has collected even minor details. The central position Erler (who died in 1967) occupied in the SPD leadership has obviously contributed to a *de facto* broadening of the theme into a discussion of the party's policies as a whole.

TAUBERT, ROLF. Autonomie und Integration. Das Arbeiter-Blatt Lennep. Eine Fallstudie zur Theorie und Geschichte von Arbeiterpresse und Arbeiterbewegung 1848-1850. Verlag Dokumentation, München 1977. 175 pp. Ill. DM 28.00.

In a boldly presented thesis the author, who sharply distinguishes between the workers' movement and the political stand taken by Marx in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, states: "*A proletariat which is called upon to fulfil a historic mission in alliance with the bourgeoisie belongs to the realm of mythology.*" The Lennep *Arbeiter-Blatt*, which is discussed in detail,

provides ample material for the argument that the craftsmen (the majority of the workers) were interested in a solution of the social rather than the political question; their concern was with factories, machines and wages. The author is very critical of "Marxist-Leninist" historiography, but also of Frolinde Balser, who is accused of "falsification".

TENFELDE, KLAUS. *Sozialgeschichte der Bergarbeiterschaft an der Ruhr im 19. Jahrhundert*. Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1977. 738 pp. Ill. Maps. DM 98.00.

Dr Tenfelde, who worked as a miner, deals with the stormy developments in the years from 1815 to 1890. His approach is a broad one. The changing position of the workers is dealt with in depth against the background of technical and economic trends. The mentality and views of employers come up for discussion as a constitutive element in the miners' conditions of life and work. Much attention is given to mining laws and their reform. The account of attempts at trade-union organization, their successes and failures, and the miners' strikes (in particular that of 1889) is very detailed. A number of interesting documents are appended.

TÖLCKE, CARL WILHELM. *Presseberichte zur Entwicklung der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1848-1893. Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*. Bearb. von Arno Herzig. Verlag Dokumentation, München 1976. 278 pp. DM 28.00.

Tölcke's articles (in the *Social-Demokrat*, the *Volksstaat* and several other press organs) and documents on his activities (reports by authorities, but also comments by political friends) have been selected in the present volume so as to throw light on the evolution of German Social Democracy. The texts have been systematically arranged into sections such as "The Beginnings of the Workers' Movement in Westphalia", "Tölcke and the Theory of Socialism", and "Tölcke and the Trade-Union Movement". Each of the nine sections is concisely introduced by the editor. He sees in Tölcke's efforts to unite the ADAV and the SDAP his "most important achievement".

TROMMLER, FRANK. *Sozialistische Literatur in Deutschland. Ein historischer Überblick*. Alfred Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart 1976. vii, 846 pp. DM 28.50.

A broad scale of Socialist literature is covered in the present volume, which betrays a remarkable knowledge of the subject. When treating of the pre-March period as a time of hope for a renewal of art and culture, the author also deals with sources of inspiration and includes, for instance, Richard Wagner because of his intellectual kinship with the "'True' Socialists". He also discusses the appeal of Socialism to many intellectuals. Another item is the abrupt renaissance of radical Socialist ideas in the mid 1960's; its vehemence is explained from long neglect. The author is "committed",

which does not imply that he is uncritical. Subjects covered are non-Socialist proletarian literature and the developments in the GDR. Theory gets its full share of attention, as the repeated confrontation with Lukács shows.

VOLLMAR, GEORG VON. *Reden und Schriften zur Reformpolitik*. Ausgewählt und eingel. von Willy Albrecht. Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH, Berlin, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1977. 254 pp. DM 25.00.

Tactical questions are in the foreground in this representative selection from Vollmar's printed writings. Most texts are given in extract form, but the famous *Eldorado-Reden* (1891) are reproduced unabridged. Vollmar's personal tactics in party affairs become clear in his public views on Bernstein's revisionism. His attitudes towards monarchy, colonial policy and the position of the Bavarian peasantry are other subjects represented in the texts. The introduction stresses the modernity of Vollmar's insights (cf. the Godesberg Programme).

Vorwärts 1876-1976. Ein Querschnitt in Faksimiles. Hrsg. von Günter Grunwald und Friedhelm Merz. Eingel. von Heinz-Dietrich Fischer und Volker Schulze. Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH, Berlin, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1976. xlv, 203 pp. III. DM 36.00.

