

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## GENERAL ISSUES

### *RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHY*

LIST, GÜNTHER. Chiliasmische Utopie und radikale Reformation. Die Erneuerung der Idee vom Tausendjährigen Reich im 16. Jahrhundert. Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 1973. 269 pp. DM 48.00.

At the time of St Augustine, the continued expectation of the millennium prophesied in the last book of the Bible became a kind of shibboleth, dubbed "chiliasm", for denouncing all sorts of revolutionary heresies, and on the same lines Engels and Kautsky used it as a means to identify precursors of their own movement. The author of the present case study shows, however, that what the revolutionary Anabaptists of the sixteenth century tried to take by force was the Kingdom of God, not the millennium. The latter had a "speculative-escapist" function; it was only evoked when the revolutionaries were in a tight corner.

NUSSER, KARL-HEINZ. Hegels Dialektik und das Prinzip der Revolution. Der Weg zur praktischen Philosophie. Verlag Anton Pustet, München, Salzburg 1973. 234 pp. DM 29.00.

The subject of this book, originally a Munich doctorate thesis, is Hegel's changing interpretation of the French Revolution in the context of his philosophical development. Of special interest is the analysis of Hegel's critique of Christianity as an abortive revolution; the so-called *Theologische Jugendschriften* are quoted time and again. Unlike Joachim Ritter, the author is of the opinion that Hegel did not associate the French Revolution with the *bürgerliche Gesellschaft*.

### *SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE*

BALLA, BÁLINT. Kaderverwaltung. Versuch zur Idealtypisierung der 'Bürokratie' sowjetisch-volksdemokratischen Typs. Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart 1972. viii, 282 pp. DM 49.00.

The author of this sociological study, which geographically comprises the Soviet Union and the European people's democracies allied with her, makes a distinction between "cadre administration" in the Communist countries and bureaucracy in countries of a liberal or Western-democratic type. He points out the unity of power, ideology and government, which has the

appeal of a universal principle (political belief), but may make an objectively rational approach to actual tasks difficult. The author also goes into the differences between the two systems as to the demands made upon the personality structure of the leading functionaries.

CAMERON, DAVID. *The Social Thought of Rousseau and Burke. A Comparative Study.* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1973. x, 242 pp. £ 4.50.

The present volume, which originated as a doctorate thesis, is an attempt to bring out what Rousseau and Burke have in common. Over against the conventional emphasis on their differences, the author stresses their common criticism of both rationalist and empiricist social thought, and their moving towards some kind of "idealist" political theory. He does not mention Iring Fetscher's relevant study of Rousseau noticed in *IRSH*, VII (1962), p. 105, and XIII (1968), pp. 269f.

CATTEPOEL, JAN. *Anarchismus. Rechts- und staatsphilosophische Prinzipien. Mit einem Geleitwort von Harro Otto.* Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, München 1973. 190 pp. DM 20.00.

The works of Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Nečaev and Kropotkin are here investigated as to the philosophical principles of law and state in Anarchism unfolded by these writers. In spite of all the differences, they had, in the author's view, one element in common: the "destructive policy" as a consequence of the Anarchist philosophy. Apart from the chapters devoted to the above writers, there is an interesting attempt to bring out common elements in an analysis of their biographies as well. An appendix deals with present-day Anarchist or anarchistoid currents. The book ends with the wish that, in the new Anarchist movement, the spirit of Kropotkin may triumph over that of Nečaev.

DUNCAN, GRAEME. *Marx and Mill. Two views of social conflict and social harmony.* Cambridge University Press, London 1973. ix, 386 pp. £ 5.20.

"Domination, hierarchy, illusion and acquiescence in evil characterise all large modern societies, which have not been united by the communal ties envisaged by Marx and to a lesser extent by Mill." This is one of the conclusions formulated by the author, who discusses Marx and Mill in a comparative chapter, but also separately. The volume is well-written, does not offer much that is new to the specialist reader, but provides a useful survey of both the social-economic developments in the period under discussion (for instance, the change of parts of the working-class from misery and disaffectedness to the status of satisfied citizens), and the ideas of the two theoreticians. Regarding Marx, much attention is paid to the division of labour, the disintegration of capitalism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Mill – a man of "no system" – the eclectic approach, the emphasis on ideas as the most significant sources of social change, and the elitist elements side-by-side with democratic elements are brought to the fore.

ERCKENBRECHT, ULRICH. *Marx' Materialistische Sprachtheorie. Mit einem selektiven Sachregister zu den Marx-Engels-Werken.* Scriptor Verlag GmbH, Kronberg Ts. 1973. vi, 334 pp. DM 12.80.

The author has systematically collected a great number of statements by Marx and Engels on language, its origin, function and use. Although these statements are not without contradictions, a few main lines are clear: language as a social product relates for Marx and Engels (in contrast to Stalin) dialectically to the categories of basis, superstructure, productive force, and class. The relation between language and thought is separately dealt with. The subject index contains such reference words as productive labour, abolishment of the division of labour, dialectic, fetish, ideology, materialism, nature, revolution, and many others.

GODDIJN, H. P. M. *Sociologie, socialisme en democratie. De politieke sociologie van Emile Durkheim.* Boom, Meppel n.d. [1974.] 252 pp. D.fl. 24.50.

The subject of this book is Durkheim's political sociology, or rather his political ideas. His attitudes vis-a-vis the Socialist movement are dealt with in a separate chapter. The volume includes writings such as the *Note sur la définition du socialisme* in a translation by K. L. van der Leeuw.

GUGGENBERGER, BERND. *Die Neubestimmung des subjektiven Faktors im Neomarxismus. Eine Analyse des voluntaristischen Geschichtsverständnisses der Neuen Linken.* Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg, München 1973. 444 pp. DM 43.00.

Into a highly social-psychologically flavoured approach to the New Left the author has incorporated numerous historical data obtained from older social movements and socialist theories. The emphasis is on the "anti-authoritarian phase" of the New Left, although a discussion of the authoritarian shift towards official Communism is included. The book is an exceedingly thorough, careful and thought-provoking analysis leading to the basic conclusion of extreme voluntarism. This manifests itself in an abhorrence of what has grown historically, and moves between the Scylla of a loss of reality and the Charybdis of a loss of freedom.

HERRE, GÜNTHER. *Verelendung und Proletariat bei Karl Marx. Entstehung einer Theorie und ihre Quellen.* Droste Verlag, Düsseldorf 1973. 200 pp. DM 18.00.

Dr Herre has made a careful study of Marx's excerpts from books, newspapers and periodicals written during the years 1843-51. They provided the material for a fascinating picture of the influence of authors from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, chiefly French and English, on Marx's views concerning classes, class struggle and proletarian pauperization. The treatment is, moreover, greatly amplified and deepened by continuous confrontation, not only with Marx's and Engels's later writings, but also with the many interpretations their theories have undergone. The issues, in-

cluding the politically relevant and today hotly debated ones, are broached with a remarkable freedom from ideological bias.

JAY, MARTIN. *The Dialectical Imagination. A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto; Heinemann Educational Books, London 1973. xxi, 382 pp. \$ 12.50 (paper: \$ 3.95); £ 3.50.

The author of this history is a young American scholar, who was educated by Stuart Hughes and Fritz Ringer. Being neither a Frankfurt snob nor a debunker, he has made excellent use of his access to the great men of the Institute of Social Research and, notably, to Horkheimer's letters and scrapbooks. The result is a balanced and informed monograph, written in a lucid style, on the Institute up to its return to Frankfurt in 1950, as well as on the enormous productivity to which it gave rise directly or indirectly. The complex relationship with Walter Benjamin is discussed at considerable length.

KUHN, AXEL. *Das faschistische Herrschaftssystem und die moderne Gesellschaft*. Hoffmann und Campe, Hamburg 1973. 157 pp. DM 10.00.

Dr Kuhn, whose book on Hitler's blueprint for a new foreign policy was noticed in *IRSH*, XVI (1971), p. 278, has now ventured into the topical field of theorizing on Fascism. Rejecting the reductionist thesis of orthodox Communism, he presents a "materialist" theory in the footsteps of Thalheimer, but unlike Thalheimer (and Konrad Heiden, for that matter) he is blind to the role played by what Marx termed the scum of all classes. The focus is definitely on Germany; the rise of Nazism and the Third *Reich* are related to the distinctive economic development of that country.

LUKES, STEVEN. *Émile Durkheim. His Life and Work. A Historical and Critical Study*. Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London 1973. xi, 676 pp. £ 6.50.

According to the Introduction, "this study of Durkheim seeks to help the reader to achieve a historical understanding of his ideas and to form critical judgements about their value". It might as well be called an intellectual biography and an analytical confrontation rolled into one. The young author has taken the trouble to work up some unpublished material. Bibliographies of writings by and on Durkheim are appended. The printing of the Greek words on p. 625 is atrocious.

NEULOH, OTTO. *Arbeits- und Berufssoziologie*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York 1973. 200 pp. DM 12.80.

The content of the terms contained in the title of this survey is rendered best by "Sociology of Occupations and Professions". The author, who has intended his book for specialists and not fully specialized readers alike, deals with various concepts such as functional mobility, different tendencies in the classification of occupations and professions, and some views on the evalua-

tion of labour (equalitarian and elitist opinions). He also includes very exact figures concerning the increase and decrease of occupational categories within the total of those productively employed in the German Federal Republic during the last few decades.

SCHMIEDE, RUDI. *Grundprobleme der Marx'schen Akkumulations- und Krisentheorie*. Athenäum Verlag, Frankfurt/M. 1973. vii, 216 pp. DM 18.00.

In this straightforward exposition of Marx's accumulation and crisis theory, the thesis of the tendentially falling rate of profit is the criterium for judging a number of interpreters who rely on Marx. While the author himself derives many ideas from Grossmann, Korsch, Mattick and Rosdolsky, he rejects the thesis of "underconsumption" as well as that of "disproportionalities"; in his view, both theses lead to revisionism (among the adherents of the former is Rosa Luxemburg). The author refuses to accept a mechanically determinist conception of revolution; the development of (state) capitalism creates conditions to which the proletariat may react in various ways.

Social Stratification and Development in the Mediterranean Basin – Stratification sociale et développement dans le Bassin Méditerranéen. Ed. by / Rédigé par Mübecce B. Kiray. Mouton, The Hague, Paris 1973. 290 pp. D.fl. 32.00.

Various studies concerning the merging of old and new social stratification systems, power relations and connected values have been collected here; France is not included. The three sections into which the book is divided are: "The Structure and Its Changes" (W. Wassef on the industrial and rural proletariat and sub-proletariat in Egypt, M. Leroy on social structures in Naples and their impact on the attitudes of the population, and others); "Mobility in Social Stratification" (e.g., I. Qutub on the rise of a middle class in Jordan); and "Control Power" (various studies on Tunisia, one on the political elite in Greece, and one on the role of the bureaucracy in Italy).

TOWNSEND, PETER. *The Social Minority*. Allen Lane, London 1973. xiv, 319 pp. £ 6.00.

Articles and papers read at conferences are republished here. For the most part they are concerned with ethnic or racial minority groups, or with groups that regard themselves as second-class citizens or are so regarded: poor people, inmates of asylums, disabled persons, etc. In so far as they are not wholly general in conception ("The Meaning of Poverty"), most of the items regard Great Britain (including Ulster). Attention is also paid to other Western countries, and there is a short and interesting study on "Marx and the Soviet Family after 1917", which contains the statement that "Soviet family policy has been of a cyclical nature since the revolution".

#### OTHER BOOKS

ALLERBECK, KLAUS R. *Soziologie radikaler Studentenbewegungen. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten*. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, Wien 1973. 272 pp.

## HISTORY

ARBELOA, VICTOR MANUEL. *Socialismo y anticlericalismo*. Taurus, Madrid 1973. 218 pp. Ptas 170.

The Spanish priest Arbeloa has translated, and introduced at considerable length, the answers to the inquiry on anticlericalism and Socialism originally published in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* in 1902 and 1903. Oddly enough the bulk of Kautsky's answer has been omitted.

Archiv für Sozialgeschichte. Hrsg. von der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. XII. Band, 1972. Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1972. xv, 873 pp. DM 56.00.

One of the best contributions to this volume is the study by U. Linse on the development of the birth rate among working-class families in imperial Germany between 1871 and 1914, in which the standpoints concerning family planning (pro: Bernstein, for instance; contra: Rosa Luxemburg and other Marxists) are set forth in great detail. Zwi Batscha devotes an article to the meaning of labour in Fichte's social philosophy, D. Dowe discusses the *Triersche Zeitung* from 1840 to 1851, which evolved from a liberal daily to the first socialist one. H. Soell critically analyzes elements in Marx's and Engels's views on international relations and foreign policy, H. Potthoff treats of the demands, brought to the fore especially in the USPD, concerning a new constitution (the Weimar Constitution did not sufficiently correspond to leftist ideas). Themes of other contributions are the left-liberal parties in the *Reichstag* elections up to 1912 (A. Milatz), the social-liberal conception of society in, for instance, R. von Mohl (E. Pankoke), the various methods used in fighting German Social Democracy – police, defamation, etc. – in the last decade of the nineteenth century (K. Saul), and the extreme-conservative and nationalist influences in those blue-collar and white-collar organizations from which the NSDAP was to recruit an important part of its following (D. Stegmann). J. Grandjonc (cf. his book mentioned below, p. 283) surveys material in French archives on the German emigrant workers' movement. There are, further, a large number of noteworthy book reviews.

CARSTEN, FRANCIS L. *Revolution in Mitteleuropa 1918-1919*. Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Köln 1973. 334 pp. DM 48.00. (Paper: DM 38.00.)

The present volume is a somewhat expanded version of *Revolution in Central Europe*, which was favourably noticed in *IRSH*, XVII (1972), p. 723. Otto Bauer's highly interesting letter to Béla Kun of June 16, 1919, is here reproduced *in toto*. The illustrations have been dropped.

ELLIS, JOHN. *Armies in Revolution*. Croom Helm, London 1973. ix, 278 pp. £ 3.95.

