

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## GENERAL ISSUES

### RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHY

FIORANI, ELEONORA. Friedrich Engels e il materialismo dialettico. Feltrinelli Editore, Milano 1971. 272 pp. L. 3000.

Engels's *Anti-Dühring*, *Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* and *Dialectics of Nature* are the writings most elaborated upon by the author, who, refuting efforts to draw a line between Marx and Engels as regards their later followers, stresses Engels's contribution to Marxism. She argues that his contribution to dialectical materialism is still important for a clarification of topical issues, and makes some comments on the vicissitudes of *diamat* in the USSR. A chronology of Engels's life and an annotated bibliography are appended.

HARTMANN, KLAUS. Die Marxsche Theorie. Eine philosophische Untersuchung zu den Hauptschriften. Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin 1970. xii, 593 pp. DM 78.00.

The author of this learned study undertakes a re-appraisal of Marx's theory from a purely philosophical angle. He criticizes Popper's theses (and lack of understanding of Hegelianism), but his own refutation of Marxian views brings him closer to Popper's. It is denied that a dialectical process going on in reality could justifiably be made to fit in the chain of historical necessity. Besides Marx's more philosophical writings all his major works, especially *Capital*, come up for discussion. Interesting are the comments on Marxist and non-Marxist evaluations of our time (Sartre, Habermas etc.).

WILDERMUTH, ARMIN. Marx und die Verwirklichung der Philosophie. Martinus Nijhoff, Den Haag 1970. xii, 852 pp. (in 2 vols.) Hfl. 90.00.

"The synthetic unity [of inter-subjective and object-related communications] constitutes the indissoluble process of the 'social movement', the total process of human self-reproduction. Marx deals with this [...] process only in a fragmentary way, although it is the frame of all his ripened thought." The *Aufhebung* (in the sense of both abolishment and preservation) of philosophy is understood in this manner for the main periods into which Marx's creative life is divided, including the last one. *Capital* and the *Grundrisse* are discussed in this vein, though the early writings, including the doctorate thesis, provide the vantage points, which in this learned philosophical study are confronted with various currents in German philosophy before Marx. The task for our time is global, and is considered to be more "gigantic" than that which Marx took upon himself from his youth onwards.

*SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE*

Gli Anarchici. A cura di Gian Mario Bravo. Vol. I. Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, Torino 1971. 1200 pp. Ill. L. 12000.

A sober and well-annotated introduction precedes the sections in which biographical and (valuable) bibliographical notes introduce the texts. The latter comprise very extensive extracts, mostly several integral chapters, from the most important writings. In the present first volume the following authors are represented: William Godwin (*Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and its Influence on Morals and Happiness*), Max Stirner (*Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*), Wilhelm Marr (*Anarchie oder Autorität?*), Carlo Cafiero (*Anarchie et communisme*), Johann Most (*Die Gottespest*), Errico Malatesta (*L'Anarchia and Fra Contadini*), and Francesco Saverio Merlino (*Socialismo o monopolismo?*). The items originally not written in Italian are brought here in a translation.

Arbeiterkontrolle, Arbeiterräte, Arbeiterselbstverwaltung. Eine Anthologie. Zus.gest. und eingel. von Ernest Mandel. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt/M. 1971. 467 pp. DM 29.00.

A selection of extracts from writings of Marx, Engels, Trockij, Lenin, Radek, Rosa Luxemburg, Gorter, Pannekoek, Korsch, Gramsci, Mao Tse-tung, M. Raptis, A. Gorz and many others (among them a few people whose approach is scholarly, such as P. von Oertzen) is preceded by an introduction. Here, Mr Mandel, whose views could be best defined in a conventional vocabulary as left-wing Trotskyist, argues strongly against the moderate idea of codetermination, the Yugoslav experiment in a Socialist market economy, and the Council Communists' alleged refusal to enlarge the struggle for the factories into a struggle to achieve political power as well.

ARON, RAYMOND. Hauptströmungen des soziologischen Denkens. Band I. Montesquieu, Auguste Comte, Karl Marx, Alexis de Tocqueville. Band II. Emile Durkheim, Vilfredo Pareto, Max Weber. Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Köln 1971. 319 pp.; 270 pp. DM 58.00.

The French edition of this book on seven great social scientists was noticed in IRSH, XII (1967), p. 121. The present translation contains indices of names and subjects, but the paper on Max Weber and power politics has been omitted.

Aspects of history and class consciousness. Ed. by István Mészáros. Essays by Tom Bottomore, David Daiches, Lucien Goldman[n] [a.o.] Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1971. vii, 212 pp. £ 2.50.

The papers presented here under the title of Lukács's famous book of 1923 were originally written for a series of lectures held at Sussex University in 1969-70. Several of them discuss Lukács's views, and very explicitly Rudolf

Schlesinger deals with the historical setting of his book, viz., the aftermath of the "March action", that ill-famed effort to overcome "the dead point in revolutionary development"; but as a rule the authors take a less critical view towards Leninism. Contributors are, among others, E. J. Hobsbawm (on class consciousness and organization), R. Milliband (on Barnave typifying bourgeois class consciousness), the late L. Goldmann, and A. Hauser.

**BROUWERS, BERT.** *Literatuur en revolutie. Deel I. Inleiding tot de literatuursociologie. Deel II. De Vlaamse literatuur en de revolutie van 1848.* Boom, Meppel 1971. 230 pp.; 270 pp. Hfl. 15.50; 17.50.