The *Vorwärts* (1933-40 and 1948-54 *Neuer Vorwärts*) was for one century the "central organ" of German Social Democracy (though not officially after 1955). The two introductions (1876-1940 and 1948-76) are very matter-of-fact and give a good concise history. The selection of the facsimiles could not help being somewhat arbitrary, but it is obvious that some representativeness has been aimed at, and achieved. A (critical) article on the views of the late Prosecutor General Siegfried Buback has been included (*Vorwärts*, 14 June 1976). Its present topicality is purely coincidental, as is clear from the fact that the volume appeared a few months before his death.

WEISS-HARTMANN, ANNE. *Der Freie Gewerkschaftsbund Hessen 1945-1949*. Mit einem Vorwort von Wolfgang Abendroth. [Schriftenreihe für Sozialgeschichte und Arbeiterbewegung, Band 2.] Verlag Arbeiterbewegung und Gesellschaftswissenschaft GmbH, Marburg 1977. xv, 417 pp. DM 21.00.

The history of trade unionism and especially its ideology in Hesse until the founding of the DGB is described here against the background of the living and working conditions of the workers as well as the policy of the American occupation authorities, the political preferences of trade-union leaders ("illusions" of social partnership with the employers) and the alleged interest of capital in keeping down production. The author stresses the impact of the division between SPD and KPD, which together had a majority. It is contended that even after the currency reform the situation did not improve for the workers.

OTHER BOOKS

- FELDMAN, GERALD D. [und] HEIDRUN HOMBURG. *Industrie und Inflation. Studien und Dokumente zur Politik der deutschen Unternehmer 1916-1923.* Hoffmann und Campe, Hamburg 1977. 422 pp.
- LEVY, FRANÇOISE P. *Karl Marx, histoire d'un bourgeois allemand.* Bernard Grasset, Paris 1976. 429 pp.
- SCHUSTER, KURT G. P. *Der Rote Frontkämpferbund 1924-1929. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Organisationsstruktur eines politischen Kampfbundes.* Droste Verlag, Düsseldorf 1975. 290 pp.

Great Britain

- BELLAMY, JOYCE M. and JOHN SAVILLE. *Dictionary of Labour Biography. Vol. IV.* Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1977. xix, 236 pp. £ 20.00.

Vol. IV of this dictionary follows hard upon Vol. III (cf. *IRSH*, XXII (1977), p. 460). The list of contributors gives no less than 34 names. Entries pertain, among other things, to Chartism, the Clarion movement and New Unionism. We mention as examples the biographies of Annie Besant, Robert Blatchford and Ben Tillett. The excellent bibliography on New Unionism, 1889-93, is appended to the last-mentioned entry.

- COLLS, ROBERT. *The Collier's Rant. Song and Culture in the Industrial Village.* Croom Helm, London; Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa (N.J.) 1977. iv, 216 pp. £ 6.50.

Folksong material at Newcastle Central Library is not the only, but in any case the most noticeable source for this essay on the social history of a North-Eastern English mining community in the nineteenth century. The author says that "the North East miner had his own tinge of instinctiveness, his own singing democracy founded in an enthusiasm to make music about mere scraps of daily life". The impact of Methodism and rising trade unionism is reflected in popular culture.

- Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900.* Ed. by L. M. Cullen [and] T. C. Smout. John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh n.d. viii, 252 pp. £ 10.00.

The present volume contains sixteen papers read at a seminar held in Dublin in September 1976; the introduction is of a later date. Vital is the editors' conclusion: "The big factors in the differing development of the two countries [. . .] seem to us not political but geological (coal and ore), agrarian and, in so far as adaptability is concerned, cultural." The papers deal with subjects such as famine and emigration, textile industries in Ireland and Scotland, and the development of commerce and agrarian questions (e.g., landlord and tenant relations in Ireland from 1850 to 1878).

DAUNTON, M. J. *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914*. Leicester University Press, Leicester 1977. xi, 260 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 12.00.

“The south Wales economy consisted of mining coal, making steel or tinplates, but not in using the basic products in manufacturing”, which meant, among other things, that Cardiff did not develop a shipbuilding industry. The author has collected many data on the city’s economy. He further concentrates on landownership and housing. A special chapter is devoted to the rise of the labour movement and the political vicissitudes of Liberals and “Lib-Labs” (the latter were strong for many years).

DRIBERG, TOM. *Ruling Passions*. Jonathan Cape, London 1977. xi, 271 pp. Ill. £ 5.95.