In this comparative description of the careers of seven "revolutionary armies" (English Civil War, American War of Independence, French Revo-

lution, Prussian army reforms, 1806-15, Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune, Russian Civil War, and Chinese Civil War, 1926-49), the author stresses "the pre-eminent importance for military affairs of various social and political factors inherent in the very revolutionary [rather broadly defined] situation". He argues that, not only in the case of the Prussian reforms but in all the cases discussed here (with the noteworthy exception of China), the revolutionary spirit in time succumbed to the demands of military discipline and, especially, to those of a (recovered) social equilibrium.

Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté. Sous la dir. de Michel Mollat. Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris 1974. ii, 855, x pp. (in 2 vols.) Ill. F.fr. 140.00.

Apart from useful appendices such as a bibliography and an index, this work, which has its origin in a study group of the Sorbonne established in 1962, consists of 36 studies on poverty and the poor in France and elsewhere. With a few exceptions, those collected in the first volume are devoted to several aspects, including theology and iconography, of the mediaeval cult of poverty. The studies collected in the second volume are in the very field of social history. They deal with the reality of poverty and the changing theory and practice of poor relief from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Each contribution has a short summary in English.

GRANDJONC, JACQUES. Marx et les communistes allemands à Paris 1844. Contribution à l'étude de la naissance du marxisme. François Maspero, Paris 1974. 264 pp. F.fr. 40.00.

In his introduction, Mr Grandjonc describes Börnstein's plans to set up a newspaper for the 40,000 Germans in Paris, and their realization, including the way in which Marx and other Socialists managed to turn the *Vorwärts* into their organ. Among the documents included are French translations of articles from the newspaper, but also material from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A survey of the German emigrant press in the 1840's (not limited to France) is appended.

GUTTON, JEAN-PIERRE. La société et les pauvres en Europe (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles). Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1974. 207 pp. F.fr. 22.00.

This is an informed and very useful booklet on the world of the poor in modern Europe. The author pays special attention to the methodological problem deriving from the fact that as a rule the poor were illiterate, and to the several attempts at coping with pauperism, vagabondage and mendicancy.

HAUPT, GEORGES. La II Internazionale. La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1973. xvii, 220 pp. L. 3000.

The present volume is a slightly expanded translation of *Programm und Wirklichkeit*, which was noticed in IRSH, XV (1970), p. 305. The foreword by Ernest Labrousse has been replaced with one by Lelio Basso.

HYAMS, EDWARD. *A Dictionary of Modern Revolution*. Allen Lane, London 1973. 322 pp. £ 3.25.

Brief political biographies and articles on subjects and movements together make up this alphabetically arranged book. The wide range of currents that are represented is indicated by such entries as Hitler and Mau-Mau. There are items which may be called successful attempts at summarization of essential points of view. Others, however, are not very satisfactory, either because of errors of fact or because of unduly simplified or one-sided representation. Unfortunately this also applies to some articles that deal with subjects of primary importance here, such as the one on Communism.

KNIBIEHLER, YVONNE. *Naissance des sciences humaines: Mignet et l'histoire philosophique au XIXe siècle*. Flammarion, Paris 1973. 506 pp. F.fr. 45.00.

In spite of its pompous title, the present volume is essentially an intellectual biography of Mignet, one of the leading French historians during the nineteenth century. Partly drawing upon unpublished materials such as the Mignet papers, the author throws a fresh light on his manifold activities, his publications and his approach of history. His concept of class and the vicissitudes of his optimistic fatalism are brought out in full relief.

LARSSON, REIDAR. *Theories of Revolution. From Marx to the First Russian Revolution*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm 1970. 381 pp. S.kr. 41.00.

"The method of this book is the traditionally ideo-historical one"; the subject matter is illuminated from the perspective of the problem of how backward societies may find the way to Socialism. The years under discussion are those from 1883 to 1907. The opening chapters (on objective conditions for the revolution, the importance of the vanguard and revolutionary dictatorship) deal with the Blanquists (including Tkačev), Marx and Engels, and Kautsky, who, no more than his teachers, said anything definite about a political interaction between Western and Eastern Europe which could make the change-over of the latter to Socialism possible. The major part of the volume is devoted to a lucid exposition of the developments within Russian Marxism (trends, for instance opposed to Lenin). In the same way, the author traces the course of the first Russian Revolution and discusses a number of theories under the common denominator of "permanent revolution". The main point in the Russian Marxists of various colours is their "instability and incalculability".

LUNDGREEN, PETER. *Bildung und Wirtschaftswachstum im Industrialisierungsprozeß des 19. Jahrhunderts. Methodische Ansätze, empirische Studien und internationale Vergleiche. Mit einem Geleitwort von Wolfram Fischer*. Colloquium Verlag, Berlin 1973. 182 pp. DM 48.00.



Among economists there is a tendency to include trained skill as a "fourth production factor" with the factors of soil, capital and labour, which are considered decisive for technological progress and economic growth. In a number of fairly separate chapters the author discusses such problems as are defined by the modern concept of "take-off", the lessening of the distance between precursors (England) and followers (continental countries), and the importance of employment of technological experts by the State and private concerns.

Rural Protest: Peasant Movements and Social Change. Ed. by Henry A. Landsberger. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1974. xi, 430 pp. £ 8.00.

The contributions collected in the present volume deal with different periods and various parts of the world; they have been written by twelve experts from Western Europe, the USA, Latin America, Poland and the Soviet Union. We mention R. H. Hilton's study of peasant movements in Mediaeval Europe (few long-term effects), M. Molnár and J. Pekmez on rural Anarchism in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ph. Longworth's contribution on the Pugačev revolt, and that by Ju. G. Aleksandrov on the peasant movements of developing countries in Asia and North Africa after the Second World War (importance of nationalism, changes of aims). The editor analyzes the data of the case studies, and provides a carefully weighed definition of the concept of "peasants": it comprises "all low-status rural cultivators". He also points out the diversity of patterns of structural change.

SMITH, F. B. Radical artisan. William James Linton 1812-97. Manchester University Press, Manchester; Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa (N.J.) 1973. x, 254 pp. Ill. £ 4.20.

Basing his study on personal papers of Linton and his second wife Eliza, the author presents the first biography of this intelligent artisan. Linton played a role in the Chartist movement, was involved in republican and pro-Irish agitation, and maintained relations with political exiles such as Herzen and Mazzini. In 1867 he departed to the United States, where he moved in radical circles which had originated from the anti-slavery movement. Eliza Lynn was a well-known novelist, whose books have strong autobiographical traits. Linton himself is an example of a very highly qualified artisan (wood engraver), who had an opportunity of educating himself and seized it.

STOLLBERG, GUNNAR. Die soziale Stellung der intellektuellen Oberschicht im England des 12. Jahrhunderts. Matthiesen Verlag, Lübeck 1973. 184 pp. DM 35.00.

This Vol. 427 of the *Historische Studien* series is a case study of a number of distinguished *literati* and financial advisers in the Angevin Empire. The focus is on their social position and ideology; John of Salisbury is even followed during his exile at Reims. In spite of their high-sounding criticism, these men were no more than appendices of the feudal world.

TINKER, HUGH. *A New System of Slavery. The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920*. Publ. for the Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press, London, New York, Bombay 1974. xvi, 432 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 5.75.

Coolie emigration from the Indian subcontinent to sugar, tea, rubber and other plantations in different parts of the tropical world (the Caribbean, Mauritius, Malaya, etc.) is here studied in depth. The author investigates the importance of slavery and the consequences of its abolition, of which the import of Indian labour was one. He discusses the recruitment methods, the often dreadful sea crossings, life in the plantations, and the growing – and finally successful – resistance against the coolie contracts. This resistance formed a notable contribution to the nationalist movement in India.

WÄCHTER, HANS-CHRISTOF. *Theater im Exil. Sozialgeschichte des deutschen Exiltheaters 1933-1945. Mit einem Beitrag von Louis Naef: Theater der deutschen Schweiz*. Carl Hanser Verlag, München 1973. 298 pp. DM 29.80.

The author of this valuable book does not confine himself to the performances of plays written in German by emigrants (from Germany, Austria and Hungary) in the years of the Hitler regime, but also provides excellent background sketches illuminating, for instance, the attitudes of the host countries. Among the countries discussed are: Czechoslovakia (very sympathetic reception, but increasing pressure from Berlin and the Nazis in the country itself), France (laboured tolerance, but active development of emigrant art), England, Denmark, Sweden, the Soviet Union (few emigrants, much suppression), USA, China (Shanghai), and Switzerland. Productions in other countries are enumerated in an appendix.

#### OTHER BOOKS

GAUTSCHI, WILLI. *Lenin als Emigrant in der Schweiz*. Benziger Verlag, Zürich 1973. 383 pp. Ill.

#### CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

COHN, HELEN DESFOSES. *Soviet Policy Toward Black Africa. The Focus on National Integration*. Foreword by John N. Hazard. Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington, London 1972. xvii, 317 pp. \$ 17.50.

This commendable study is an analysis of the nature of Soviet theories on the nation-building process in sub-Saharan Africa, notably for the years since 1963, when a reappraisal of the policy concerning the newly emerging countries was carried through. Especially for the not too distant future, policy is directed towards a greater influence of the Soviet Union as a separate power rather than towards the diffusion of Communism. This is the vantage-point from which the author scrutinizes, for instance, the endeav-

ours towards suppression of tribalism. Since 1965, however, it has become obvious that Moscow's concern with black Africa is diminishing, which is to be explained from its concentration on other parts of the world.

**The International Labor Movement in Transition. Essays on Africa, Asia, Europe, and South America.** Ed. by Adolf Sturmthal and James G. Scoville. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Chicago, London 1973. x, 294 pp. \$ 12.50.

"Post-World War II events produced, especially in the Anglo-American sphere, a naïve belief in the universal applicability of some form of collective bargaining as the fundamental method of settling industrial relations problems." This sentence from A. Sturmthal's contribution entitled "Industrial Relations Strategies" gives a clear indication of the approaches to the problems here discussed. The authors deal with various labour movements, some of which greatly differ from the American pattern and are, notably, more politically oriented. Besides France, Germany and the Netherlands (F. Sellier, P. Lösche and J. Pen, respectively), the subjects of special research include Japan (several authors), Argentina, Afghanistan (exemplifying "Pre-Industrial Relations" – J. G. Scoville) and Nigeria (1938-66 – P. Kilby).

**SCHIPULLE, HANS PETER.** *Ausverkauf der Intelligenz aus Entwicklungsländern? Eine kritische Untersuchung zum Brain Drain.* Weltforum Verlag, München 1973. 403 pp. DM 74.00.

A comprehensive survey of the immigration of highly specialized men and women from the newly emerging countries into a number of advanced countries in America and Europe is here complemented by a searching inquiry into conditions in the countries of origin. India, and a number of Latin American and African countries, are specially illuminated as examples. Motivations and factors conducive to the process of the "brain drain" are analyzed. The author suggests training programmes that are more directed to the needs of the development countries, i.e., programmes designed in such a way that they limit the possibilities of emigration after completion.

**YODFAT, ARYEH.** *Arab Politics in the Soviet Mirror.* Israel Universities Press, Jerusalem 1973. xii, 332 pp. \$ 17.50.

The author concentrates on the years 1953-67 (with an epilogue on "The June 1967 War and Its Aftermath"), and especially on views concerning Egypt, Syria and Irak, the countries that are regarded as progressive to some extent. Using a wealth of printed sources, he first of all investigates the changes in the Soviet attitude towards the "national bourgeoisie" in these and other developing countries, and the evaluations of the national socialisms adopted by national revolutionaries such as Nasser. A great deal of information has been collected on matters of detail, for instance, the appreciation of the Baath Party in Syria (initially negative, since 1965 more sympathetic), of the Kurdish question in Irak, and of the vicissitudes of inter-Arab relations.

## CONTINENTS AND COUNTRIES

## AFRICA

Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960. Vol. 5. A Bibliographical Guide to Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa. By Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann. Cambridge University Press, London 1973 [*recte* 1974]. xii, 552 pp. £ 9.00.

While Vol. 4 of *Colonialism in Africa* will not appear for some time, the advance publication of the present annotated bibliography is a very welcome surprise. The volume, which includes over 2,500 entries, is unique in its way. It lists and analyzes not only bibliographies and historical reference works, but also library catalogues, anthropological studies and other relevant publications in English, French, Portuguese, German, Italian and Afrikaans. A very detailed index is appended.

LITTLE, KENNETH. African women in towns. An aspect of Africa's social revolution. Cambridge University Press, London 1973. viii, 242 pp. £ 4.90. (Paper: £ 1.90.)

This book is based on the author's own anthropological field-work in African towns South of the Sahara and on literature in English and French. It investigates the rapid changes in the lives and outlook of women in towns. Family relationships are outlined, the struggle against male superiority is pointed out, and the political part that the women have come to play is discussed. The author, who covers a vast field, has necessarily confined himself to generalizations, a fact that he emphasizes himself.

## Nigeria

OLLAWA, PATRICK EZE. Demokratie und nationale Integration in Nigeria. Eine multivariable Analyse der Spaltungsstrukturen des "Nation-Building"-Prozesses in einem afrikanischen Staat (1960 bis 1965). Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, Frankfurt/M. 1973. xxi, 523 pp. Maps. DM 32.00.

The perspicacity and critical ability shown in this study are remarkable. Many directly relevant sources have been used, but also modern political literature for amplification and methodological comparison. Essentially, the author analyzes the failures in the nation-building process, and the lack of success of the democratic forces of which so much was expected when independence was achieved. His exposition, for instance, of the socio-economic basis and of the (changing) federal structures is very thorough. The heritage of the colonial past, ethnic contrasts, the gaps between more and less developed regions, and between elite and mass, naturally play their parts. In this connection the weakness of the trade unions, which prevented them from contributing effectively to the building of the nation, is also discussed.

### Uganda

GRILLO, R. D. *African Railwaymen. Solidarity and Opposition in an East African Labour Force.* Cambridge University Press, London 1973. xiii, 215 pp. £ 4.80.