According to the author, Lukács and Goldmann have developed "an extremely useful methodological frame" for the sociology of literature. Quite a few other theoreticians and sociologists come up for discussion as well; Trockij, for instance, is evaluated positively, most "bourgeois" authors rather negatively. It is argued that since capitalism had taken firm root the writer and artist are hanging between bourgeois and proletarian. Thus the author in Vol. I. Vol. II constitutes an effort at concretization, in which the birth of a Flemish literature is discussed from about 1830 onward. Here, too, the thesis is argued that the years around 1850 (the 1848 revolution!) are a watershed between a not-yet-ripe capitalism and a full-fledged bourgeois predominance; in literature, this is implied to mean the shift from Romanticism to Realism and a growing inhibitedness on the part of writers whose very realism meets with boundaries inherent in the socio-economic system.

**CARTER, APRIL.** *The Political Theory of Anarchism.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1971. vii, 118 pp. £ 1.50.

In a systematic approach the main features of, and currents in, Anarchism are set forth lucidly. Syndicalism, the Anarchist components of the most recent protest movements, and terrorism are excluded; included are comparisons with other concepts of political theory (Hobbes, Tocqueville, Weber), which prove a direct relationship, especially as regards the posing of problems. The author soberly evaluates strength and weaknesses of the Anarchist views, which can become influential only in so far as they include suggestive ideas which can be used in a re-interpretation of politics.

**The Concept of Poverty. Working Papers on Methods of Investigation and Life-Styles of the Poor in Different Countries.** Ed. by Peter Townsend. Heinemann, London 1970. xi, 260 pp. £ 3.00.

This volume is based on a conference held on the initiative of the International Committee on Poverty. Its object was to encourage "the international exchange of methods of studying poverty". Among the contributions one by the editor deals with the problems of operationalizing the concepts of development, class and poverty. Definition and measurement of poverty are discussed by M. Rein. Other contributions deal with special aspects, such as cultural poverty of the working class (L. Rosenmayr).

DALLIN, ALEXANDER and GEORGE W. BRESLAUER. *Political Terror in Communist Systems*. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1970. xiii, 172 pp. \$ 5.95.

Taking neither the apologists' view that Communist terror is intrinsically good nor the moralists' stand that it is intrinsically bad, the authors try to work out in what way it is bound up with the several stages of takeover, mobilization and post-mobilization, and in how far it is functional or dysfunctional. The volume also includes an interesting comparison between Stalinism and Maoism. An extensive bibliography on the subject is appended.

*Essays in Socialism and Planning in Honor of Carl Landauer*. Ed. by Gregory Grossman. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs (N.J.) 1970. viii, 211 pp. \$ 10.95.

Several of the contributions to this volume are thought-stimulating: A. Gerschenkron examines the reasons for the failure of German Social Democracy to present, during the depression years, a programme of economic recovery. B. N. Ward compares the economic systems and their results of Greece (up to 1967) and Yugoslavia. Other contributions are by B. Cazes, A. P. Lerner, R. Bićanić, H. Leibenstein, R. A. Gordon, G. Katona, N. Glazer ("Some Criteria for Programs for the Slums and Ghettos"), A. Brzeski, and the editor.

FAURE-SOULET, J.-F. *De Malthus à Marx. L'Histoire aux mains des logiciens*. Préface de H. Guitton. Gauthier-Villars Editeur, Paris 1970. xvii, 259 pp. F.fr. 36.00.

"Between 1800 and 1865, the majority of authors who wrote on economics are logicians; even when they rely on history, it is a history rationally constructed from which they draw conceptual definitions and universal laws." This sentence (from the introduction) provides a clue to this general account of the history of ideas and the economic theories of the period under consideration, as well as to a number of special studies. Of the latter, we mention those on Malthus (who anticipated and "sometimes surpassed" Keynes and the post-Keynesians), Say, Ricardo, List, Sismondi, and Marx.

FOURIER, CHARLES. *The Utopian Vision of —. Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction*. Transl., Ed., and with an Introd. by Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu. Beacon Press, Boston 1971. xiv, 427 pp. \$ 12.50.

In the introduction Fourier's "striking modernity" is stressed, though he failed to foresee many developments. Some texts have been taken from other sources than the *Œuvres complètes*: manuscript sources drawn from the *Archives Nationales*, from *Le Nouveau Monde Amoureux*, and from other books. A good documentary record of the essentials of Fourier's social, psychological and erotic recipes is presented.

The Good Society. A Book of Readings. Ed. with an introd. by Anthony Arblaster and Steven Lukes. Methuen & Co Ltd, London 1971. xi, 436 pp. £ 3.50. (Paper: £ 1.50.)

The editors deny the validity of the assumption that the "realists" who condemn "utopianism" would not use themselves objections which "are very seldom of a purely logical or empirical character". Nevertheless, the extracts assembled in this volume are derived not only from the writings of authors who projected an ideal society in the past or the future, but also of those who criticize its feasibility altogether. The broad scala includes, for instance, Rousseau as well as Burke, de Maistre and Babeuf, Novalis and Bakunin, Rosa Luxemburg and Robert Michels, W. H. Auden and D. Cohn-Bendit.

HOLTHOON, F. L. VAN. The Road to Utopia. A study of John Stuart Mill's Social Thought. Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., Assen 1971. vii, 212 pp. Hfl. 36.00.

In a sympathetic, though not at all uncritical, approach to J. S. Mill's thought the author demonstrates its (relative) consistency. A careful scrutiny of Mill's works, and comparisons with contemporary, earlier and later theories allow for a re-evaluation which deserves attention. Also in his views on labour's emancipation Mill's theory – with its strong moral aspect – aims at a combination of realism with far-reaching idealism: the road leads towards Utopia, towards a harmony that will never be reached, but can be brought nearer.

Internationales Jahrbuch für Religionssoziologie – International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion. Hrsg. von / Ed. by Joachim Matthes. Band/Vol. V. Religion, Kultur und sozialer Wandel – Religion, Culture, and Social Change. Band/Vol. VI. Religionen im sozialen Wandel – Religions in Social Change. Westdeutscher Verlag, Köln, Opladen 1969; 1970. 196 pp.; 204 pp. DM 42.00; 39.00.