Death prevented Tom Driberg from finishing this autobiography. As it is, it contains almost nothing on his record as a post-war Labour politician, and very little on his pre-war Communist past. He quotes lavishly from his work as a columnist and reporter, but the bulk of the volume is about his acquaintances, his private life and his experiences as a homosexual.

FENTON, ALEXANDER. *Scottish Country Life*. John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh 1976. ix, 255 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 7.00.

Concentrating on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the author of this study of change and continuity in rural life presents a fascinating account of techniques used in tilling the soil, harvesting, the processing of cereals for food and fodder, etc. There are chapters on milking, fruit culture, farm building and farmer-labourer relations. The unique pictures which magnificently illustrate the volume give a visual impression of the variety of tools used in agriculture.

GOSDEN, P. H. J. H. *Education in the Second World War. A study in policy and administration*. Methuen & Co Ltd, London 1976. x, 527 pp. £ 15.00.

With the effects of the war (bombing, evacuations) as background, Dr Gosden describes measures taken in education (ranging from the introduction of school meals to the improvement and expansion of technical training) and reforms that were suggested and/or carried out. The impressive study is based on a wealth of unpublished (Public Record Office files) and published primary sources (among them parliamentary debates) as well as on contemporary and post-war literature. All levels of education, including universities, come up for discussion. The history of the Education Act of 1944, which reflected insights won by often hard experience, is related in great detail.

HAMER, D. A. *The Politics of Electoral Pressure. A Study in the History of Victorian Reform Agitations*. The Harvester Press Ltd, Hassocks; Humanities Press Inc., Atlantic Highlands (N.J.) 1977. x, 386 pp. £ 10.95.

In this thorough historical study the author gives a very interesting account of the practice of "faddism", i.e., the use of electoral pressure by particular reform movements, mainly of nonconformists. The heyday of these movements or groups was between the First and Second Reform Acts; then it was still feasible, owing to the limited size of the constituencies, to tip the balance by means of mobilizing minority groups. The author deals with the (successful) Anti-Corn-Law League, the Liberation Society and the National Education League (against discrimination of nonconformists), and the temperance movement, the United Kingdom Alliance (1859-1900). A short chapter is devoted to "Labour and Irish Electoral Strategy".

HERRMANN, PAUL-WOLFGANG. *Die Communist Party of Great Britain. Untersuchungen zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung, Organisation, Ideologie und Politik der CPGB von 1920-1970.* Verlag Anton Hain, Meisenheim/Glan 1976. viii, 448 pp. DM 120.00.

The chronological section of the present volume opens with an outline of the history of the CPGB up to 1945, based essentially on recent British studies. The treatment of the party's history since then concentrates on the relations with Labour, the positions of the Communists in the trade unions and the shifts in appreciations of international affairs. Until the party crisis of 1956-57, which resulted in the resignation of 25 per cent of the *Daily Worker* staff, the CP was "dependent, uncritical and incapable of serious Marxist analysis [...] whenever the interests of the Soviet Union were involved". At the end of the period under discussion a new leadership had switched to an attitude of relative independence. The second section treats of special themes (e.g., organizational structure and ideology). No new vistas are opened on the question why the party remained weak.

HOLDERNESS, B. A. *Pre-Industrial England. Economy and Society 1500-1750.* J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, London; Rowman & Littlefield, Totowa (N.J.) 1976. x, 244 pp. Maps. £ 6.50. (Paper: £ 2.95.)

"This book [...] is a personal interpretation of a long and far from homogeneous period in English economic history." The social dynamism inherent in post-feudal society is accentuated. The author of this work of synthesis — he defines it himself as a textbook — deals in a vivid way with demographic developments, change and continuity in agriculture (enclosure and depopulation), industry and trade. A special chapter is devoted to the role of the Government, including its attitude towards the poor.

HUNTER, JAMES. *The Making of the Crofting Community.* John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh 1976. xiii, 309 pp. £ 10.00.

Although resistance of the crofters to the landlords (or of a traditional community to the disruption caused by clearances and evictions) was, as a rule, less violent in the Gaelic Highlands of Scotland than in Ireland, it became a policy-influencing fact in the 1880's. The author concentrates on

the years 1800-1930 (with a short commentary on the crofting community today). The description of the famine of 1845-50 and that of the uprisings of the 1880's are very detailed.

JENKINS, CLIVE and BARRIE SHERMAN. *Computers and the Unions.* Longman, London, New York 1977. v, 135 pp. £ 4.95.