The author concentrates his study on the years 1964-65, shortly after Kenya and Uganda became independent. His subject is the African employees of the East African Railways and Harbours, stationed at Kampala in Uganda, and housed by the railway company. He enters deeply into the consequences of the Africanization policy, the very complex extra-town ties usually maintained by the workers – themselves originating from the rural districts –, the differences in income, and the emergence of social groups and the attendant contrasts. As a work in the field of urban and industrial anthropology in East Africa the book is methodologically important as well.

## AMERICA

### Argentina

GOLDWERT, MARVIN. *Democracy, Militarism, and Nationalism in Argentina, 1930-1966. An Interpretation.* The University of Texas Press, Austin, London 1972. xx, 253 pp. \$ 8.00.

It is argued in this informative study that the Argentine army (as distinct, on some points, from the navy and the air force) was, and is, torn between traditionalism and modernization. This is reflected in its changing alignments: with the oligarchy and with the radicals, with the Peronists and with the conservatives who came to the fore after Perón's downfall in 1955. In 1930, the army put an end to the rule of a senile radical President, but in its own bosom the struggle continued between an integral nationalism tending towards "jingoism", and a "liberal" nationalism yielding to corruption and foreign investments. Manifold coups, each intended to end all coups, fit well into this picture. A brief epilogue summarizes the development from 1966 to the return of Perón.

### Brazil

BRUNEAU, THOMAS C. *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church.* Cambridge University Press, London 1974. xv, 270 pp. £ 5.50. (Paper: £ 2.40.)

After an historical outline of the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Brazil from 1500 to 1930, there follows a chapter on the revolution of 1930 (Vargas regime) and the period up to 1950. The years 1950-64 are treated more extensively; at that time, new approaches (concerning rural unionization) to the social problems began to be applied. Roughly half the book is devoted to the developments after 1964, the period when Dom Helder Câmara, as Secretary General of the *Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil*, left his firm stamp on the changed attitude regarding reforms. A

great deal of information is presented on the anti-government actions of the clergy ("society was so unjust and oppressive that a purely religious message was unrealistic") and repression by the authorities.

#### Canada

ABELLA, IRVING MARTIN. *Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour. The CIO, the Communist party, and the Canadian Congress of Labour 1935-1956.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo 1973. x, 256 pp. C\$ 4.50.

The interaction between the Canadian Congress of Labour and the CIO in Canada forms the central theme of this study, in which (the struggle against) the Communist-dominated affiliated organizations in both is in the foreground. The files of the CCL provided the author with much hitherto unexplored material. Within the area of tension between CCL and CIO, the determination to stop US domination manifested itself in many ways. An interesting account in this connection is that of the attempts, stubborn but not very successful, to build up a completely autonomous national union movement.

#### Chile

MOSS, ROBERT. *Chile's Marxist Experiment.* David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1973. v, 225 pp. £ 4.50.

The greater part of this book had been written when the military coup put an end to Allende's rule. The work throws light on a development which could not but lead to that coup: "Allende's government rode roughshod over [the country's democratic system] and the Marxist ultras proceeded to create [...] institutions intended to usurp the functions of the administration". Moreover, the Government's policies "created the worst economic crisis in Chile since the Great Depression". Responsibility for (the necessity of) the coup is laid firmly at the door of Allende and his supporters; intervention by the CIA is categorically denied. For the author it is clear that such Marxist experiments as the one in Chile put democracy in jeopardy.

#### OTHER BOOKS

ANGELL, ALAN. *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile.* Publ. for The Royal Institute of International Affairs by Oxford University Press, London 1972. x, 290 pp.

#### United States of America

ARONOWITZ, STANLEY. *False Promises. The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, Düsseldorf, London 1973. xiii, 466 pp. \$ 10.00.

This book is a collection of interesting, sometimes fascinating, essays rather than a continuous argument to support a single thesis. The author examines the opposition against the "assembly line" in a big GM plant as well as the

acceptance of this system; aspects of mass culture and/or "popular culture" as expressions of a desire for participation rather than spectatorship; the progressive loss of one function of the working-class family after another; the trade-union movement (the same holds true for liberal and even socialist politicians) as a conscious or unconscious component of the establishment; also, the "formation of the industrial working class". The author, fiercely anti-capitalist, influenced by Korsch, Lukács and, not without reservations, Marcuse, seeks to explain the evils of the system not so much in traditional Marxist terms as in a transmutation of them: "Modern society has systematically denied the desire for intrinsic work satisfaction for the overwhelming majority of people". He places his hopes – which scarcely find expression in recipes for revolution or fundamental reforms – on those "new workers" who, by their attitude, reject the consumption society.

CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM H. and RICHARD L. WATSON, JR., Eds. *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture*. National Council for the Social Studies, Washington (D.C.) 1973. xix, 554 pp. \$ 8.50.

The editors introduce this book as "a resource for teachers and students of American history", and have aimed at providing their readers with "the best information available" for forming their own judgment. Their starting-point has been that no social institution, development or event can be understood without a knowledge of history. E. N. Saveth writes on American historiography in the 1960's. A separate section has been devoted to "Race and Nationality in American History", another to "New Perspectives in the Study of American History", and the third (by far the longest) to "The Reappraisal of the American Past". To mention two further authors, somewhat at random: R. W. Johannsen has contributed a study on slavery and abolition as political issues, and O. L. Graham, Jr, one on the Great Depression. The level of all the contributions is high.

DAVIS, ALLEN F. *American Heroine. The Life and Legend of Jane Addams*. Oxford University Press, New York 1973. xxi, 339 pp. Ill. \$ 10.95.

Jane Addams (1860-1935), whose extensive papers are among the many manuscript sources used by her biographer, was concerned with social problems from her youth onwards. The English Toynbee Hall was among the influences which inspired her to establish a settlement in a poor section of Chicago, Hull House. Social reform and "Renaissance of Christianity" are the twin concepts that characterize Jane Addams's endeavours. Her work consisted of relief, for instance aid to strikers, suffragettism and, increasingly, pacifist activities. Her popularity was great up to the First World War, when from a "saint" she became a "villain" on account of her radical rejection of America's intervention. Very many persons pass in review, and the book throws light on the American relationships and attitudes of half a century.

EDWARDS, RICHARD C., MICHAEL REICH and THOMAS E. WEISSKOPF. [Eds.] *The Capitalist System. A Radical Analysis of American Society*.

Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs (N.J.) 1972. xi, 543 pp. Ill. \$ 6.50.

The three editors have several contributions to this book to their names. In their selection, they have allotted generous space to Marx and Engels ("toward an alternative to the capitalist system") as well as to M. Dobb, E. Fromm, P. Sweezy and many others. More libertarian-minded is, for instance, G. Alperovitz, who points out the existence of "political institutions capable of preserving (and extending) positive elements which [...] still adhere in aspects of Western democratic traditions of freedom", and who advocates far-reaching political and economic decentralization. Some themes discussed in the book are alienation, inequality (including that of women), racism, the expanding role of the State, imperialism, but also the emergence of capitalism, notably in the USA. Socialist alternatives are brought to the fore.

KAUFMAN, STUART BRUCE. *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor 1848-1896*. Greenwood Press, Westport (Conn.), London 1973. xiv, 274 pp. \$ 11.50.

Certain elements in Marx's thought (the enthusiastic reception of the ten-hour day as a fundamental victory of the proletariat) had a greater, and more genuine, influence on Gompers than is generally supposed. This is argued in a well-documented work which is important for the history of the early Federation. The author devotes special attention to the influence exerted by members of the First International in the USA, and to the views concerning a practical organization of the workers (unionism) tolerated or shared by Marx, as they lived in the International and some of its sections.

LENS, SIDNEY. *The Labor Wars. From the Molly Maguires to the Sitdowns*. Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City (N.Y.) 1973. xiii, 366 pp. Ill. \$ 9.95.

The author, a self-educated union official, observes in his preface that the "young radicals" of today lack the "sense of history" which used to be – for instance in the 'thirties – evident among leftists. He has written this book "in an effort to restore some of the lost sense of kinship between the protesters of today and those of yesterday". In a number of loosely knit chapters, he describes not only violent labour conflicts (from the Molly Maguires in the Pennsylvanian coal fields of the 1870's to the sit-down strikes of the 'thirties), but also factional conflicts within the labour movement. His personal familiarity with such figures as John Lewis and Walter Reuther contributes to the vivid touch in this book.

LOPEZ Y RIVAS, GILBERTO. *The Chicanos. Life and Struggles of the Mexican Minority in the United States. With Readings*. Transl. and ed. by Elizabeth Martínez and Gilberto López y Rivas. Monthly Review Press, New York, London n.d. [1974.] 187 pp. \$ 7.95.



The original edition (in Spanish) of this book appeared in 1971 in Mexico. The author summarily discusses the history of the relations between Mexico and the USA, entering especially into the conquest of New Mexico and the resulting ethnic and social tensions. The great majority of the now over five millions of *Chicanos* are immigrants from Mexico, who were aroused especially during the war in Viet Nam, and demanded rights. The author agrees with their viewpoint, and he gives an outline of the shift of accents in the Anglo-Mexican relations "from a caste basis to a class basis". Both cultural developments and political evolution (the forming of a party of their own) receive attention.

MCBREARTY, JAMES C. *American Labor History and Comparative Labor Movements. A Selected Bibliography.* The University of Arizona Press, Tucson 1973. ix, 262 pp. \$ 7.50.

This extremely useful bibliography, which comprises more than 3,000 titles, is arranged as follows. The books are divided into non-fiction (about 1,250 titles) and novels. Non-fiction titles are placed either under the heading of "American Labour History", subdivided into general histories, periods of development (e.g., workers in colonial America, the Great Depression, the rise of industrial unionism) and specialized topics (such as labour and politics) or under "Comparative Labour Movements" (general surveys and specific countries, 43 in all, and representing all parts of the world). The articles are classified in the same way as the non-fiction books. The selection is restricted to publications in English.

MACKENZIE, GAVIN. *The Aristocracy of Labor. The position of skilled craftsmen in the American class structure.* Cambridge University Press, London 1973. x, 208 pp. £ 4.60. (Paper: £ 1.90.)

The research for this book, which is important for the insight into the class structure of modern industrialized countries, took place at Providence in the middle 'sixties. Notwithstanding the relatively high incomes of the skilled craftsmen (e.g., masons, carpenters, electricians and tool makers), which exceed those of the lower white-collar workers, the author opposes the thesis of a growing homogeneity or an *embourgeoisement* of the (skilled) labourers. In his view, the class situation is complicated by the emergence, in consequence of continuing differentiation in life styles, of "classes" which are neither working class in the original sense (this applies to the craftsmen) nor middle class (this applies to the lower white-collar employees). Income differences are less important than other factors, even as regards the managers.

MILLER, WILLIAM D. *A Harsh and Dreadful Love. Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement.* Liveright, New York 1973. xvi, 370 pp. Ill. \$ 9.95.

The Catholic Worker movement, founded in 1933 by Peter Maurin (the son of a French farmer), was inspired by Christian personalism (Emmanuel Mounier and *Espirit*), and the ideas of Jacques Maritain, Berdjaev and

Dostoevskij. The movement, characterized by the radicalism of active love, established "houses of hospitality" for the excessively poor and downtrodden in most American cities. The book is to a great extent based both on *The Catholic Worker* monthly and on the papers of Dorothy Day, a convert to Catholicism, whose originally leftist-radical ideas now manifested themselves in a fervent pacifism and in an anti-capitalist attitude of mind. She played an important part in a Catholic Worker community which, however, was torn by conflict.

PESSEN, EDWARD. *Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War*. D. C. Heath and Co., Lexington, Toronto, London 1973. xv, 378 pp. Ill. Maps. \$ 7.95.

Was ante-bellum society really a common man's society, without the rich being extremely rich and powerful? To find an answer to this question, and to explore whether Tocqueville was right in his view on this subject, the author has collected as much relevant statistical material as possible for four cities: New York City, Brooklyn (then separate), Philadelphia, and Boston. Although these cities were neither "the nation" nor representative of it, the evidence compels us to give up the equalitarian thesis so much cherished concerning the second decade of the nineteenth century. The author provides detailed data on private capitals and incomes, as well as a description of ways of life, ambitions and power relationships.

RINGENBACH, PAUL T. *Tramps and Reformers 1873-1916. The Discovery of Unemployment in New York*. [Contributions in American History, 27.] Greenwood Press, Inc., Westport (Conn.), London 1973. xv, 224 pp. Ill. \$ 10.50.

"This study principally explores the reactions of a group of New York City reformers to the tramps between 1873 and 1916", notably of members of the New York Charity Organization Society and the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Much printed and unprinted contemporary material has been worked up into this study, which forms a valuable contribution to social history. The initial equalization – a consequence of the belief in "the American dream" – of unemployed and outcast was affected by periods of severe pressure. It was replaced by other insights, and by a social policy consciously directed to (re-)incorporation of distressed people into the economy.

SKAGGS, DAVID CURTIS. *Roots of Maryland Democracy 1753-1776*. [Contributions in American History, 30.] Greenwood Press, Inc., Westport (Conn.), London 1973. xv, 253 pp. \$ 12.00.

The main thesis of the present volume is that, for very many Marylanders, the Revolution was essentially an overthrow of the existing system of social relationships within the American community. In a well-documented survey of politics in Maryland, the author demonstrates that the gentry and the wealthy were in the ascendancy and that this evoked a growing resistance, which manifested itself in democratic demands. The rebellion against

British colonialism was at the same time a revolt against the "whiggish" hegemony of big planters who, directly or by means of relatives and friends, controlled the most influential offices.

**THERNSTROM, STEPHAN.** *The Other Bostonians. Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis 1880-1970.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) 1973. xviii, 345 pp. \$ 12.00.

In this largely quantitative study it is demonstrated that mobility was very high even a century ago. This fact is of fundamental importance for the buoyant character of the American social system. The author, who has frequently used neglected sources such as local tax records, gives an exceedingly detailed picture of the impact of, for instance, immigration on the social mobility. From this study of Boston, with a great deal of numerical material, he deduces trends for American society at large. He contends that "the American social order has been distinctly more fluid than that of most European countries" – an old thesis, which has met with some opposition of late – and that the "availability of superior opportunities for individual self-advancement in the United States did significantly impede the formation of class-based protest movements" directed towards fundamental changes in the economic system.