Both these volumes consist of papers, in English or in German (with a summary in the other language), on religion and society in the developing countries. There are several contributions to the problem of religion and development or modernization in general; we mention that by Henri Desroche in Vol. V (in German). The position of Islam in the contemporary world is discussed by C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze in Vol. V, and by Robert N. Bellah in Vol. VI. We further draw attention to "Revolutionary Backgrounds of Creole Syncretism", by Hanns-Albert Steger (in German), and "Traditional Values and Contemporary Development Plans in India", by Henry H. Presler, both in Vol. VI.

LANE, DAVID. The End of Inequality? Stratification under State Socialism. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1971. 156 pp. £ 0.40.

Within a fairly small compass much information is given on social stratification, policy making and inequality in the Soviet Union and – less so – other East European countries. The very existence of hierarchical power

structures as well as that of the nuclear family, though allowing for another system of stratification, stood, and stand, in the way of introducing equality in incomes. Comparisons are drawn for various groups (manual workers, highly qualified workers, managers, etc.), also as to shifts in their relative position vis-a-vis others.

LEFORT, CLAUDE. *Eléments d'une critique de la bureaucratie*. Librairie Droz, Genève 1971. 367 pp. S.fr. 40.00.

The essays and studies collected in this volume were published before or constitute the texts of papers read at conferences. All but three originated in the years 1948-58. The first and the last item (with the exception of a postface) both deal with Trockiĵ's failure to understand the true nature of bureaucratic rule. The author criticizes Communism from a left-wing Marxist standpoint; several of the often interesting and thought-stimulating essays first appeared in *Socialisme ou Barbarie*. Though there are, e.g., excursions on Sartre, the focus is on the analysis of bureaucratic State Socialism as exemplified mainly in the USSR.

LÖWENSTEIN, JULIUS I. *Vision und Wirklichkeit. Marx contra Marxismus*. Kyklos-Verlag, Basel; J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1970. xiv, 170 pp. DM 25.00.

The author puts Marx's intellectual evolution against the background of ideas and beliefs current (at least in some circles) in his time. Not only the well-known direct sources of influence are dealt with, but also, e.g., Goethe is repeatedly quoted. The central thesis is that Marx himself clearly repudiated the highly speculative philosophy of his early years, though messianic-utopian elements remained. The reception of Marxism (German Social Democracy, Lenin, etc.) is discussed as well. The book is very thought-provoking, and is based on deep insights and broad knowledge.

*Political Leadership in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*. Ed. by R. Barry Farrell. Butterworths, London 1971. xi, 359 pp. £ 5.20.

This work "is the product of a conference [...] held in November 1968 under the Comparative Politics Program at Northwestern University". The first part is devoted to theoretical questions. A. G. Meyer ably analyzes Marxist theories of leadership; he points out inconsistencies and ambiguities, and makes a difference between an elitist outlook and an evaluation of leadership (Kautsky and Lenin were both "elitists", but thought differently about leadership). C. J. Friedrich discusses the issue of totalitarianism in relation with the theory of political leadership. The Hungarian Communist A. Hegedus deals with the question of bureaucracy and makes interesting remarks on the Yugoslav experiments. Parts II and III contain mainly quantitative analyses (among the authors are F. C. Barghoorn, the editor, F. Fleron, C. Beck and M. G. Zaninovich). Problems concerning the relationship between party leadership and managers come to the fore in studies by O. Klein, J. Zeleny and J. Azrael. Part IV consists of a conclusion by J. F. Triska, especially on leadership conflict situations.

ROSTOW, W. W. *Politics and the Stages of Growth*. Cambridge University Press, London 1971. xiii, 410 pp. £ 4.00. (Paper: £ 1.60.)

In his new book Professor Rostow discusses the political context of his well-known stages of economic growth. Since the author is neither a political scientist nor a full-fledged historian, the present volume lacks the pioneering qualities of the book that made him famous, but it is of interest in that it sheds light on the political philosophy of a prominent American liberal.

SANDER, HANS-DIETRICH. *Marxistische Ideologie und allgemeine Kunsttheorie*. Kyklos-Verlag, Basel; J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1970. vii, 285 pp. DM 37.00. (Paper: DM 32.00.)

H.-J. Schoeps, Carl Schmitt, E. Salin and O. Lange provided the author with most of the conceptual tools with which he approaches ("de-encodes") the works of Marx and Engels, mainly as far as their attitude towards literature and art is concerned. Here, especially, they moved within the sphere of the *Realstruktur* over against the *Tribunalstruktur*, and here they differ widely from the ideologists of "Socialist Realism", several of whom are treated at some length.

SCHNEIDER, ERICH. *Joseph A. Schumpeter. Leben und Werk eines großen Sozialökonomens*. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1970. 93 pp. DM 15.00.

The author deals mainly with Schumpeter's work as an economist. Central themes are his theory of economic development, the gradual shift from econometry towards a preponderantly historical approach (though he always stressed the necessity of theoretical and statistical work), and – to a smaller extent – his evaluation of Marxism.

*The Sociology of Sport. A Selection of Readings*. Ed. by Eric Dunning. With a foreword by Norbert Elias. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London 1971. xxii, 382 pp. £ 4.00.

Mr Dunning has collected and introduced seventeen studies in various aspects of the relationship between sport and society. Some of them are here published for the first time, e.g., "The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological Problem", by Norbert Elias, and "Folk Football in Medieval and Early Modern Britain", by Professor Elias and the editor. Other papers deal with concepts and theories, and notably with sports in modern society (down to spectator hooliganism).

SUPEK, RUDI. *Soziologie und Sozialismus. Probleme und Perspektiven*. Verlag Rombach, Freiburg 1970. 246 pp. DM 39.00.