The authors discuss, in a balanced approach, from several angles the impact the introduction of computers has had and still has on trade unions and their members. Light is shed on the complicated answers to the question, "Who benefits?" It is argued that, granted the tendency towards centralization of power and growth of very big companies, this can be neutralized or brought under control by political initiatives. On the other hand, the advantages for the workers are underlined (quality of life, health, safety, less wastage).

LOVELL, JOHN. *British Trade Unions 1875-1933.* Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1977. 75 pp. £ 1.50.

In an interesting synthesizing discussion of older and more recent literature Dr Lovell presents a balanced account of the major issues in trade-union history. According to him the traditional view of the period between 1875 and 1888 being barren is not generally true. Another point is whether 1926 was a real watershed or not; the author argues that 1932, when disputes on a national scale disappeared (to come back in 1953), might better serve as such.

MACKENZIE, NORMAN and JEANNE. *The First Fabians.* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1977. 446 pp. Ill. £ 12.50.

With much feeling for the picturesque the authors of this readable work throw light especially on the personalities of Hubert Bland, Shaw, Wallas, the Webbs and several others. They explain the origins of the Fabian Society from the search for a new cause as revealed religion appeared to have spent itself. The attitudes towards political organizations such as Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation are discussed. The freedom of opinion the Fabians used to grant each other did not preclude the eruption of conflicts. The one in which H. G. Wells was involved may serve as an example of such incidents and of the vivid way in which they are described. Many unpublished sources have been worked up.

MARQUAND, DAVID. *Ramsay MacDonald.* Jonathan Cape, London 1977. xvi, 903 pp. Ill. £ 12.50.

Mr Marquand, who had access to MacDonald's private papers, could also profit from the fact that official material at the Public Record Office had become available. Moreover, he has used other previously unknown primary sources, among them materials in the archives of the Labour and Socialist International. The result is a masterly and authoritative biography. The author destroys legends, analyzes motives and actions, and arrives at

a well-argued and balanced judgment of his subject's character and significance as a politician. He assesses, for instance, with penetration MacDonald's position with respect to the First World War and his rupture with the Labour Party in 1931, after which he became "a lonely, disappointed and profoundly unhappy man".

MINGAY, G. E. *The Gentry. The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class*. Longman, London, New York 1976. xii, 216 pp. £ 6.50. (Paper: £ 3.50.)

So much information has been crowded into this volume of the *Themes in British Social History* series that it had to be printed in an inconveniently small type. It is a comprehensive history of the lower ranks of the landed interest and of their vital functions in English society. Much attention is paid to their many-sided activities, their way of life and their traditional paternalism.

MULLER, WILLIAM D. *The 'Kept Men'? The First Century of Trade Union Representation in the British House of Commons, 1874-1975*. Harvester Press Ltd, Hassocks; Humanities Press Inc., Atlantic Highlands (N.J.) 1977. xx, 283 pp. £ 12.50.

The presence of union-sponsored Labour MPs "has helped to assure the working class that the Labour Party is indeed the party of the workers". The author gives an interesting survey of this representation, and discusses questions such as that of the education and competence of the category dealt with as compared with other MPs. Concentrating on the years since the Second World War, he places parliamentary conduct against the background of union policies. He argues that – also because unions have got direct access to the Government – the "cloth cap" figures have given way to professional men in Parliament, and offers a personal (and moderate) evaluation of what this development could mean for Labour's future.

NEWBY, HOWARD. *The Deferential Worker. A Study of Farm Workers in East Anglia*. Allen Lane, London 1977. 462 pp. £ 9.00.

This study of the social situation of the agricultural workers since the introduction of mechanization and the consequent steady decrease in the number of people engaged in agriculture (the figure for 1970 was less than 30 per cent of that of fifty years earlier) is based in part on two questionnaires, one of which was submitted to farmers and the other (more detailed) one to farm workers. Much attention is also paid to the historical context. The author concentrates on the relationships on the farm, which are characterized by a larger or smaller measure of paternalism. Agricultural trade unionism is discussed against the background of the author's rather gloomy evaluation of the economic and social position of "the deferential worker", whose status is said to have remained very low indeed.

OLSEN, DONALD J. *The Growth of Victorian London*. B. T. Batsford Ltd, London 1976. 384 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 10.50.