## ASIA

### China

**HOWE, CHRISTOPHER.** *Wage Patterns and Wage Policy in Modern China 1919-1972.* Cambridge University Press, London 1973. xvi, 171 pp. £ 3.95.

On the basis of the source material available, the author gives an excellent survey of the actual development of wage patterns and wage policies, chiefly in industry. Comparisons are made – there are numerous tables – between regions, occupational groups and ranks, or degrees of training, respectively. For Communist China, attention is paid to the emphasis on various incentives. After having risen considerably since 1949, real wages have scarcely increased since 1957. In November 1972 it was decided for rural incomes that "political factors" were to be eliminated. The repercussions of this principle, which implies a return to the norms of the early 'fifties, can as yet only be discussed in terms of expectations and surmises.

**JEN YU-WEN,** with the edit. assistance of Adrienne Suddard. *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement.* Yale University Press, New Haven, London 1973. xxiii, 616 pp. Ill. Maps. \$ 19.50; £ 7.95.

Professor Jen, who has devoted more than half a century to the study of the Taipings, has already several Chinese books on the subject to his name. This is his first book in English; he calls it both a condensation and a new synthesis. Unlike such authors as Franz Michael, he is clearly in sympathy with the Taipings. In his view they were no mere rebels, but revolutionaries

who attacked the prevailing social order. The bulk of the book, however, is concerned with the numerous expeditions waged by them and the actions of their enemies. It is notably in this field that the author's grasp of even minute details is truly impressive.

KAROL, K. S. *La deuxième révolution chinoise*. Editions Robert Laffont, Paris 1973. 563 pp. F.fr. 38.00.

Studies and analyses of the specific development of Chinese Communism, centring round the Cultural Revolution, here alternate with running commentaries: the author revisited China for several months in 1971. In IRSH, XII (1967), p. 140, we noticed *La Chine de Mao: L'autre communisme*, by the same author. The thesis, brought forward in that book, of the existence of a fundamental difference from the Soviet Union and its (Stalinist) methods turns up again and again in the present work: the CP of China is not monolithic; the Cultural Revolution arose as an elementary people's movement and not in consequence of any power conflicts within the party; what makes Chinese Communism into an internationally attractive example is not dead even now. Nevertheless, the author is not optimistic on account of the official ritual concerning those who fell into disgrace (Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and others).

#### India

HUTCHINS, FRANCIS G. *India's Revolution. Gandhi and the Quit India Movement*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) 1973. xi, 326 pp. \$ 14.00.

A very workmanlike analysis of the social, political and cultural forces confronting each other in British India is followed by a no less interesting study of Gandhi's role in the growth of national awareness. The emphasis is on the Quit India Movement of 1942. In the author's view, this movement can only be interpreted as an essentially revolutionary upheaval: "The British left India because Indians had made it impossible for them to stay."

#### Indonesia

CAYRAC-BLANCHARD, FRANÇOISE. *Le Parti communiste indonésien*. Armand Colin, Paris 1973. 217 pp. F.fr. 62.00.

The development of Communism in Indonesia is here briefly outlined up to about 1950. More attention is paid to socio-economic conditions in Java (where the PKI had by far the greatest following), such as the extreme parcelling of the land in consequence of the demographic situation. This gives a background against which the success of Aidit's party up to 1965, which is described in great detail, may be understood. The relation to Sukarno and the verbal acceptance of his state philosophy is discussed at length. The author is relatively vague on the events of September-October 1965, and especially on the complicity of the PKI in the *Untung Putsch*. On the other hand, the discussions within the party after the defeat are satisfactorily expounded.

HATTA, MOHAMMAD. Portrait of a Patriot. Selected Writings. Mouton Publishers, The Hague, Paris 1972. 604 pp. D.fl. 59.00.

A balanced selection from Hatta's writings and speeches, covering all the periods into which his political life can be divided, is here presented in an English version (the translations are less satisfactory here and there). Fifty items are included; fourteen of them were originally published in *Kumpulan Karangan* (Indonesian), and twenty-nine in *Verspreide Geschriften* (Dutch, 1952). Of the remainder it may be assumed (no further particulars are given) that they are speeches delivered by Hatta in English or articles written in English (for instance, in *Foreign Affairs*). The manifold influences that contributed to Hatta's thought – a curious synthesis – are highly interesting: a modern conception of Islam, Western-Socialist elements, a moderate nationalism. We mention contributions on the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (Hatta worked among the Indonesian students in the Netherlands for many years), the Brussels Congress against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression (1927), non-cooperation, Fascism, the Round Table Conference that sealed Indonesia's independence (1949), and the problems of the Asian countries in the 'sixties.

#### Japan

ZAHL, KARL F. Die politische Elite Japans nach dem 2. Weltkrieg. With an English Summary. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1973. xi, 527 pp. DM 148.00.

The life-stories of 382 representatives of the political elite in the years 1945-65 – systematically comprised in tables – form the basic material of this book. Age-structure, social background and stratification, education and mobility are the most important data. The intertwining of economics and politics is remarkable. The importance of traditional conceptions is strongly underlined; the composition of the elite has not fundamentally changed, the post-war purges notwithstanding. The findings also apply to those people who started to occupy leading positions about 1965.

#### Turkey

KARPAT, KEMAL H., and Contributors. Social Change and Politics in Turkey. A Structural-Historical Analysis. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1973. xi, 373 pp. D.fl. 88.00.

Although the studies and essays collected in this book cover several fields and periods, most of them are devoted to various aspects of the diversification and stratification of the social structure which have become clearly discernible in the past twenty years. D. A. Rustow writes on the modernization of Turkey in a historical and comparative perspective, N. Neyzi on the emergence and development of the middle classes, and B. Ecevit on the rise of labour as a new social and political force. J. Kolars especially broaches agrarian problems. The three contributions by K. H. Karpat (in a total of nine) are devoted to such subjects as the political system and the ideological developments since 1960.

## EUROPE

## Austria

FISCHER, ERNST. *Das Ende einer Illusion. Erinnerungen 1945-1955*. Verlag Fritz Molden, Wien, München, Zürich 1973. 400 pp. S 240.

Fischer's *Erinnerungen und Reflexionen* (cf. IRSH, XV (1970), p. 145) ended in April 1945. The work under review is its continuance, though differently structured, and contains a highly interesting portrayal of the political developments since Austria's renewed existence as a state. The preface, which bears the same title as the book and is devoted to the attack on Czechoslovakia of August 21, 1968, is characteristic of the spirit in which the book was written; Fischer's criticism led to his expulsion from the CP. Aside from political subjects, cultural comments and recollections from his private life are included. Fischer wrote the final, reflective chapter on the last day of his life (July, 1972).

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*. Europaverlag, Wien 1974. 215 pp. S 128.

In this concise history (in which before 1918 the whole of what at the time was the Austrian half of the Monarchy, and especially Bohemia, passes in review) the authors have succeeded in integrating the background of economic developments and (less emphatically) the general political events into the picture of the labour movement. They present a great deal of numerical material concerning production, cost of living and social legislation.

## Eire - Ireland

MILLER, DAVID W. *Church, State and Nation in Ireland 1898-1921*. Gill and Macmillan, Dublin 1973. x, 579 pp. £ 8.25.

This very detailed study is based on a great deal of research into the sources, including materials not yet open to public inspection. Its subject is the importance of the Roman Catholic Church and the role played by it in Irish politics during the quarter century preceding independence. We mention Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick, whose ideas, which were ultra-radical for that time, made him a supporter of *Sinn Fein*. This was, at least initially, not typical for the Church's general attitude. The author explains the continuance of the special influence of the Church after 1921 from its former function of having been a symbol and bastion of national Irish resistance in various of its forms and gradations.

## France

DEBOUT, SIMONE. "Griffe au nez" ou donner "have ou art". *Ecriture inconnue de Charles Fourier*. Editions Anthropos, Paris 1974. 174 pp. Ill. F.fr. 27.00.

The author has taken a phonetic word-game played by Fourier ("Geai ressee mât chair l'or, lin vite à sion" = "J'ai reçu, ma chère Laure, l'invitation") as her starting-point for a series of contemplations on such subjects as Fourier's relations to his niece Laure, the role of love in the "Harmony", and the meaning of language. There is also an, in effect, bizarre (the word inevitably in use here again with regard to Fourier) treatise on the function of letters (the I is claimed to be a sexual symbol) and combinations of letters in Fourier's "calculations" concerning the periods in the history of mankind.

GARRIER, GILBERT. Paysans du Beaujolais et du Lyonnais 1800-1970. Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, Grenoble 1973. 2 vols. 714 pp.; 246 pp. Maps. F.fr. 100.00.

Cadastral data, wills, letters, memoirs and oral tradition are among the very numerous sources used by the author of this exceedingly detailed doctorate thesis, which covers the period from the last decades of the *ancien régime* to the present. A geographic description is followed by an analysis of rural life in the first half of the nineteenth century. This analysis includes demographic development, social behaviour patterns, the influence of the French Revolution on the structure of land tenure, distribution of occupations within agriculture (emerging viniculture), and the importance of manual labour and trade. The "attempts at rural emancipation" are described as dating from about 1850. The treatment has been planned by periods, and within the periods by themes. The author enters deeply in such phenomena as the exodus from the land, and the (sub)urbanization of (large parts of) the rural regions. The second volume contains a partially annotated survey of archive materials, an extensive bibliography, and many statistical tables and graphs.

GRUNER, SHIRLEY M. Economic Materialism and Social Moralism. A study in the history of ideas in France from the latter part of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. Mouton, The Hague, Paris 1973. 213 pp. D.fl. 28.00.

A vast subject matter is broached in this book: the emergence of materialist social thought (including industrialism) and the moralist reaction to this (Rousseau, Robespierre, the Utopian Socialists), with Marx providing some kind of synthesis. Unfortunately the author does not prove equal to her self-imposed task, so that the volume is not very helpful as a contribution to the history of ideas, let alone to social history.

JAURES, JEAN. Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française. Ed. revue et annotée par Albert Soboul. Tome III. La République (1792). Tome IV. La Révolution et l'Europe. Tome V. La mort du roi et la chute de la Gironde (1793). Tome VI. Le gouvernement révolutionnaire. Tome VII. Index. Par Françoise Brunel. Editions Sociales, Paris 1970; 1971; 1972; 1973. 625 pp.; 560 pp.; 862 pp.; 544 pp.; 187 pp. Ill. Not singly obtainable; price of Vols I-VII F.fr. 720.00.

The first two volumes of Soboul's new edition of the *Histoire socialiste* were

noticed in IRSH, XV (1970), p. 503. The remaining part has been edited on the same lines, although the *Notes complémentaires* have become less copious in the process. Beyond the six volumes planned in the 'sixties, Françoise Brunel has prepared a very useful index, which separately lists the *dramatis personae*, geographical names, periodicals and authors quoted by Jaurès, and subjects. In view of the magnificent production the volumes are fully worth the price.

Langage et idéologies. Le Discours comme objet de l'Histoire. [Par] Jacques Guilhaumou, Denise Maldidier, Antoine Prost [et] Régine Robin. Prés. de Régine Robin. Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris 1974. 156 pp. F.fr. 32.00.

The present studies in political usage, for instance that of *Le Père Duchesne*, were published before as No 85 of *Le Mouvement Social*, which is advertized at the back of this issue.

LE CLERE, BERNARD [et] VINCENT WRIGHT. Les préfets du Second Empire. Armand Colin, Paris 1973. 411 pp. F.fr. 107.00.

The authors have collected a great deal of material which throws light on the changes in the corps of prefects after the rise of the star of Louis Bonaparte (the Emperor Napoleon III after 1852). They also give information on the prefects' influence (sometimes greatly overrated), and their relations with the Church, the army, the Ministry of Police, etc. The volume contains detailed data on the social provenance and the training of a large number of prefects, on their salaries and on their ways of life. The last chapter is devoted to the consequences of the fall of the Empire in 1870.

LOGUE, WILLIAM. Léon Blum. The formative years 1872-1914. Northern Illinois University Press, De Kalb 1973. ix, 344 pp. \$ 15.00.

In a note the author points out that Ziebur's and Colton's works on Blum, although excellent, do not devote much attention to Blum's literary and judicial careers. He describes Blum as "a man of very practical intelligence". His choice of the year 1914 is intentional: "I want to insist on the importance of this early life *in its own right*". While, for instance, Blum's theatrical reviews (with a strongly moralizing flavour) receive detailed attention, his evolution towards Socialism and his political work are not neglected. The bibliography contains, among other items, an exhaustive list of Blum's publications in the period under discussion.

PORCH, DOUGLAS. Army and Revolution. France 1815-1848. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston 1974. x, 182 pp. Maps. £ 3.95.

The statement of E. Guillon (1905) that the "Restoration and the army were inherently opposed right from the start" is here challenged with success. The author discusses the extensive purges in the army under the Bourbons, but also points at the lastingly different character of the composition of the officers' corps from that under the *ancien régime*: (lower) middle class, and



therefore dependent on a generally low pay. This constituted a source of dissatisfaction, which, especially under the July Monarchy, contributed to outbursts. A curious feature was, for instance, the activities of secret societies under the NCO's, which, however, scarcely altered the total picture: after 1848, republican tendencies allowed themselves to be diverted into Bonapartist channels. Many data on the social provenance of soldiers involved in rebellious movements are included.

THAMER, HANS-ULRICH. *Revolution und Reaktion in der französischen Sozialkritik des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Linguet, Mably, Babeuf. Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, Frankfurt/M. 1973. viii, 322 pp. DM 32.00.

What the three authors here discussed have in common is a socio-political intention: "the search for a stable, synoptic, harmonious [...] order". Linguet's views on a socially oriented absolute monarchy, Mably's various draft constitutions and the "democratic-totalitarian *Cité Babouiste*" contain, in the author's opinion, "reactionary" elements in the sense that they revert to social structures from the past. They form antipodes of the bourgeois-liberal world in two ways: both as a reaction and as a revolutionary and socialist effort. The author presents an absorbing and well-documented argument, in which he also discusses Marx's "predilection", strongly akin to the approach of the three French authors, "for feudal, patriarchal, idyllic conditions".