The author belongs to the group of scholars around the Zagreb *Praxis*. In these essays, which are only loosely connected, he deals with the introduction, since 1956, of sociology in Russia as well as Yugoslavia. A second recurrent theme is alienation, also in the "Socialist countries". The experiment in self-management in industry is discussed in a critical vein. The Socialism with a human face which the author aims at demands "freedom and polycentrism" in the cultural field, too. The German translation is based on the (revised) Serbocroat original of 1966.



When men revolt and why. A reader in political violence and revolution. Ed. by James Chowning Davies. The Free Press, New York; Collier-Macmillan Ltd, London 1971. xv, 357 pp. \$ 4.95; £ 2.50.

The editor, in a contribution entitled "Toward a Theory of Revolution", feels that revolutions occur as soon as there is an intolerable gap between what people want and what they get, or between expected and actual need satisfaction. The items chosen from old and modern authors on political science, sociology, psychology and history are brought almost all in extract form, and cover several periods of history. We mention Engels's *Peasants' War in Germany*, Snow's report on the Chinese Communists, Tocqueville on rising expectations and equality, Edward W. Gude on "violence as ends, means, and catharsis" (an interesting thesis exemplified by political violence in Venezuela), and the late Crane Brinton's "Summary of [the Work of] Revolutions".

#### OTHER BOOKS

CERRONI, UMBERTO. Teoria della crisi sociale in Marx. Una reinterpretazione. De Donato, Bari 1971. 270 pp.  
Change in Communist Systems. Ed. by Chalmers Johnson. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1970. xiii, 368 pp.

#### HISTORY

Anarchici e Anarchia nel mondo contemporaneo. Atti del Convegno promosso dalla Fondazione Luigi Einaudi (Torino, 5, 6 e 7 dicembre 1969). Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, Torino 1971. 654 pp. L. 6000.

These are the recorded proceedings of a conference held in Turin in December 1969. As a rule, the papers read as well as the debates about them meet high standards. Among the participants were such well-known Anarchists as Federica Montseny and Gaston Leval, but also, and foremost, scholars without outspoken Anarchist inclinations. Passing over the very interesting shorter communications, which offer a wealth of material on questions of detail, we mention the major contributions: "The Genesis of Anarchism" (L. Valiani), "Problems of Spanish Anarchism" (A. Garosci), "The International Anarchist Movement in its Present Structure" (G. Cerrito), "Anarchism between Communism and Individualism" (J. Joll), "Anarchism and Bolshevism" (A. Lehning), and "Traditional Anarchist Thought and the Revolt of the Young" (J. Maitron). The contributions are in Italian, Spanish, French and English.

Archiv für Sozialgeschichte. Hrsg. von der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. X. Band, 1970. Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen GmbH, Hannover 1970. 524 pp. DM 32.00.

In a study on the German Jacobins and French rule in the territory on the left bank of the Rhine, W. Grab concentrates on two tendencies: one aiming at an autonomous German revolution because the French did not wish to export theirs (representative: Rebmann), the other at incorporation of the Rhineland into France (v. Schütz). The treatment is not without bias (in the interests of the French bourgeoisie, the Gironde exploited the oc-



cupied territories; for the possibly worse exploitation carried out by Jacobins ideological motives are granted). J. Grandjonc contributes a thorough account of the German emigrants' press for the years 1795-1848 in France, and for 1830-48 in Europe (Switzerland, England, Belgium). E. Silberner describes in great detail Johann Jacoby's role in, and views on, the revolution of 1848-49 (radical democracy, republicanism, sympathy with the Poles). E. Margalith deals with the social and intellectual origins of the Jewish youth movement Hashomer Hatzair, 1913-20; this organization, which developed in Poland, became responsible for the foundation of Mapam-affiliated kibbutzim and embodied the union of staunch Marxism with Zionism. G. Eliasberg comments on the (relatively spontaneous) rising in the Ruhr territory, 1920, and its "Red Army" (estimated at 50,000 strong). More or less connected are his remarks on the Kapp Putsch and on the weaknesses of the Weimar Republic. B. Dandois publishes a letter by César De Paepe (1884). Extensive book reviews conclude the volume.

**BRÄKER, HANS.** *Kommunismus und Weltreligionen Asiens. Zur Religions- und Asienpolitik der Sowjetunion. Band I, 1. Kommunismus und Islam. Religionsdiskussion und Islam in der Sowjetunion. Band I, 2. Kommunismus und Islam. Islam und sowjetische Zentral- und Südostasien-Politik.* J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1969; 1971. viii, 156 pp.; viii, 456 pp. DM 24.00; 62.00.

The attitudes and policies of Russian Communism vis-a-vis the non-Christian world religions constitute an enormous and hardly explored field of study. Dr Bräker is to be highly commended for having embarked upon it, and he appears eminently qualified to deal with its several aspects, from the Marxist critique of religion in general to the intricacies of Soviet foreign policy. In the present first volume the focus is on Communism and Islam both inside and outside the USSR, notably in Sinkiang and Indonesia. The discussion of the (rather unsuccessful) attempts to arrive at a more realistic approach and the scornful comments by the Chinese Communists is of special interest.

**BRAUNTHAL, JULIUS.** *Geschichte der Internationale. Band 3.* Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH, Hannover 1971. 723 pp. III. DM 78.00.