"If the darker aspects of Victorian London predominate in literature and historical scholarship, the physical survivals are more benign. In 1901 the failures loomed larger than the successes; from the standpoint of 1975 the opposite is true." This is the author's final judgment on the architectural record (including the demolition of part of Georgian London) of the Victorians. He discusses the old and the new working-class districts as well as the villas of the well-to-do. The volume contains magnificent illustrations.

REID, IVAN. *Social Class Differences in Britain*. A sourcebook. Open Books, London 1977. xv, 266 pp. £ 5.75. (Paper: £ 2.95.)

An outstanding quality of the present volume is that its method and set-up are such as to make it transparently clear to the educated layman as well as to the sociologist. The author provides an abundance of empirical data on social class differences (in work, income, family, education, leisure etc.) and a very readable commentary. The various classifications are explained lucidly.

SPRINGHALL, JOHN. *Youth, Empire and Society*. British Youth Movements, 1883-1940. Croom Helm, London; Archon Books, Hamden (Conn.) 1977. 163 pp. Ill. £ 6.95.

The major British youth movements founded in the last decades of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth centuries were the embodiment of attempts to establish a hegemony of the dominant ideology over the rising generation. "Since the 1880s, a gradual shift in the aims of British youth movements had taken place, whereby ideologies of national purpose were effectively supplanting earlier religious and moral justifications". The author deals with the Boys' Brigade (starting in Glasgow, 1883, conceived, by William Smith, as a means "of controlling the rowdy working-class boys attending his Mission Sunday School"), the Church Lads' Brigade, the Boy Scouts (first experimental camp in 1907; in the 1930's well over 400,000 members), working-class cadet companies and (small) woodcraft groups (since 1916; anti-imperialist and Socialist). The Girls Guides appear in an appendix.

WILSON, ELIZABETH. *Women & the Welfare State*. Tavistock Publications, London 1977. 208 pp. £ 2.20.

The present author argues that it has never been discussed how women are affected by the British Welfare State. Yet, "Women encounter State repression within the very bosom of the family." This repression is said to be inherent in capitalism, and it is discussed from the nineteenth century onwards. The author does not propose the outright destruction of the nuclear family, but she does hold a plea for the equality of women and children with men.

WINTON, JOHN. *Hurrah for the Life of a Sailor! Life on the lower-deck of the Victorian Navy*. Michael Joseph, London 1977. 320 pp. Ill. £ 6.50.

Lavishly quoting from contemporary sources, the author provides a vivid picture of the daily life of the ratings in the nineteenth-century Royal Navy, and also of their adventures and their warlike deeds. Although their treatment and living conditions left much to be desired, they were a "very conservative" lot, with a strong *esprit de corps*. The volume aims at the general reader and is aptly illustrated.

WRIGLEY, CHRIS. *David Lloyd George and the British Labour Movement. Peace and War*. The Harvester Press, Hassocks; Barnes and Noble Books, New York 1976, x, 298 pp. £ 10.95.

Dr Wrigley examines the roots of "Lloyd George's pragmatic piecemeal approach to social reform" and its successes before 1914, which helped him to put the Labour Party almost entirely in the shade. The treatment of the war years is very detailed and draws on a wealth of partly unpublished sources. The author finds that for all his sympathies with the common man Lloyd George lacked an understanding of the labour movement and of the demands of the (skilled) workers. During the war, "industrial unrest was rooted in growing working-class resentment at the exploitation of their patriotism". Lloyd George's policies in this respect bore a pragmatic imprint: his repression on the Clyde in 1916 contrasts with the concessions made to the engineers in 1917.

Greece

LEON, GEORGE B. *The Greek Socialist Movement and the First World War: The Road to Unity*. East European Quarterly, Boulder (Colorado) 1976; distr. by Columbia University Press, New York. x, 204 pp. \$ 15.00.

This interesting study on the interaction between domestic and foreign policies and its effect on the (weak and divided) Socialist movement points to the dilemma of this movement: "it was impossible [. . .] either to overtly support Greece's intervention or to advocate a policy of neutrality without being accused of either violating their socialist principles or allying themselves with the King." It is demonstrated that under the impact of the Russian Revolution and the mounting desire for a peace without annexations Venizelos, in an effort to win support for his war aims, contributed considerably to labour and Socialist unity.

Italy

CLARK, MARTIN. *Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution that Failed*. Yale University Press, New Haven, London 1977. xii, 255 pp. \$ 15.00.