VOSSLER, OTTO. *Alexis de Tocqueville. Freiheit und Gleichheit*. Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt/M. 1973. 279 pp. DM 38.50.

The focus of the present essay on Tocqueville is on the two concepts mentioned in the subtitle. For Professor Vossler, a time-serving admirer of Rousseau (cf. IRSH, VIII (1963), p. 462), there is not any real tension or contradiction between the principles of liberty and equality, and the liberal Count, for whom this was a vital question, is criticized accordingly. The author is well-read in Tocqueville, but the secondary literature he refers to makes a dated impression and his approach lags behind the *status quaestionis* (cf. IRSH, XIII (1968), p. 474, and XIV (1969), p. 484).

#### OTHER BOOKS

Joseph Folliet notre ami. Compagnon de Saint-François 1927. Successeur de Marius Gonin à la Chronique Sociale de France 1937. Prêtre du Prado 19 mars 1968. Chronique Sociale de France, Lyon 1973; Gamma, Paris. 143 pp.  
LÉROUX, PIERRE et GEORGE SAND. *Histoire d'une amitié (d'après une correspondance inédite 1836-1866)*. Texte ét., prés. et commenté par Jean-Pierre Lacassagne. Klincksieck, Paris 1973. 368 pp. Ill.

#### Germany

ADLER, H. G. *Der verwaltete Mensch. Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland*. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1974. xxxii, 1076 pp. DM 120.00.

The author, who has already a well-known monograph on Theresienstadt to his name, modestly presents his new voluminous book as a series of studies on the deportation of the Jews from Germany. There are roughly three sections: a detailed description of the deportation process and its implementation, 47 case studies of Jews living in the Würzburg area, and a number of penetrating reflections on *Verwaltung* (administration) and its degeneration or hypertrophy. The volume as a whole is characterized by an admirably sober approach, a shrewd insight and a thorough documentation.

Arbeiterbewegung an Rhein und Ruhr. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in Rheinland-Westfalen. Hrsg. von Jürgen Reulecke. Hammer, Wuppertal 1974. 468 pp. DM 32.00.

Fourteen contributions of a very high level have been collected here, which, indeed, only have territorial delimitation in common; the only one to fall outside this framework is the interesting study by G. Huck on the relation between theory and practice in Hess, Lassalle, Lange and Dietzgen. We mention further: the organizational beginnings of the labour movement (D. Dowe), miners' strikes in 1889, 1905 and 1912 (A. Gladen), a survey of the history of Social Democracy in the two and a half decades preceding World War I (K. Koszyk), the KPD up to 1933 (S. Bahne), and the labour movement under Nazi rule (G. Plum, especially on resistance on the part of members of the SPD and the KPD).

BERGMANN, JÜRGEN. Das Berliner Handwerk in den Frühphasen der Industrialisierung. Mit einer Einf. von Otto Büsch. Colloquium Verlag, Berlin 1973. xvi, 401 pp. DM 68.00.

Dr Bergmann has written a pioneering case study on the traditional handicrafts in Berlin at the time when, not only according to the *Communist Manifesto*, they seemed doomed to disappear. The picture which emerges is an extremely complicated one, but the general trend was that of a wearisome adjustment to the new circumstances (industrialization, but also other forms of modernization and population growth). The volume is based on a wealth of manuscript sources.

BIEBUSCH, WERNER. Revolution und Staatsstreich. Verfassungskämpfe in Bremen von 1848 bis 1854. [Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Band 40.] Carl Schünemann Verlag, Bremen 1973. vii, 391 pp. DM 15.00.

This thorough study is primarily directed to the role played by Mayor Johann Smidt and his two sons Heinrich and Hermann in the overthrow of the democratic constitution of 1849. The author places that role against the background of the political and social developments in Bremen since the 1830's, and also discusses extensively the influence of "Frankfort" on political affairs in a city that Smidt wanted to preserve as a conservatively republican merchant stronghold.

BILLIG, JOSEPH. Les camps de concentration dans l'économie du

Reich hitlérien. Préface de Jacques Droz. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1973. v, 346 pp. F.fr. 41.05.

The present volume links up with *L'Hitlérisme et le système concentrationnaire*, which was published by the same author in 1967. Dr Billig has here confined himself to the enterprises owned and run by the SS (the *Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe GmbH*). There is a separate chapter on work conditions based on testimonies by former concentration-camp prisoners.

BLUDAU, KUNO. Gestapo – geheim! Widerstand und Verfolgung in Duisburg 1933-1945. Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1973. xix, 324 pp. Ill. DM 27.00.

The special place occupied by Duisburg, as a large inland harbour on the Rhine and the Ruhr, in the resistance against National-Socialism is explained in the introduction. This resistance was partially inspired and kept up by propaganda material from abroad. The well-documented study is subdivided by tendencies of thought: SPD, other Socialist groups (such as the SAP), Communists, Christians (Catholics and Protestants). A curious observation regarding this last category is that the resistance was chiefly to be found in parsonages on the fringes of working-class quarters. The author relates as much as possible the expressions of local resistance to larger frameworks (for instance, the work of the *Sopade*) and political events on the national level.

COBET, CHRISTOPH. Der Wortschatz des Antisemitismus in der Bismarckzeit. Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 1973. 269 pp. DM 36.00.

Like other movements, the German antisemites developed a vocabulary of their own, largely consisting of epithets of abuse. The present volume is a useful inventory, more than half of which is based on the first edition of *Die Judenfrage* by Eugen Dühring.

Deutsche revolutionäre Demokraten. Hrsg. und eingel. von Walter Grab. J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart.

I. ENGELS, HANS-WERNER. Gedichte und Lieder deutscher Jakobiner. 1971. xxxvi, 251 pp. DM 20.00.

III. KÖRNER, ALFRED. Die Wiener Jakobiner. "Homo hominibus" (Franz Hebenstreit): Übers. und Komm. von Franz-Josef Schuh. 1972. xxvii, 273 pp. DM 22.00.

IV. STEINER, GERHARD. Jakobinerschauspiel und Jakobinertheater. 1973. x, 336 pp. DM 26.00.

V. GRAB, WALTER. Leben und Werke norddeutscher Jakobiner. 1973. vi, 324 pp. DM 24.00.

Originally planned in six volumes, this valuable anthology of writings by German Jacobins will be restricted to the above volumes for the time being. Vol. I contains a number of rather stilted poems and songs (e.g., "Freut euch der goldnen Zeit / wo Freiheit Blumen streut / auf die Natur", to be sung to

the tune of *God save the King*), including several translations of the *Marseillaise*. Vol. III carries, apart from Austrian appeals and Hebenstreit's poem *Homo Hominibus* (also in the original Latin version), documents of the judiciary, diplomatic reports, etc. Vol. IV reprints the plays *Die Rebellion*, *Der Freiheitsbaum*, *Der klägliche König*, and *Die Aristokraten in Deutschland*; it has a very long introduction. Vol. V includes selected writings by, and biographical essays on, Heinrich Christoph Albrecht, Heinrich Würzer, and Georg Conrad Meyer.

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher. Hrsg. von Arnold Ruge und Karl Marx, 1844. Einl. und Anm. von Joachim Höppner. Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., Leipzig 1973. 464 pp. M 2.50.

In this re-edition of the only issue of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* that has ever appeared, orthography and interpunction have been modernized according to the rules applied in the publication of the *Werke* edition of Marx and Engels. The annotation is very extensive; the introduction includes an evaluation of Ruge's essentially "liberalistic" thought, which soon caused the rupture with Marx. Besides the well-known contributions of Marx and Engels, those of Ruge, Hess, Bernays and others have now also become accessible in a good and inexpensive edition.

DROBISCH, KLAUS, RUDI GOGUEL [und] WERNER MÜLLER, unter Mitw. von Horst Dohle. Juden unterm Hakenkreuz. Verfolgung und Ausrottung der deutschen Juden 1933-1945. VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1973. 437 pp. M 19.80.

This book on the persecution and extermination of the German Jews is more conspicuous for its Communist propaganda than for its historical qualities. The greater part of the volume has been written by Dr Goguel and Dr Drobisch. An index of names is appended.

ENGELSING, ROLF. Analphabetentum und Lektüre. Zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft. J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart 1973. xiv, 210 pp. Ill. DM 32.00.

Professor Engelsing here deals with roughly seven centuries (*circa* 1200-1920). He has worked up a wealth of information on the German language area, and, by way of comparison and amplification, on Italy, France and England. The scope itself makes it inevitable that the book is a cross-cut survey rather than a continuous and systematic history of illiteracy, and especially of its abatement and of the main preferences in reading matter (for instance, by social standing and class). As contrasted with another recent work by the same author - cf. IRSH, XVIII (1973), p. 480 - the centuries before 1800 receive ample attention. The book is a thought-stimulating contribution to social and cultural history.

ENGELSING, ROLF. Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1973. 212 pp. DM 12.80.

The present volume is a revised and expanded edition of the *Kleine Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Deutschlands*, which was noticed in IRSH, XIV (1969), p. 141. The division into twelve chapters has remained the same.

HOFFMANN, GABRIELE. Sozialdemokratie und Berufsbeamtentum. Zur Frage nach Wandel und Kontinuität im Verhältnis der Sozialdemokratie zum Berufsbeamtentum in der Weimarer Zeit. Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg 1972. ii, 289, 32 pp. DM 30.00.

A great deal of archive material and printed sources (for instance, minutes of SPD congresses) have been used for this conveniently arranged study, which opens with some characteristic statements of Social Democrats before 1918 on the subject of administration and civil service. The author deals with the theme on the level of the government officials; the practical policy towards public servants in the separate *Länder* is left out of account. Not only did the bureaucracy of imperial Germany remain unimpaired, it strengthened its position, as the author writes. The Social Democrats, who initially hoped for integration of the lower officials into one large employees' movement, in the later years before 1933 reluctantly came to accept an attitude which was less dominated by thoughts of class struggle. Nevertheless there remained a strong inclination in their ranks to distrust the civil service instead of infiltrating it.

KLEIN, JÜRGEN. Vereint sind sie alles? Untersuchungen zur Entstehung von Einheitsgewerkschaften in Deutschland. Von der Weimarer Republik bis 1946/47. Stiftung Europa-Kolleg, Hamburg; Fundament-Verlag Dr. Sasse & Co., Hamburg 1972. xviii, 436 pp. DM 62.00.

The author investigates the consequences of dissension in the German trade-union movement prior to 1933, and its downfall without a struggle, when attempts at survival by means of a far-reaching co-operation with the Government failed as a result of National-Socialist unwillingness. He then devotes much attention to the ideas that lived among emigrated trade-union leaders, and to the resistance against Hitler by people from the trade-union movement. To conclude with, he discusses in detail the theme of the recovery of the trade unions under the occupation by the Western Allies and the Russians.

KOCKA, JÜRGEN. Klassengesellschaft im Krieg. Deutsche Sozialgeschichte 1914-1918. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1973. ix, 230 pp. DM 24.00.

Although the impact of the First World War on German society is a subject that has been treated several times, the present volume must be welcomed as a pioneering study, not in the last place because of its methodological framework. The author takes the Marxist model for his starting-point, but he does not use it as a Procrustean bed of preconceived dogmas; thus, he does not subscribe to the theory of state-monopoly capitalism. He shows that the war was conducive to a dichotomic development, which even led to

a polarization of the old and the new *Mittelstand*, but which was opposed rather than promoted by the labour leadership.

KROHN, CLAUS-DIETER. Stabilisierung und ökonomische Interessen. Die Finanzpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1923-1927. Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, Düsseldorf 1974. 287 pp. DM 38.00.

Most of the material for this study – including archives of the *Reichswirtschaftsministerium*, the *Reichsarbeitsministerium* and the *Reichsinnenministerium* – is in the custody of the German Central Record Office at Potsdam. The author reviews the years of stabilization after the post-war inflation in the light of modern theories concerning the role of the State in monopoly capitalism; in his interpretation, the Marx and Luther administrations meant advancement of big-business interests at the expense of the middle class and the workers, to whom the burden of the reparations was shifted.

MATTHEIER, KLAUS. Die Gelben. Nationale Arbeiter zwischen Wirtschaftsfrieden und Streik. Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, Düsseldorf 1973. 408 pp. DM 32.00.

The non-denominational and expressly national-minded workers' associations and trade organizations, which were in favour of class harmony and class co-operation, are a greatly neglected subject of research. The author fills a gap by his careful study, which begins in the years at the turn of the century and goes on to November 1918. He presents a richly varied picture of a multitude of organization patterns, of frameworks of collaboration with employers and state institutions, but also of acts of enmity against this type of labour movement. The "national organizations", especially the *Bund vaterländischer Arbeitervereine*, played to some extent a fairly important part on the political level, for instance in the *Vaterlandspartei*. Some of them, however, occasionally sought a rapprochement to the Socialist-inspired trade unions.

MAYER, PAUL. Bruno Schoenlank 1859-1901. Reformers der sozialdemokratischen Tagespresse. Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen GmbH, Hannover 1972. 158 pp. DM 20.00.

The late Paul Mayer describes, in a number of chapters, some aspects of Bruno Schoenlank's work as a member of parliament and a journalist. As editor-in-chief of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, Schoenlank published Rosa Luxemburg's series of articles which, in book form, received the title *Sozialreform oder Revolution?* In theoretical matters, Schoenlank's opinions often changed; his importance was above all in his being an accomplished organizer in the field of the party press. A diary (1897-98, and one piece from 1901, the year he died) of nearly forty pages is printed *in toto*. An appendix contains a bibliography of Schoenlank's writings and other items.

MEHRLÄNDER, URSULA. Soziale Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung.

Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1974. 260 pp. DM 30.00.

The basic material for this study consisted of interviews with close on 1,700 Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, Turks and Yugoslavs in the year 1971. The results are little surprising, but they may be regarded as a sound foundation for government measures. Housing, (lack of) sufficient guidance, relatives coming over and low social mobility are subjects that are thoroughly illuminated. There are interesting data on ties with the native countries, which manifest themselves in saving habits, but also in separate forms of leisure activity.