The third volume of Mr Braunthal's vivid account, which, here as well as in the second volume, has definitely benefited from the fact that the author is familiar with events and persons described, opens with a discussion of efforts aiming at a re-union of the international labour movement (Socialists and Communists). Then follows a detailed treatment of the French SFIO and CP, unity and split of Italian Socialism, the failure of a Socialist-Communist co-operation in Western Germany and Grotewohl's alliance with the Communists. The effects of the Cold War are dealt with both in general and for a number of countries in particular. The resurrection of a Democratic Socialist International is given much attention, as is the Cominform. A special section is devoted to a description (rather than an analysis) of Socialism and Communism in several Asian countries (e.g., Buddhist Socialism in Burma). "The Moral Crisis of Communism" (Berlin 1953 - suppression of the "Prague Spring") is the title of the next section. The last one strikes a balance for the "first century" of international Socialism. In the appendices, among other things, the numerical strength of parties is communicated.

BRUNT, P. A. *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*. Chatto & Windus, London 1971. xii, 164 pp. Maps. £ 1.50. (Paper: £ 0.75.)

In what may be called a happy blend of social and political history, Professor Brunt deals with the "social question" in the Roman Republic and the attendant conflicts. He also pays attention to the struggles within the propertied class and, of course, to the *populares*. It is his view that "the popular movements at Rome lacked the moral fervour as well as the intellectual basis which such a creed as Marxism may lend to modern counterparts", and "Spartacus did not lead a protest movement against slavery, still less a rising of the whole proletariat".

FABRY, PHILIPP W. *Die Sowjetunion und das Dritte Reich. Eine dokumentierte Geschichte der deutsch-sowjetischen Beziehungen von 1933 bis 1941. Prolegomena von Ernst Deuerlein*. Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart 1971. 485 pp. Ill. Maps. DM 45.00.

Like Professor Fabry's previous book *Der Hitler-Stalin-Pakt* (1962) the present "documented history" focuses on the crucial years 1939-41, and once again the general picture is that of a master plotter called Stalin *versus* an essentially reactive Hitler. In order to corroborate his thesis of Russia's bad faith vis-a-vis her German partner the author has worked up a wealth of unpublished materials which will delight apologists of the "antifascist" Soviet Union as well as enemies of Chancellor Brandt's *Ostpolitik* (the book concludes upon a warning). Unfortunately these materials, largely concocted by the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, are pretty one-sided, and even if they show the other side of the story Professor Fabry tends to interpret them with all the touchiness of a German nationalist. He is simply not alive, no more than the gentlemen of the RSHA, to the "objective" support of Hitler's war by Soviet and Comintern propaganda; he must never have seen the well-known studies by Angelo Tasca (A. Rossi). Even worse is his partial whitewash of Hitler, of whose grand design he offers a wholly antiquated interpretation (cf. pp. 34ff. with *Acta Historiae Neerlandica*, III (1968), pp. 143f., 153ff.). Some of the materials presented are of interest, notably a memorandum written by Arkadij Maslov in September 1939.

FISHMAN, W. J. *The Insurrectionists*. Methuen & Co Ltd, London 1970. xi, 216 pp. Ill. £ 2.75.

This is a rather popular but thought-stimulating exposé of the main milestones on the way to "Jacobin Communism" as it triumphed in 1917 in Russia. The eighteenth-century "myth makers" and Robespierre, Babeuf ("prophet") and Buonarroti ("apostle"), and Blanqui are treated, as is "the Marxist intervention" (Blanqui's influence on Marx), in Part I, which is entitled "Genesis in the West". Part II, "Triumph in the East", tells the story of the Decembrists, continues with the main revolutionaries and populists of the nineteenth century, and ends with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Basing himself in the main on recent literature, the author is intent on drawing lines of intellectual affiliation, which he supports by ample evidence.

GODECHOT, JACQUES. *Les Révolutions de 1848. Textes de Karl Marx, Proudhon, Blanqui, Princesse de Belgiojoso*. Editions Albin Michel, Paris 1971. 502 pp. F.fr. 33.00.

A rather popular, well-written historical introduction on the growth of dissatisfaction in European countries with the political and social state of affairs, the demographic evolution since 1814, the "new ideas" (theocracy, nationalism, Romanticism, Socialism, etc.), the political crises in Europe from 1832 to 1848, and the revolutions of 1848 and the ensuing reaction precedes four contemporary texts. The latter are by Proudhon (on Paris), the Princess Belgiojoso (Milan), Marx (Vienna) and Blanqui ("The Lesson of the Revolution of 1848"). The selected bibliography, composed by G. Walter, on the European countries where revolutions took place in 1848-49 is a useful tool.

GORDON, DAVID C. *Self-Determination and History in the Third World*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1971. vii, 219 pp. \$ 7.50.

History as a myth, as distinct from history as a science, has a function in fostering unity and self-esteem. The author of this interesting study analyzes conceptions held by Arab historians and politicians, and, to a lesser extent, by Black Americans, Indians and other Asians. Frantz Fanon, Taha Husayn, Nehru and many others, representing widely different currents of thought, come up for discussion. The author's own position is made perfectly clear: "It seems apparent [...] that in a period of decolonization and self-determination a people must go through the stage of myth-making [...] The hope is that this stage is a temporary one."

HAAS, LEONHARD. *Carl Vital Moor 1852-1932. Ein Leben für Marx und Lenin*. Benziger Verlag, Zürich 1970. 373 pp. Ill. S.fr. 32.00.

Under the impact of the Paris Commune the student Moor (1852-1932) became a Socialist. He became a leader of the Berne party organization. After 1908, when he became a millionaire, he increasingly intensified his contacts with Russian radicals, especially Lenin, whom he helped with considerable financial assistance. During World War I the rather ambivalent Moor worked with the German intelligence while siding with the Bolsheviks. After the war he preceded Radek in trying to interest official Germany for co-operation with Russia, where he lived for many years. Although this biography does not clarify all the enigmas about this curious person, it is rich in details not easily to be found elsewhere.

HUMBERT-DROZ, JULES. *Mémoires. De Lénine à Staline. Dix ans au service de l'Internationale Communiste 1921-1931. A la Baconnière, Neuchâtel* 1971. 507 pp. Ill. S.fr. 39.00.