An illuminating chapter on the Italian labour movement during the First World War, especially in Turin, “the only ‘proletarian city’ in Italy”, and a concise survey of Gramsci’s intellectual development precede an excellent account of the rise of factory councils. These grew out of the “internal commissions” in the metal-working industries during the war, and were considered by Gramsci and the *Ordine Nuovo* group to be the vehicle of a Socialist revolution in a “dialectical process of historical development”. The author relates the rapid decline of the councils after the occupation of the factories in 1920 to illusions cherished by Gramsci about the high level of consciousness he alleged their functioning had induced among the workers. In an epilogue it is argued that the vocation of the PCI as a “productivist” party is rooted in Gramscian conceptions.

The Netherlands

KADT, J. DE. *Politieke herinneringen van een randfiguur*. G. A. van Oorschot, Amsterdam 1976. 255 pp. D.fl. 27.50.

The present volume is a sequel to *Uit mijn communistentijd* (cf. IRSH, XI (1966), pp. 165f.); a third volume, dealing with the years from 1940 onwards, is yet to appear. Again the reader has to do with an autobiography not so much as with a collection of reminiscences, interpretations and comments. The author sheds light on his fairly unique positions both in the Social Democratic Workers’ Party and in the left-wing Independent Socialist Party. De Kadt always was a very critical commentator rather than a practical politician. His recollections of events and especially of persons (politicians, but also famous poets) are no less interesting than his evaluations of shortcomings of contemporary politicians, including himself.

Spain

KAPLAN, TEMMA. *Anarchists of Andalusia 1868-1903*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1977. xvii, 266 pp. \$ 13.50.

The author has worked up older and more recent studies by others, together with research of her own (notably on police reports), into a synthesizing “series of thematic essays that trace the origins of Andalusian anarchism and its transformation over the nineteenth century”. She argues a relationship between a vivid tradition of craftsmen’s associations and the emergence of the idea of workers’ control, which was approached in a rational way (the author firmly rejects the “millenarian” theory). The causes, the history and the consequences of the 1873 uprisings constitute the central themes.

WEISSER, MICHAEL R. *The Peasants of the Montes. The Roots of Rural Rebellion in Spain*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1976. xi, 143 pp. \$ 13.80.

Concentrating on the rural zone of Toledo (resettled during the Reconquest), Dr Weisser shows with great skill that social tension and extreme economic inequality existed from the sixteenth century onwards. He discusses in detail the oppression of the peasants, deeply resented, by the city elites and the Church, the life style of the peasants and their sense of morality. By analyzing historical facts the author arrives at interesting observations on the attraction of Anarchism (not to be understood as an anti-modern movement) for the Castilian peasant in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – Russia

GEIERHOS, WOLFGANG. *Vera Zasulič und die russische revolutionäre Bewegung*. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, Wien 1977. 314 pp. DM 78.00.

The author of this fully documented study focuses on the years 1869-85. Central themes are Vera Zasulič's attempt on Trepov's life, and her trial and remarkable acquittal by the jury; her adoption – together with Plechanov and Aksel'rod – of Marxism; her exchange of letters with Marx and Engels. There is an overwhelming amount of details, and the style is cumbrous. This is to be regretted, the more so because it is obvious that the author has done a lot of very thorough research.

PALMIER, JEAN-MICHEL. *Lénine, l'art et la révolution. Essai sur la formation de l'esthétique soviétique*. Vol. 1. Payot, Paris 1975. 550 pp. Ill. F.fr. 99.00.

The present volume, the first of a trilogy, deals with Lenin's pre-1917 writings on literary questions, and in the second place with the spate of cultural experiments that followed the October Revolution. A separate chapter is devoted to the organization of the *Narkompros*. The author, who does not seem to be very familiar with the Russian language, is mainly concerned with problems of (revolutionary) aesthetics.

ROBBINS, RICHARD G., JR. *Famine in Russia 1891-1892. The Imperial Government Responds To A Crisis*. Columbia University Press, New York, London 1975. xiv, 259 pp. \$ 18.75.

Although historians usually recognize the importance of the famine of 1891-92, which was the prelude to a new era of dissent, this event has been subject to myth building. The present study, based among other things on documents in Soviet archives, shows that the central Government neither ignored the disaster (a consequence of crop failure) nor remained largely inactive as regards relief measures. Moreover, the *zemstvos*, which played a very important role (as is widely admitted), were at the time no private organizations, but adjuncts to the State. The author proves that large-scale starvation was prevented and that on the whole the State apparatus, far from being totally ineffective, was able to cope with the situation.