MORAW, FRANK. Die Parole der "Einheit" und die Sozialdemokratie. Zur parteiorganisatorischen und gesellschaftspolitischen Orientierung der SPD in der Periode der Illegalität und in der ersten Phase der Nachkriegszeit 1933-1948. Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1973. 262 pp. DM 36.00.

Basing himself on a huge amount of archive and other material (though not from the GDR), the author gives an analysis in depth of the unsuccessful attempts of Social Democracy to become the most important political factor in the whole of Germany after 1945. He attributes this failure to the attitude of the occupying powers in East and West, but also to the lack of response to Social Democratic ideas among the often apathetic population. An excellent survey of the trends in the SPD about 1933 and later forms a valuable introduction ("militant Socialists", *Neu Beginnen, Sopade*, "Old Left"), illegal groups within Germany, for instance, *Reichsbanner* nuclei; also Leuschner, Leber, Mierendorff and, in 1945, H. Brill and others). The emphasis is on the *Zentralausschuss der SPD* in Berlin (O. Grotewohl, etc.), after the *Büro Dr. Schumacher* the chief group of leaders in 1945.

Die Neue Linke. Zus.gest. von Peter Pulte. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York 1973. 211 pp. DM 16.80.

Roughly five hundred organizations which may be regarded as New Left exist in the Federal Republic. The compiler of this well-selected document collection interprets the concept broadly: he has included not only anarchist-oriented groups, self-styled Maoists and Trotskyists, but also "orthodox" Communists (DKP, *Spartakus*). A subject index facilitates the use of this informative booklet.

ORLOW, DIETRICH. The History of the Nazi Party: 1933-1945. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1973. xiv, 538 pp. \$ 14.95.

The present volume completes Professor Orlow's pioneering monograph on the Nazi Party, the opening volume of which was noticed in IRSH, XV (1970), p. 334. Providing the same type of organizational history, the author here puts great emphasis on the amount of internal strife and chaos. In his view, the major conflict was not between the party officials and the SS, but between the ideologists of the *Volksgemeinschaft* headed by Ley and the "elitists" such as Hess, Bormann and Schwarz.

PFETSCH, FRANK R. Zur Entwicklung der Wissenschaftspolitik in Deutschland 1750-1914. Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 1974. 359 pp. DM 78.00.

This book contains a wealth of information concerning the research policy of the government (*Reich* and separate states); the emphasis is on the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The financing of research, the aims of the policy, the organizations in the fields of science and technology, and the development of German science as compared with England especially, are presented in a manner well adapted for use.

Programmatische Dokumente der deutschen Sozialdemokratie. Hrsg. und eingel. von Dieter Dowe und Kurt Klotzbach. Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH, Berlin, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1973. 387 pp. DM 15.00.

Party programmes and comparable documents (beginning with the *Communist Manifesto* and ending with the Godesberg Programme of 1959) of German Social Democracy, each preceded by a brief explanatory introduction, make up this volume. The evolution from a revolution-oriented party basing itself on a single class to a pluriform reform party is summarized in a lucidly written general introduction.

RIBHEGGE, WILHELM. August Winnig. Eine historische Persönlichkeitsanalyse. Verlag Neue Gesellschaft GmbH, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1973. 315 pp. DM 38.00.

After an ambitious essay "On the Theory and Method of Historical Personality Analysis", the author represents the trade unionist August Winnig (1878-1956) as a traitor of his class, who managed to identify himself with the bourgeoisie and even become one of its spokesmen. Winnig's nationalism, his cult of Prussia and his eventual churchmanship are all fitted to this basic scheme. As a matter of fact Dr Ribhegge substitutes a mythology of the "bourgeois soul" for that of the German soul cherished by Winnig. His comment on the latter's denunciation of German labour as a battering-ram of finance capital (p. 238) shows that he fails to understand a well-known commonplace of the nationalist Right.

SCHLUMBOHM, JÜRGEN. Freiheitsbegriff und Emanzipationsprozeß. Zur Geschichte eines politischen Wortes. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1973. 96 pp. DM 6.80.

A short semasiological history of the word *Freiheit* (freedom or liberty), which was used both by those who aimed at political or social emancipation and by those whose prime concern was privilege, national independence or spiritual values.

STIEG, GERALD [und] BERND WITTE. Abriß einer Geschichte der



deutschen Arbeiterliteratur. Ernst Klett, Stuttgart 1973. 201 pp. DM 8.30.

The present volume, which originated from a seminar at the *Institut d'Allemand* of the *Université Paris III*, ranges over a wide field. Franz Mehring's theory of literature, the National-Socialist literature policy and the workers' literature in the GDR receive as much attention as the proletarian writers (for and from the working class) in the nineteenth century and the Weimar Republic (SPD, KPD and other Socialist movements). A number of "work problems" are included at the end, which underlines the character of the book as both reading and teaching material.

STRUVE, WALTER. *Elites against Democracy. Leadership Ideals in Bourgeois Political Thought in Germany, 1890-1933*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1973. xi, 486 pp. \$ 20.00. (Paper: \$ 9.75.)

The idea of an "open-yet-authoritarian elite" (implying a democracy of personnel selection but not of decision making) is here argued to have been the central concern of men such as Naumann, Weber, Rathenau, Spengler, Keyserling, Edgar Jung, Hans Zehrer, Ernst Jünger, and even Leonard Nelson. Vaguely relating it to the crisis of monopoly capitalism, the author associates this idea with both the Nazi blueprint of a new elite and "meritocratic" theories in the West. The way in which he handles an enormous amount of printed material is sometimes (notably in the final chapter) pretty selective.

SZÉPLÁBI, MICHAEL. *Das Gesellschaftsbild der Gewerkschaften. Eine wissenssoziologische Analyse gesellschaftstheoretischer Programm-Aussagen des DGB. Mit einem Vorwort von Gottfried Eisermann*. Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart 1973. xi, 112 pp. DM 24.00.

This study of the social ideas of leading functionaries of the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* was inspired by the view that an "active social group without ideology is not imaginable". One of the author's conclusions is that a "simultaneously liberal and social humanism" and an emphasis on the importance of the individual, whose opportunities of development should be continuously improved, are fundamental values on which policies should be based. Although, as a sociological study, the book forms a noteworthy attempt at impartial analysis, it is rich in starting-points for political-ideological discussions.

Der unbekannte junge Marx. *Neue Studien zur Entwicklung des Marxschen Denkens 1835-1847*. v. Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz 1973. 311 pp. DM 18.00.

The present volume consists of five studies, which aim at giving working material that is "as little as possible confused by subjective influences". School essays written by Marx and his class-fellows are compared by H. Monz and M. Henke. R. Thomas discusses, in two contributions, origins of Marx's later work and personality in the years of his youth. H. Pelger

investigates "Theory and Practice of the Social Revolution in Marx and Engels (1842-1847)".

WALTER, GERD. *Theoretischer Anspruch und politische Praxis der DKP. Eine Analyse am Beispiel der Betriebsarbeit*. Verlag Anton Hain, Meisenheim/Glan 1973. 135 pp. DM 13.80.

The author, who takes an anti-establishment stand himself, critically evaluates the work of the DKP within the industries in the German Federal Republic. Among the causes for its relatively small influence on the workers are, in his view, the contrast between democratization at the basis and the centralist structure, and the complete acceptance of the GDR and Soviet models. The counter-forces – entrepreneurs' organization, DGB, SPD – are also discussed in their relation to the activities of the DKP.

#### OTHER BOOKS

Die Baader-Meinhof-Gruppe. Zus.gest. von Reinhard Rauball. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York 1973. 265 pp.

McLELLAN, DAVID. *Karl Marx. His Life and Thought*. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1973. xiv, 498 pp. Ill.

ORLOVA, M. I. *Revoljucionnyj krizis 1923 g. v Germanii i politika kommunističeskoj partii*. Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, Moskva 1973. 432 pp.

WOHLGEMUTH, HEINZ. *Karl Liebknecht. Eine Biographie*. Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1973. 533 pp. Ill.

#### Great Britain

BALL, F. C. *One of the Damned. The life and times of Robert Tressell, author of The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1973. xiii, 266 pp. Ill. £ 5.00.

Robert Tressell (pseudonym for Robert Noonan) is known as the author of the first authentic working-class novel, which treated of the lives and work of the construction workers at the turn of the century. The novel was published posthumously in 1914. Mr Ball's book *Tressell of Mugsborough* (i.e., Hastings) of 1951 is completely outdated by the present biography, which is based on such material as hitherto unpublished letters. Many sources are reproduced in the book. They relate in part to the vicissitudes of the manuscript of Tressell's famous novel.

BERRINGTON, HUGH B. *Backbench Opinion in the House of Commons 1945-55*. Pergamon Press, Oxford, New York, Sydney 1973. x, 265 pp. £ 6.50.

Using statistical techniques, the author investigates "floor revolts", motions and voting behaviour in general among both Conservative and Labour "backbenchers". He depicts the various opinion groups, and analyzes the challenges to, e.g., Bevin's foreign policy and the beginning struggle over the nuclear weapons (Labour's Left) of which they were exponents. On the Conservative side there was the "Suez group". In dealing with social policy,

the author throws light on the doubts and deviating insights of Bevan and his adherents.

Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution. Ed. with an introd. by François Crouzet. Methuen & Co Ltd, London 1972. x, 261 pp. £ 3.20. (Paper: £ 1.60.)

The editor, in his excellent introduction – in itself a study of great importance, not only for the experts in British economic history –, draws some conclusions from recent research. The Industrial Revolution was, in all probability, not “the result of a notable acceleration in capital accumulation”; the beginning of industrialization did not put an extraordinary strain on the supply of capital; the Marxist view of primitive accumulation is an error; the initial phase of the Industrial Revolution – to be explained chiefly in terms of greater demand and technological advance – is above all characterized by industrialization by artisans working with their own saved capital; the decisive factor in the low income of the working classes (low, but not falling in an absolute sense) was the pressure of the rising population. The introduction is followed by the republication of seven articles elucidating the rise and development of economic-historical thought on the subject. We mention contributions by M. M. Postan (1935), Phyllis Deane (1961), and Sidney Pollard (1963 and 1964).

CARPENTER, L. P. G. D. H. Cole. An Intellectual Biography. Cambridge University Press, London 1973. ix, 271 pp. £ 5.50.

This “intellectual biography” centres around aspects of Cole’s role in the Labour movement and Socialism, and his attitude towards them. Cole, who as a student became a Socialist under the influence of Morris, never was a sectarian; his “devotion to socialism as a whole placed him in awkward, and from some perspectives even naïve, positions at certain points in his career”. As to political preferences, this career passed through many stages: criticism of “Webbian collectivism”, “the Guild Utopia” (from which, according to the author, he later “retreated too far”), his plea for a Popular Front and, in his last years, his pioneership of a “New Left”. However unequivocally he is to be regarded as a left-wing Socialist, Cole’s attitude towards the First World War bears testimony to his recognizing a plurality of allegiances (class and national solidarity).

DONOUGHUE, BERNARD and G. W. JONES. Herbert Morrison. Portrait of a Politician. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1973. xvi, 696 pp. Ill. £ 6.00.

The late Herbert Morrison (he died in 1965) burnt almost all of his papers when he moved house in 1960. A large part of this book is based on interviews with over three hundred people who knew Morrison and worked with him. The second-mentioned author deals with Morrison’s life up to May 12, 1940, when he became Minister of Supply, the first describes his life and career from that date onward. The authors concentrate equally on life-style and private particulars, and on the remarkable political career and the manifold relationships developed by Morrison. The book is an important

contribution to the history of a period, but mostly because it draws a full-length picture of a leading figure; political and other backgrounds rather remain in the shadows. Conflicts play a great role in this account, as do Morrison's administrative qualities (Chairman LCC; Minister during the war; post-war reconstruction programme) and his repeated but unsuccessful bids for the leadership of his party and the nation (struggle with Bevan and others).

GAULDIE, ENID. *Cruel Habitations. A History of Working-Class Housing 1780-1918.* George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1974. 363 pp. Ill. £ 5.75. (Paper: £ 3.00.)

The author has carried out a thorough investigation into nineteenth-century housing in her own city of Dundee, and supplemented it with a wealth of data on other cities and the rural regions. The result is a very well written, cleverly illustrated and balanced work, in which the changing standards of what was judged to be "decent" housing in the beginning, the middle and the end of the period under discussion are taken into account whenever possible. Many housing projects and ideas pass in review. The author attributes the failure of numerous attempts at improvement to the political power of the middle class.

GOSDEN, P. H. J. H. *Self-Help. Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century.* B. T. Batsford Ltd, London 1973. viii, 295 pp. £ 4.50. (Paper: £ 2.00.)

Voluntary provident associations (the most important among them being the friendly societies, which dated from even before 1800) flourished as organizations of self-help for, and mainly by, working men. By the end of the century, however, new insights inspired increased efforts to arrive at social regulation by law, which led to some insecurity. The author gives a great deal of information on these organizations, which may be regarded as a successful reaction, and supplementation, to the *laissez-faire* principle dominating social-economic policy. Of course, the mutual sickness insurance societies, burial societies, etc., receive much space, but such institutions as savings banks are also included.

GRIGG, JOHN. *The Young Lloyd George.* Eyre Methuen, London 1973. 320 pp. Ill. £ 4.50.

Documents now in the National Library of Wales, and hitherto unexplored, constitute much of the material worked up in this detailed biography. The story spans the years from 1863 (Lloyd George's birth) to 1902 (his opposition against the Boer War and the end of the struggle). The author devotes much attention to Lloyd George's private life, but equally to the political world in which he took part at an early age, and to the problems of Wales, whose spokesman he was considered to be during his first twelve years in the House of Commons. Among the interesting particulars included is, for instance, Lloyd George's fierce criticism of Chamberlain. The book ends where his star, which had gone down temporarily – in Wales, too, a majority was won for the Boer War –, began to rise again.

HIRO, DILIP. *Black British, White British*. Rev. ed. Monthly Review Press, New York, London 1973. xxii, 346 pp. \$ 8.95.

Mr Hiro's book on race relations in Britain was first published in 1971, and reviewed in *IRSH*, XVII (1972), p. 777. In the present edition the author has dropped part of his material, but on the other hand he has brought his account up to date.