This is a consecutive volume to *L'origine de l'Internationale communiste*, which was noticed in IRSH, XIV (1969), p. 116. The present book is of even greater value. In 1921 (Third Congress of the Comintern) the late Mr Humbert-Droz was made a member of the "general staff of the world revolution". As such, he was the man responsible of contacts between Moscow and the

Latin countries, including Belgium and Latin America. Later, he lived in Russia, got into conflict with Stalin, and became a close friend of Bucharin, whose ideas he shared. Because of his popularity, especially among the French Communists, he was not dismissed until 1929. An immense knowledge on persons and events is presented, both on the Communist parties in various countries and on the atmosphere in the Comintern offices and among Soviet party leaders. Apart from Stalin, Zinov'ev is made the target of sharp criticism, for which much evidence is offered.

**Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust. Proceedings of the Conference on Manifestations of Jewish Resistance.** Jerusalem, April 7-11, 1968. Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1971. 562 pp. I£ 15.00; \$ 5.00.

The present volume contains the translated and partially revised papers and debates of a symposium convened by an Israeli committee. Several aspects and problems of Jewish resistance against the Nazi regime both before and during the Second World War are discussed by a number of experts, most of them Israeli and French, in a scholarly fashion. Indices of proper and geographic names are appended.

**LICHTHEIM, GEORGE.** *A Short History of Socialism.* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1970. xi, 362 pp. £ 3.25.

Though presented as "a number of signposts for the benefit of readers [undergraduates and others] who may wish at a later stage to inquire into the details of a particular period or set of problems", this book will, notwithstanding the lack of specified references, without doubt prove of interest to the specialist as well as to the layman. Beginning with an evaluation of the Utilitarians as middle-class apologists and ending with a refusal to take the debate on "historicism" seriously, the author gives sharp comments, which are based on impressive knowledge and always have the advantage of being clearly formulated and thought (and/or criticism) provoking.

**MITCHELL, HARVEY [and] PETER N. STEARNS.** *Workers & Protest. The European Labor Movement, the Working Classes and the Origins of Social Democracy 1890-1914.* F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca (Ill.) 1971. v, 250 pp. \$ 6.00. (Paper: \$ 3.95.)

The titles of the two major contributions already suggest differences in approach and accentuation: Dr Mitchell's is entitled "Labor and the Origins of Social Democracy in Britain, France, and Germany, 1890-1914", Dr Stearns's "The European Labor Movement and the Working Classes, 1890-1914". They are preceded by a general introduction (by Robert Wohl), and followed by two comments in which each author discusses the essay written by the other. Thus, Dr Stearns's "reluctance to attribute to the grass roots of the movement its own ideological commitments" is criticized and, *vice versa*, Dr Mitchell is told that he "does not [...] pay enough attention to the actual working classes", because he focuses on the leaders' views and opinions. The whole constitutes an excellent, thought-stimulating synopsis of (partially parallel) overall evaluations.

MOUSNIER, ROLAND. Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth-Century France, Russia and China. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1971. xx, 358 pp. Maps. £ 4.50. (Paper: £ 2.75.)

The original edition of this book appeared in 1967, and was noticed in IRSH, XIII (1968), p. 276. The translation by Brian Pearce is of excellent quality; a note on untranslated French technical terms has been added.

Mouvements nationaux d'indépendance et classes populaires aux XIXe et XXe siècles en Occident et en Orient. Librairie Armand Colin, Paris 1971. xvii, 720 pp. (in 2 vols.) F.fr. 100.00.

The papers read at two conferences held in Tunis and Vienna, respectively. The first section is devoted to Europe; here we mention the contributions on Ireland (by F. Bédarida), Czechoslovakia (by J. Kořalka) and Germany (1830-71, by W. Conze and D. Groh). Several papers deal with the Arab countries (e.g., that on the *Néo-Destour* in 1937-38, by M. Cherif, and that on Egypt, by A. Abdel-Malek). The third section treats of black Africa and Madagascar (B. Verhaegen has contributed a study on the rebellions in Congo), the fourth of Asia (e.g., T. Raychaudhuri on the participation of the working people in the Indian national movement), and the fifth of Canada (F. Ouellet on French-Canadian nationalism) and Latin America. General conclusions were drawn by E. Labrousse, R. Portal, F. Bédarida, J. Droz, J. Chesneaux and R. Bureau. Most contributions are in French, some in English.

PALMER, R. R. The World of the French Revolution. Harper & Row, New York, Evanston; George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1971. vi, 282 pp. \$ 8.50; £ 3.25.

Once again Professor Palmer has brought together many arguments in favour of his thesis that the revolutions outside France in the 1790's were genuine and provoked not only by French intervention, but by the weakness of the old order and the strong opposition against it – Dutch Patriots, Polish fighters for restored statehood, and so on. The revolutionary movements in the Western world can be explained by the Enlightenment and the "bourgeois" demand to abolish privileges. "Bourgeois" in the sense of well-to-do people not enjoying those privileges, and not in the Marxist sense: it is possible that the Revolution hampered capitalist evolution in France, rather than setting free the forces for it.

The Penguin Book of Socialist Verse. Ed. with an introd. by Alan Bold. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1970. 550 pp. £ 0.60.

Starting from the observation that "a healthy poetry" contributes to "a healthy society", and that the study of Socialist poetry (of various shades) helps to show "the world where its future must lie", the editor has collected a great many items. The latter run from Heine to Mao Tse-tung, from Pottier to Senghor, or even from Whitman to Enzensberger. They include poets such as Freiligrath, William Morris, Toller, Grass, Evtušenko, but also Ho Chi Minh. Brecht, for reasons connected with reproduction rights, is less well represented than the editor would have liked.