SCHNEIDERMAN, JEREMIAH. Sergei Zubatov and Revolutionary Marxism. The Struggle for the Working Class in Tsarist Russia. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, London 1976. 401 pp. Ill. \$ 18.50.

“Zubatov’s awareness of proletarian aspirations and his desire to steer the workers onto a path free of alien elements” made it possible that on the eve of 1905 the Moscow working class had not yet committed itself “to the leadership of either the socialist intelligentsia or the Zubatovshchina”. The author focuses on Zubatov’s efforts to rally working-class allegiance to the Government (especially the police) in Moscow, Odessa and Minsk. A lucid and unorthodox discussion of the labour situation in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century serves as a general background.

STEFFEN, JOCHEN [und] ADALBERT WIEMERS. Auf zum letzten Verhör. Erkenntnisse des verantwortlichen Hofnarren der Revolution Karl Radek. C. Bertelsmann Verlag, München 1977. 369 pp. DM 32.00.

The second author gives a biographical sketch based on (easily accessible) printed sources and on interviews with people who knew Radek personally (e.g., his secretary in 1920). It is regrettable that he fails to specify the origins of many — often interesting — quotations. Mr Steffen, the SPD politician from Sleswick-Holstein, fills about two thirds of the volume with a fictitious *Weltgericht der Weltgeschichte*. Radek is put on a posthumous trial, and is refused rehabilitation because he betrayed the ideals for which he stood by condoning totalitarian and terroristic developments. Both authors hold that Radek was a precursor of an extreme “New Left”.

ULAM, ADAM B. A History of Soviet Russia. Praeger Publishers, New York 1976. viii, 312 pp. Ill. Maps. \$ 5.95.

“This book tells the story of communism and Soviet power in Russia since the Revolution of 1917.” Thus the preface to a work which is rather popular (notes have been reduced to a minimum), though its approach is thoughtful and thorough. It is the author’s opinion that intra-party developments and foreign policy provide the main key to Soviet history. The importance of the NEP years is held to be crucial: “The pattern of Soviet politics that emerged in 1921-28 would thus endure to our own days”. Yet later periods and phenomena (the Stalinist terror, the Second World War, Chruščev’s regime, for instance) receive no less attention. In a conclusion the author states that “communism has not made Soviet society immune to social ailments and problems that afflict advanced industrial societies elsewhere”.

OTHER BOOKS

Istorija Kommunističeskoj Partii Sovetskogo Sojuza. Atlas. Institut marksizma-leninizma pri CK KPSS; Glavnoe upravlenie geodezii i kartografii pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, Moskva 1976. 130 pp. Ill. Maps.

Yugoslavia

HABERL, OTHMAR NIKOLA. *Parteiorganisation und nationale Frage in Jugoslawien*. Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin, Berlin 1976; distr. by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. xii, 242 pp. DM 56.00.

After a concise introduction on the zigzag course of the Yugoslav CP in the question of the country's nationalities (until June 1941 centrifugal tendencies generally prevailed), and on its ambivalent adoption of democratization in the 1950's and early 1960's, there is a detailed (and rather dry) chronicle of congresses and conferences and other events in so far as they were relevant to the question under discussion during the years 1964-72. The accent is on the results obtained by and the opposition against what is called the "national-liberal coalition", in which the Croats were strongly represented. The disagreement among the adherents of this "coalition" on the subject of federal economic projects is accounted for. The author argues that it was the leniency of the Croat party leadership over against the nationalist actions of the students that actuated a re-centralization in 1970-71.

RUSINOW, DENNISON. *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974*. C. Hurst & Co., London 1977. xxi, 410 pp. £ 9.50.

In this informative account of the background, origins and development of what could be called Yugoslav experiments in the political, economic, social and cultural fields alike, the accent is on the years 1949-53, when ideology and practice had to be opened "to modification, evolution and eclecticism", and in particular on the period from 1961 onwards, which saw the introduction of "*Laissez-faire* Socialism", the victory of decentralization and a more liberal attitude towards dissenting views (since 1970 there has been a marked regression). As to the future, the author is extremely cautious in his hypotheses. He concludes that the history of the country since 1949 has "actually 'proved' nothing except the astounding flexibility and adaptability of the Yugoslavs, both leaders and led".

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