HOLCOMBE, LEE. *Victorian Ladies at Work. Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales 1850-1914*. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1973. x, 253 pp. Ill. £ 4.95.

Organizations such as the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women arose in the 1850's as expressions of a growing resistance among middle-class women against the "lady of leisure" – the wife or daughter in a well-to-do family, who was compelled into idleness by such developments as the emergence of new industries in the fields of food production and clothing. The present volume contains a detailed discussion of the traditional careers for women in education and nursing, as well as of those classes of occupation into which women began to penetrate in the period under discussion: shops, clerical work, the civil service. The author, who has used a great variety of (printed) sources, devotes special attention to the social-political implications (trade unionism; struggle for minimum wages and shorter hours).

HUNT, E. H. *Regional Wage Variations in Britain 1850-1914*. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, London 1973. xii, 388 pp. Maps. £ 8.25.

In the text and in numerous tables, a mass of material is presented concerning wages, the cost of living, labour demand, productivity, the effects of fertility rates and migration (*inter alia*, Irish immigration), and the emergence of the trade-union movement. The focus is on the pattern of spatial wage variations, whose magnitude and extraordinary persistence form the most striking finding of this study.

LERUEZ, JACQUES. *Planification et politique en Grande-Bretagne 1945-1971*. Préface d'André Mathiot. Armand Colin, Paris 1972. xiv, 315 pp. F.fr. 65.00.

In this lucidly written and informative study, which was concluded at the end of 1971, two forms of economic planning are distinguished. The first is that of the Labour Government from 1945 to 1951, grafted upon the war economy and aiming at transition to a socialist society, a policy which was frustrated by the political checks involved in the parliamentary-democratic system. The second is that of the 'sixties, carried by both Conservatives and Labour, inspired by the example of France and directed towards economic growth without any drastic societal changes. The failure of the latter planning wave is mainly attributed to the stubborn defence (1964-67) of the pound, to the lack of effectiveness of the Civil Service, which did not have enough experts at its disposal, and to the prevailing lack of a sense of reality: British planning was more like "a religion than a technique".

MACBEATH, INNIS. *Cloth Cap and After*. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1973 [*recte* 1974]. 228 pp. £ 3.50.

From his own rich experience, the author presents a great many observations on all possible aspects of the British trade-union movement, including comparisons with the trade unions in other countries. He is especially concerned to show realities which even the best abstract plans cannot eliminate. There is the reality of an accumulated distrust, but there is also the fact of a hard inter-union competition. The enormous diversity in trade unionism (craft unions, industrial unions, general unions; unions showing a high degree of organization and unions with a low degree of organization, and so on) is one of the factors at the root of the difficulty of making an Industrial Relations Act work smoothly.

MEIER, PAUL. *La pensée utopique de William Morris*. Editions Sociales, Paris 1972. 862 pp. F.fr. 90.00.

In the present volume Morris's thought is placed against the background of older utopian ideas, pre-Marxist Socialism in many forms, and Marxism itself. Extensive chapters are devoted to each. The works of Morris himself are expertly elucidated from a Marxist point of view that leaves room for a positive evaluation of the "dream" of a more perfect, communist society. From this point of view, the problems of transition are, rightly, the central issue. Morris is here contrasted with, for instance, Bellamy, whose future society was to pay homage for ever to the cult of the "machine" (i.e., progressive industrialization), which, for Morris, was only a temporary means towards emancipation. Marx's notion of the two phases in socialist development (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*) in the author's view inspired Morris's thought.

MORRIS, A. J. ANTHONY. *Radicalism Against War, 1906-1914. The Advocacy of Peace and Retrenchment*. Longman, London 1972. xi, 448 pp. £ 5.50.

This is a very thorough study on the views regarding foreign policy and armament current among the members of the radical wing of the Liberals during their last period of government before the First World War. The source material used is very extensive; we mention Hansard, the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Nation*. The division of opinion within the circle of the radicals, and their uncertainties, receive as much attention as their very critical and even suspicious attitudes towards the policy of Grey and, though less so, that of other Ministers. Relationships with outspokenly pacifist groups and with Labour are also discussed in detail. The volume is a very important contribution to the knowledge of a period that was very important for British history.

*Participation in Industry*. Ed. by Campbell Balfour. Croom Helm, London 1973. v, 217 pp. £ 1.95.

Apart from the introduction, the present volume consists of six studies in workers' participation. The majority of these deal with co-operative, nation-

alized (coal and steel), and state-financed industries in Britain. K. J. W. Alexander compares the Fairfields experiment, the Upper Clyde "work-in", and industrial democracy in a Yugoslav shipyard. G. F. Thomason deals with the situation in the private sector, and the editor with that in Western Europe.

People for the People. Radical ideas & personalities in British history. Ed. by David Rubinstein. Introd. by Michael Foot. Ithaca Press, London; Humanities Press, New York 1973. 254 pp. Ill. £ 3.00. (Paper: £ 1.00.)

Most of the thirty articles collected here first appeared in *Tribune* (1969-72). Several among them discuss the theme of violence as a means towards social change, to begin with the peasants' and artisans' rebellion of 1381. Well-known authors present summaries of much more extensive studies; Margaret Cole, for instance, gives a brief account of Robert Owen, and G. Rudé of the rising of 1830 ("Captain Swing"). Many contributions concern the history of the Labour Party up to and including the Labour Government of 1945.

PERCEVAL-MAXWELL, M. The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1973; Humanities Press, New York. xx, 411 pp. Maps. £ 6.25.

The present volume is an important monograph on the beginnings of massive Scottish settlement in Ulster. "Essentially, it is a study of the society that produced the Scottish settlers and of the conditions they encountered when they arrived in Ireland." However, it also provides many particulars on the "plantation" record and the problems involved in it. A number of appendices are included.

PIKE, E. ROYSTON. [Ed.] Human Documents of Adam Smith's Time. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1974. 253 pp. Ill. £ 4.95.

A brief introduction on Adam Smith precedes a selection, provided with comments, of contemporary and near-contemporary documents on life in Britain on the eve of the Industrial Revolution. Among the authors are John Ireland, Defoe and many others, such as Arthur Young, who appreciated the new developments in industry. Ireland's piece is a description of the illustrations of William Hogarth, which depict especially the lives of poor people, apprentices and prostitutes, and which are copiously used to illustrate this book. The rural regions are also well represented, and a separate chapter is devoted to Scotland. The volume creates a good impression of such aspects as social relationships in the second half of the eighteenth century.

PINCHBECK, IVY and MARGARET HEWITT. Children in English Society. Vol. II. From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1948. [Studies in Social History.] Routledge & Kegan Paul, London; University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1973. vii, 325 pp. Ill. £ 4.00.

As in the opening volume, which was noticed in *IRSH*, XV (1970), p. 512, the

focus is here on the provision, or failure to provide, for the welfare of children. There is a separate chapter on child labour during the Industrial Revolution, but the various ways in which deprived, neglected and delinquent children were dealt with are the principal subject matter. The rise of juvenile legislation and the changing parent-child relationship are given due attention.

Poverty, inequality and class structure. Ed. by Dorothy Wedderburn. Cambridge University Press, London 1974. viii, 247 pp. £ 4.80. (Paper: £ 2.10.)

Since the belief has waned that economic growth would automatically put an end to poverty, interest in the latter phenomenon has increased (the concept of poverty is, however, elastic). The studies collected here practically all relate directly to Britain or give British examples to illuminate more general propositions. The authors are of different political colour. P. Townsend deals with standards of poverty measurement and advocates the use of dynamic criteria. A. B. Atkinson, J. L. Nicholson and W. G. Runciman, in three separate contributions, discuss poverty and income inequality, (re)distribution of income and the assessment of economic inequality. Other contributions treat of "relative deprivation", "Politics and Poverty" (R. Miliband), the impact of social inequality on the industrial and social climate, and other subjects.

RIGBY, ANDREW. *Alternative realities: A study of communes and their members.* [International Library of Sociology.] Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston 1974. ix, 341 pp. £ 4.95.

Dr Rigby, in his description of life in a number of communes in Britain from 1969 to 1971, especially concentrates on endeavours to reform society. He is deeply interested in alternative ways of life himself and spent some time in sixteen communes in all. Various types come up for discussion, including religious communes, communes in which "transsexual" relationships dominate, very ephemeral ones, and ascetic ones. For the author, who presents an absorbing account and occasionally gives interesting analyses, the search for freedom (he attaches great value to anarchist ideas) is the common denominator.

SHERMAN, A. J. *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933-1939.* Paul Elek, London 1973. 291 pp. £ 3.80.

This is a study of official British attitudes and policies vis-a-vis refugees from Nazi Germany. It is limited in scope, but solid in its documentation and its argument. The author has largely drawn on the newly released documents of the Foreign Office and the Home Office; the refugees themselves scarcely enter the picture.

SHINWELL, EMANUEL. *I've Lived Through It All.* Victor Gollancz Ltd, London 1973. 280 pp. Ill. £ 4.00.

The author, who was born in 1884, writes in his preface that "my aim has



been to interpret the actions of our political leaders, and to portray their character, with moderate severity, so as to ensure that errors of judgment, which have led to what I hope is a temporary decline in the prestige of our country, can in future be avoided". The book has strongly autobiographical elements, but is above all a commentary on British politics and the most important politicians since the turn of the century. Mr Shinwell's criticisms do not stop at his own party. The whole is an absorbing but basically melancholy account of too much running away from major issues, and too many flights into trivialities.

TERRILL, ROSS. R. H. *Tawney and His Times. Socialism as Fellowship.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) 1973. x, 373 pp. Ill. \$ 15.00.

Contrary to what the title might suggest, the present volume is no biography in any accepted sense. After a short outline of Tawney's life, the American author attempts a systematic interpretation of what Socialism meant to him, and of its relevance to our, rather than his, times. Tawney's religious inspiration is definitely underrated. The appended bibliography of his writings is a very useful feature.

Trade Union Register: 3. Ed. by Michael Barratt Brown and Ken Coates. Spokesman Books, Nottingham 1973. 296 pp. £ 4.00.

The previous volume of the *Trade Union Register*, published in 1970, was reviewed in IRSH, XVII (1972), p. 728. In the present volume the focus is almost exclusively on the British scene. The tone of the thirteen contributions is set by the second editor's introductory review, "Converting the Unions to Socialism". The volume also includes some documents of topical interest, a chronology (1970-72), statistical tables, and a list of recent publications.

Trade Unions in Great Britain. Compiled and ed. by John Hughes and Harold Pollins. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1973. 264 pp. £ 4.25.

In their general introduction, the editors point out recent changes in the structures of the unions, for instance the notable increase in organization. Brief introductions precede the sections and sub-sections into which the book is divided. The documents, in most cases presented in extract form, are very varied. The issues include the argument for the closed shop, the influence of unions and TUC on the Labour Party, organizations in key industries, attitudes towards technical efficiency, the unions and their relation to the TUC, and the differences between the various unions.

TRANTER, N. L. *Population since the Industrial Revolution. The Case of England and Wales.* Croom Helm, London 1973. 206 pp. £ 4.00. (Paper: £ 1.95.)

The author presents his book as "an *interim* summary report" on the demographic developments in England and Wales (with parallels concerning those in other countries) from the beginning of the eighteenth century

onward. It contains a good survey with a great deal of numerical material, which will also suit the non-specialist. Much attention is paid to the "demographic transition", the rather abrupt end of a long period of rapid population growth in the second decade of the twentieth century. The book also contains an interesting discussion – based on several authors whom Mr Tranter quotes – of the influence, or rather the relative absence of any influence, of a falling birth-rate on the economic, political and military power of a country.

The Victorian Working Class. Selections from Letters to the *Morning Chronicle*. Ed. and with introd. by P. E. Razzell and R. W. Wainwright. Frank Cass, London 1973. xlii, 338 pp. Ill. £ 6.50.

In October 1849, the *Morning Chronicle*, a well-known Victorian Liberal newspaper, started publishing a survey of "the moral, intellectual, material, and physical condition of the industrial poor throughout England"; they ran this survey for eighteen months. In the present selection, excellently introduced, an absorbing picture is presented, in which conditions in various trades and industries pass in review. The description of the work conditions and domestic life of the miners, for instance, is very interesting.

The Victorians and Social Protest. A Symposium. Ed. by J. Butt and I. F. Clarke. David & Charles, Newton Abbot; Archon Books, Hamden (Conn.) 1973. 243 pp. £ 4.25.

"The Victorians have too readily been dismissed for their bland complacency" is the opening sentence of the introduction to this collection of essays and studies. J. Butt gives a summary of Owen's ideas and their influence, for instance on Christian Socialism. J. H. Treble critically assesses the current hypothesis of the Irish immigrants being the main factor to explain the increasing radicalism of the working classes in the decade before 1848. J. Redmond treats Morris and Shaw as "two faces of Victorian Socialism". Other contributions are devoted to John Stuart Mill, land reform, and (the only non-British subject) "Dostoevsky's Anti-Utopianism" and his evaluation of bourgeois society.

The Working Classes in the Victorian Age. Debates on the issue from 19th century critical journals. With an introd. by C. J. Wrigley / J. M. Goldstrom. Vol. I. Political Economy and Whig Reforms 1815-1837. Vol. II. Urban Conditions 1839-1848. Vol. III. Urban Conditions 1848-1868. Vol. IV. Rural Conditions 1815-1870. Gregg International Publishers Ltd, Farnborough 1973. 252 pp.; 277 pp.; 231 pp.; 304 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 4.00 per vol.

Articles that appeared in Whig and Tory periodicals (*Westminster Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review* – strongly conservative –, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Fraser's Magazine*) are here photomechanically reproduced. The four volumes as a whole form a very valuable source for knowledge concerning the views on contemporary social questions among the governing, upper and middle classes. These views varied widely. In Vol. I

we find observations on the condition of the "labouring classes", a sympathetic study of "Mr. Owen's Plans for Relieving the National Distress" (*Edinburgh Review*, 1819), and Colquhoun's evaluation of the power and wealth of the British Empire after the victory in the Napoleonic Wars. The differences between the times before and after 1848 are reflected in Vols II and III. Before 1848, biting anti-Chartism betrays the great fear of revolution (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*; the *Westminster Review* showed itself optimistic regarding a possible reconciliation), and among the Tories the agitation against a repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) assumes a vehement character. After 1848, more objective investigations into the living conditions of the workers predominate. Vol. IV contains essays on the condition of the peasantry, land tenure issues and rebellious movements (the 'forties). The introductions partially overlap; in that to Vol. IV, underemployment is pointed out as the main rural problem.