PÖLNITZ, GÖTZ Freiherr VON. Anton Fugger. 3. Band: 1548-1560. Teil 1: 1548-1554. [Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, Band 22.] J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1971. xv, 769 pp. Ill. DM 80.00.

Baron v. Pölnitz having died in 1967, the present volume is the last to be written by that able historian; Professor Hermann Kellenbenz has been found prepared to complete his monumental study of Anton Fugger. The final years of the reign of Charles V meant, for the Fugger family, an inevitable decline, against which Anton fought a heroic losing battle. The author describes these years vividly and from a wealth of unpublished materials.

ROMEIN, JAN. Historische lijnen en patronen. Een keuze uit de essays. Em. Querido's Uitgeverij N.V., Amsterdam 1971. 655 pp. Hfl. 34.90.

Although those responsible for the present selection seem to conceive of it as an anthology, no less than seven out of these twenty-four "most important" essays have been taken from Romein's weakest volume, *Eender en anders* (cf. IRSH, IX (1964), p. 502). *Historische lijnen en patronen* is therefore more like a fairly representative cross-section of his minor writings. Unfortunately, Romein's first critique of Huizinga (1931), which constitutes a real clue to his own approach of history, has not been included, but his pioneering contributions to the theory of history are all there.

SCHAFF, ADAM. Geschichte und Wahrheit. Europa Verlag, Wien Frankfurt, Zürich 1970. 280 pp. S 192.

—, Histoire et vérité. Essai sur l'objectivité de la connaissance historique. Traduit du polonais par Anna Kaminska et Claire Brendel. Editions Anthropos, Paris 1971. 352 pp. F.fr. 35.00.

*Historia i prawda*, the new book by Adam Schaff, is devoted to the problem of objectivity and subjectivity in historical research and historiography. The author begins with an interesting survey of the great debate on the economic causes of the French Revolution, then proceeds to a lengthy discussion of "positivism" (Ranke), presentism (anticipated by Hegel) and relativism (Mannheim), and finally vindicates, rather platitudinously, the traditional Marxist position (class character of all knowledge, cognitive privilege of what Lenin called *partijnost'*). Having finished the book, the reader still wonders why for heaven's, or rather for Marx's, sake Taine should have sided with Michelet in the above debate, and Jaurès with Tocqueville.

SENN, ALFRED ERICH. The Russian Revolution in Switzerland 1914-1917. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Milwaukee, London 1971. xvi, 250 pp. \$ 12.50.

A great number of – often only loosely connected – subjects are treated in this book, which offers many interesting details, but lacks cohesion in some parts. The focus is on Lenin's increasing influence, but various chapters deal with independent subjects. Thus, for instance, the German secret service's activities (Romberg), the representatives of the non-Great-Russian nationalities in the Tsar's realm, and the effects of the debates among the Russians

and of international discussion (Zimmerwald, Kienthal and after) on the Swiss Socialists are given special attention. Much archival material has been worked up in the book, which, however, is based largely on the various printed collections of sources.

WEINGARTNER, THOMAS. *Stalin und der Aufstieg Hitlers. Die Deutschlandpolitik der Sowjetunion und der Kommunistischen Internationale 1929-1934*. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1970. xii, 302 pp. DM 38.00.

Two categories of sources have been used by the author of this study: first, materials stemming from the German Foreign Office; secondly, Comintern and KPD publications. A picture emerges from them which, in a systematic way, illustrates the impact of Stalinist ideology, itself reflecting the dual interests of Soviet foreign policy and of the furthering of Communist revolutionary aims, on the evaluation of National-Socialism. It is made clear that Stalin contributed, unwillingly, to Hitler's rise to power.

#### OTHER BOOKS

HEMELS, JOAN. *Massacommunicatie als factor in de geschiedenis. Een verkennend-bibliografische studie*. Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., Assen 1971. 34 pp.  
I Internacional i Parižskaja Kommuna. *Ukazatel' literatury, vyšedšej v SSSR 1917-1970*. Pod red. I. A. Bach i B. A. Kameneckogo. Izdatel'stvo "Kniga", Moskva 1971. 127 pp.

ŠTAERMAN, E. M. [i] M. K. TROFIMOVA. *Rabovladel'českie otnošenija v rannej Rimskoj imperii (Italija)*. Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", Moskva 1971. 323 pp.

#### CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

*Les agglomérations urbaines dans les Pays du Tiers Monde – Urban agglomerations in the States of the Third World. Leur rôle politique, social et économique – Their political, social and economic role. Compte rendu de la 34me Session d'étude de l'Incidu tenue à Aix-en-Provence du 11 au 16 septembre / Report of the 34th Incidu Study Session held in Aix-en-Provence from 11 to 16 September 1967. Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Bruxelles n.d. [1971.] 1085 pp. B.fr. 975.*

The above study session was directed "at discovering how national integration could be secured within the Third World States, by enabling the towns to play to the full their beneficent role as growth centres". Representatives of the European Community and the OECD as well as of many countries took part. In anticipation of the session, about fifty regional reports had been drafted. General rapporteurs were: for Africa, R. Descloitres; for Latin America (including Puerto Rico), G. Germani; for Asia, C. N. Vakil. Much statistical material is given on urbanization in general, but most contributions concentrate on smaller urban centres, which are essential for national integration and can be instrumental in diminishing the gap between the elite and the mass of the population.



FEJTÖ, FRANÇOIS. *Dictionnaire des partis communistes et des mouvements révolutionnaires. Précédé d'un essai sur la crise actuelle de l'internationalisme marxiste.* Casterman, Paris 1971. 235 pp. F.fr. 28.00.