Working Conditions in the Victorian Age. Debates on the issue from 19th century critical journals. With an introd. by John Saville. Gregg International Publishers Ltd, Farnborough 1973. 340 pp. Ill. £ 3.75.

The same periodicals as those mentioned in the above notice of *The Working Classes* form the sources for the present work, which likewise contains photomechanical reprints of articles. These articles date for the most part from the 1830's, 1840's and 1860's. In his introduction, the editor argues against the "common misconception that the early decades of the industrial revolution in Britain were associated with a massive shift of the working population towards factory enterprise". This is not to say, however, that he underrates the enormous changes, partly caused by the doubling of the population in fifty years. He discusses the background of the articles dealing with such subjects as child labour, women's labour, cheap prison labour and the conditions in agriculture, as well as the political attitudes of the periodicals in which these articles originally appeared.

#### OTHER BOOKS

PETROVIĆ, NENAD V. Marksova kći. Istorijsko-kritički ogled o Eleonori Marks-Ejvling i začecima socijalizma u Engleskoj. Biblioteka Naše Delo, London 1973. 78 pp. Ill.

RIDEOUT, R. W. Trade Unions and the Law. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1973. 276 pp.

#### Greece

RICHTER, HEINZ. Griechenland zwischen Revolution und Konterrevolution (1936-1946). Mit einem Vorwort von Komninos Pyromaglou und einem Aufsatz des gleichen Verfassers "Die 'Auflösung' der EOEA-EDES im Dezember 1944". Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt/M. 1973. 623 pp. Ill. Maps. DM 45.00.

The thesis of a Greek "fascism", complemented by monarchical reaction and supported from abroad, runs like a red thread through this highly argumentative history. Among the foreign influences, the author includes those

of Italy, Germany, Great Britain and – for the years after 1946, which are also treated here and there: Truman Doctrine, *Putsch* of the Colonels – the USA. Viewed in this light, Metaxas's foreign policy and his conduct of the war against Italy are severely criticized, as is the British intervention of 1944-45. The EAM, on the other hand, which according to the author was not dominated by the Communists, is judged in favourable terms. A curious statement, well fitting to his main argument, is the author's assertion that the scarcity of food in the winter of 1941-42 was home-made, not a consequence of German requisitions.

### Italy

CAVALLERI, OTTAVIO. *Il movimento operaio e contadino nel Bresciano (1878-1903)*. Pref. di Paolo Droulers. Edizioni 5 Lune, Roma 1972. xix, 846 pp. L. 8500.

In this extremely well documented study, which includes much local archive material among its sources, great attention is paid to the Socialist as well as the Roman Catholic labour movement. It is worth noting that the author, who wrote his book under the guidance of a professor at the Gregorian University, explains the Christian-social inspiration for a considerable part as a reaction to the progress made by Socialism. The role of the Roman Catholic movement, on which interesting documents are provided in the appendix, is also placed against the background of economic, social and political developments in Brescia since the unification of Italy, and of the conflict with the Pope after the annexation of the Ecclesiastical States.

MERLI, STEFANO. *Proletariato di fabbrica e capitalismo industriale. Il caso italiano: 1880-1900*. La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1972. vi, 858 pp. L. 8000.

— . *Proletariato di fabbrica e capitalismo industriale. Il caso italiano: 1880-1900. Documenti*. La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1973. xxxviii, 870 pp. L. 8000.

In the first of these two bulky volumes an extensive picture is given of the development (very impressive in some places and sectors) of big industry in particular. The emergence of the industrial proletariat and its class-consciousness – initially expressing itself in hostility towards the “machine” – are dealt with thoroughly. Although attention is paid to the political struggle (especially that of the Socialists, such as Bissolati, Costa, Ferri, Morgari, Turati), the emphasis is on trade-union and other activities put forth by the workers themselves; for the description of these, the author has drawn on extensive primary and secondary source material. The second volume contains a large number of such sources: letters, reports and minutes of conferences, notices of solidarity actions, besides party proclamations (for instance, of the *Partito Operaio Italiano* on the occasion of May Day, 1890).

TANNENBAUM, EDWARD R. *Fascism in Italy. Society and Culture 1922-1945*. Allen Lane, London 1973. viii, 411 pp. Ill. £ 5.75.

Professor Tannenbaum has written an interesting book on the stage-management of Italian life by the Fascist regime and on the way, or rather ways, in which this was experienced by the Italian people. Much attention is paid to Fascist rhetoric, propaganda and "socialization", but there are also chapters on the PNF, the economy and labour, religion, literature, the arts, etc. The author has drawn on a wealth of published and unpublished documents as well as on numerous interviews.

VACCA, GIUSEPPE. *Politica e teoria nel marxismo italiano 1959-1969*. Antologia critica. De Donato, Bari 1972. 492 pp. L. 4500.

The present anthology is indeed critical rather than historical in that the Communist editor has chosen twenty texts (most of them abridged) which are relevant from his own point of view. The focus is therefore on currents and statements that are in tune with the New Left. Dr Vacca himself has contributed an introduction of over a hundred pages.

#### OTHER BOOKS

FORBICE, ALDO. *La federazione CGIL, CISL, UIL, fra storia e cronaca* (Inchiesta sul movimento sindacale). Bertani Editore, Verona 1973. 497 pp.  
 LYTTTELTON, ADRIAN. *The Seizure of Power. Fascism in Italy 1919-1929*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1973. viii, 544 pp.

#### The Netherlands

GIELE, JACQUES J. *De Eerste Internationale in Nederland. Een onderzoek naar het ontstaan van de Nederlandse arbeidersbeweging van 1868 tot 1876*. Socialistische Uitgeverij Nijmegen, Nijmegen 1973. 273 pp. Ill. D.fl. 15.00.

The author himself points out, in his preface, that the title suggests more than what the contents have to offer. This is true, but especially, though not exclusively, on Amsterdam the book provides a wealth of data on attempts at organization, actions, political ideas, and persons propagating radical beliefs. The pronouncedly non-Socialist *Algemeen Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond*, too, is among the organizations discussed. The book brings forward a deal of material – rather poorly co-ordinated – for further research.

PRICE, J. L. *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the 17th Century*. B. T. Batsford Ltd, London 1974. x, 260 pp. Ill. £ 5.00.

This informed and richly illustrated book centres round a highly interesting problem, viz., why it was that the specialty of seventeenth-century Dutch culture was painting, not literature. Dr Price's answer is, briefly, that the latter was practically monopolized by the well-to-do, whose very cosmopolitanism proved a handicap, whereas the painters were craftsmen who were much less exposed to outside influence. Although this can hardly be the definitive answer – factors such as national character, taste and the investment function of art should also be considered –, the way in which it is argued is original and thought-stimulating.

## Spain

Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. Cartas, comunicaciones y circulares del III Consejo Federal de la Región Española. I (Septiembre-Octubre 1872). Transcr., estudio prel., notas e índices por Carlos Seco Serrano. II (Noviembre-Diciembre 1872). Transcr. y notas por Carlos Seco Serrano y María Teresa Martínez de Sas. Estudio prel. por Carlos Seco Serrano. Publicaciones de la Cátedra de Historia General de España, Barcelona 1972; 1973. xxxvi, 430 pp.; xxxvii, 404 pp. Ptas 300 per vol.

The eight letter-books – *Libro Copiador* – of the *Consejo Federal* form, with the *Actas* (published in 1969 and noticed in IRSH, XV (1970), p. 515), one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the First International in Spain; Nettlau, especially, made use of them. The letter-books, like the *Actas* in the custody of the *Biblioteca Arús*, comprise 4339 documents. Unfortunately, the first volume, containing 1078 documents, was lost in the Civil War. The present two volumes contain the documents Nos 1079–1848, and cover the period from the international congress at Saint Imier to the congress of the Spanish Federation in Cordova. The edition is on the same lines as that of the *Actas*. Professor Seco Serrano, in his thorough introductions, enters into such subjects as Anarchism, its ideological deepening, its rapid growth, and its firm stand against the “*Karlismo*” of the Marxists.

BRICALL, JOSEP MARIA. Política econòmica de la Generalitat (1936–1939). Vol. I: Evolució i formes de la producció industrial. Pròleg de J. L. Sureda. Ediciones 62, Barcelona 1970. 359 pp. Ill. Ptas 550.

This work is essentially an economic history, provided with many tables and graphs, of Catalonia during the Civil War. The present opening volume deals with such aspects as the impact of the war, socialization, planning, production and industrial relations, but also with economic programmes. It is to be followed by a second volume, the publication of which is subject to considerable delay.

De Spaanse burgeroorlog en zijn gevolgen. Studium generale-voordrachten georganiseerd door de Leidse historische disputen Robert Fruin en P. C. Hooft. Universitaire Pers Leiden, Leiden 1973. viii, 143 pp. D.fl. 18.75.

The nine lectures that make up the present volume were originally given in the University of Leyden in 1972. Two of them are in English: “The Spanish Civil War in Relation to International Affairs”, by Hugh Thomas, and “Foreign Intervention on the Sea”, by Juan García Durán. The other lectures deal with such aspects as Anarchism, the intelligentsia and the Church; the political and military side of the Civil War is hardly touched upon.

## OTHER BOOKS

- ALVAREZ, RAMON. Eleuterio Quintanilla (Vida y Obra del Maestro). Contribución a la Historia del Sindicalismo Revolucionario en Asturias. Editores Mexicanos Unidos, S.A., México (D.F.) 1973. 453 pp. Ill.
- FERNANDEZ DE CASTRO, IGNACIO. La fuerza de trabajo en España. Editorial Cuadernos para el Diálogo, S.A., Madrid 1973. 342 pp.
- OLLE ROMEU, JOSEP M. El moviment obrer a Catalunya 1840/1843. Textos i documents. Pròleg de Josep Benet. Editorial Nova Terra, Barcelona 1973. 429 pp. Ill.

## Union of Socialist Soviet Republics - Russia

- ALEXANDER, JOHN T. Emperor of the Cossacks. Pugachev and the Frontier Jacquerie of 1773-1775. Coronado Press, Lawrence (Kansas) 1973. 245 pp. Ill. \$ 8.50.

Although there are obvious and fundamental dissimilarities, "there is still a paradoxical community between the American Revolution and the Pugachev Revolt", the most prolonged and destructive rising against an indigenous *ancien régime* prior to 1789. The author goes especially into the causes and course of the rebellious movement in a number of cities and regions. This movement should be regarded as a basically peasant movement, even if it was supported and partly led by some noblemen, priests and officers, against whom the Empress Catherine took drastic action.

- CHAMBRE, HENRI. L'Évolution du marxisme soviétique. Théorie économique et droit. Editions du Seuil, Paris 1974. 476 pp. F.fr. 48.00.

In this lucid and sound treatment of the two decades since Stalin's death, the progressive "rationalization", which implies a certain relativizing of the official ideology, is mentioned as the general characteristic of the period rather than, for instance, de-Stalinization. This is substantiated by a systematic discussion of the evolutions in (the application of) economic theory and law (civil law, criminal law, etc.). The book is rich in fact material and excels in sharp analyses, which are the more remarkable in that the sources reflect the real tendencies in an ideologically highly distorted way.

- CONYNGHAM, WILLIAM J. Industrial Management in the Soviet Union. The Role of the CPSU in Industrial Decision-making, 1917-1970. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford 1973. xxxvi, 378 pp. \$ 9.50.

Party guidance (the Russian *rukovodstvo* is used time and again) in industrial management and development is the central issue discussed in the present volume. The author presents a clear picture of the decision-making process, which is the concern of the party as well as the state institutions and the industrial managers, and includes the shifts of accent and changes of function in the period from 1917 to the early 'seventies in his account. He goes deeply into the party policy for the months between November 1962 and Chruščev's overthrow in October 1964, when the party's direct involvement in industrial management reached a peak. The author inclines towards the view that party guidance, initially a strong stimulus, has an increasingly slackening effect on economic modernization.

The Essential Stalin. Major Theoretical Writings 1905-52. Ed. and with an Introd. by Bruce Franklin. Croom Helm, London 1973. viii, 511 pp. £ 1.95.

The editor, in his introduction, makes an attempt at complete rehabilitation for Stalin, an object of hate for capitalists and Trotskyists, but of veneration for Chinese, Albanians and "the great majority of the Soviet people". Agricultural collectivization, the great purges, the Nazi-Soviet Pact, all are found to be positive achievements. Stalin was wrong on one point only: he underestimated the bourgeois forces (intellectuals) in Russia, who established their power after his death. The documents comprise extracts from *Marxism and the National Question*, *The Foundations of Leninism*, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, *Marxism and Linguistics*, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, and many others.

SUTTON, ANTONY C. *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development 1945 to 1965*. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford 1973. xxxi, 482 pp. Ill. \$ 15.00.

For notices of the first and second volumes of this impressive study, the reader is referred to IRSH, XIV (1969), pp. 313f., and XVI (1971), p. 293. The present volume contains an assessment of the importance of the American Lend-Lease (from 1941 onwards), reparations, political-economic control of Eastern Europe, and the deportation of German scientists and technicians to Russia. The author also investigates financial aspects and the importance of various forms of technical assistance rendered to all kinds of industries (blast-furnaces, synthetic rubbers, plastics industries, etc.). Special attention is devoted to civilian and military means of transport and to atomic energy. A central conclusion is that the Soviet economic system "cannot develop technically across a broad front without outside assistance".

#### OTHER BOOKS

Kniga V. I. Lenina "Čto delat'?" i mestnye partijnye organizacii Rossii. Permskoe Knižnoe Izdatel'stvo, Perm' 1972. 529 pp.

MATTHEWS, MERVYN. *Class and Society in Soviet Russia*. Walker and Company, New York 1972. xviii, 366 pp.

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