Besides presenting the major lines along which differences between Communist parties and currents have become manifest, the introduction of 30 pages draws an interesting parallel between the "crisis" of the Catholic Church (and, in a way, Western civilization) and that of international Communism. The "dictionary" summarizes the most important data available on membership figures, leadership, ideological adherence, etc. For various countries more than one CP (one Moscow-oriented and one Peking-oriented), each with their own press organs, are mentioned.

*Yearbook on International Communist Affairs 1969.* Ed.: Richard F. Staar. Assistant Ed.: Milorad Popov. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford 1970. xii, 1170 pp. \$ 19.95.

This yearbook provides an invaluable wealth of information on the organizational structure, the internal development, domestic and foreign policies, and all kinds of activities of the Communist parties and front organizations all over the world in 1968. The arrangement is as follows. In the "Profiles of Individual Communist Parties" detailed data are given on the old Communist parties, but also on split-off groups (pro-Peking parties). Then comes a survey of international front organizations (World Council of Peace, and so on). Two international meetings are dealt with: that of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest, and that of the "Progressive and Anti-Imperialist Forces of the Mediterranean" in Rome. Well-selected documents, such as the Czechoslovak CP's "Action Programme" of April, 1968, are published under a special heading. A chronology, a selected bibliography and extensive indices of persons and subjects are appended.

## CONTINENTS AND COUNTRIES

### *AFRICA*

BINDER-KRAUTHOFF, KRISTINE. *Phasen der Entkolonialisierung. Eine Analyse kolonialpolitischer Relikte in Afrika auf der Grundlage historischer Prozesse in Ghana und der Elfenbeinküste.* Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 1970. 185 pp. DM 39.80.

From the point of view of history the first part of this scholarly work is the most interesting. It deals with the concrete phases of colonization and decolonization in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Central importance is attached to the establishment of power structures which provided models for the independence movements. The second part is devoted to a sociological effort at laying bare more or less general "phases" in the various processes of decolonization. Here, too, due attention is given to particular circumstances and variations.

West African Resistance. The military response to colonial occupation. Ed. by Michael Crowder. Hutchinson, London 1971. xiv, 314 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 2.50.

"This symposium is an attempt [...] to look at nine major instances of resistance by African armies to colonial occupation from the point of view of the strategies adopted by the African armies." Each case study deals with an organized army of a centralized state (e.g., the Ashanti Empire); segmentary societies or tribes do not enter the picture. In a commendable introduction the author posits the problems in general and discusses the question why African military resistance, though it failed to achieve its goals, could contribute to a feeling of pride and constitutes an important element in the growth of national consciousness.

#### Tanzania

URFER, SYLVAIN. *Ujamaa, espoir du socialisme africain en Tanzanie*. Préface par Daniel Pépy. Aubier Montaigne, Paris 1971. 239 pp. Maps. F.fr. 27.00.

The *Ujamaa* presents a specifically African Socialist model, which is as much the product of one man, the Tanzanian leader, as of anything else. The particular situation of the country, its internal problems (union with Zanzibar) and the role it is committed to play internationally (the strong ties with Communist China are relevant in this respect, too) are discussed with sympathy for Mr Nyerere, but not without critical marginal notes.

#### AMERICA

BIROU, ALAIN. *Forces paysannes et politiques agraires en Amérique latine*. Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris 1970. 295 pp. F.fr. 33.00.

An admirable balance is struck between aspects common to all or most Latin American countries and the differences between them. Though the author is very critical of the "Food for Peace" programme sponsored by the USA administration, he does not lay all evils at the door of the "Yankees" or any special "ism". Without its excessively high birth rate Latin America could have been prosperous; now, even with the enormous growth of the cities (and of industry), agrarian overpopulation is still increasing absolutely and relatively. Exact figures are given on a wide range of subjects.

#### Brazil

SCHNEIDER, RONALD M. *The Political System of Brazil. Emergence of a "Modernizing" Authoritarian Regime, 1964-1970*. Columbia University Press, New York, London 1971. xviii, 431 pp. \$ 12.50.

Several models of the pre-1964 political system are discussed, and it is argued that "political abnormalities and military interventions" from 1930 onward helped to pave the way, also in a psychological sense, to the "hybrid 'revolution-counterrevolution'". A very thorough analysis is given of the character of the Brazilian military regime. The purges and the oppression of the Vargas

rule, blended with “efforts to develop a highly sanitized, technocratic approach”, rendered that regime contradictory and led it into the path of increasingly authoritarian dictatorship.

#### United States of America

ALLSWANG, JOHN M. *A House for all Peoples. Ethnic Politics in Chicago 1890-1936.* The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington 1971. x, 253 pp. \$ 8.95.

Nine ethnic groups (Americans of Czechoslovakian, Polish, Lithuanian, Yugoslavian, Italian, German and Swedish descent, Negroes and Jews) are studied under the aspect of their voting behaviour over the period concerned. Unpublished statistical materials have been worked up into this account of how the political system favoured acculturation, of animosities, and of efforts to unite forces. The latter led in the later 1920's to the rise of the Democratic Party, and contributed much to its long predominance.

BOSTON, RAY. *British Chartists in America 1839-1900.* Manchester University Press, Manchester; Rowman & Littlefield, Inc., Totowa (N.J.) 1971. xiv, 110 pp. Ill. £ 2.40.

Both “physical force” and “moral force” Chartists (among the latter, William, father of Andrew, Carnegie) who emigrated to the United States mostly for political reasons are the subject of this valuable study, which, besides tracing their lives, focuses on the general impact of American society on Chartist ideas and ideals. Some – such as John Francis Bray or Matthew Mark Trumbull (Brigadier-General in the Civil War and friend of President Grant) – played a role in the emerging Socialist and labour movements of the USA.

*The Fear of Conspiracy. Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present.* Ed. with commentary by David Brion Davis. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, London 1971. xxiv, 369 pp. \$ 10.00.

This volume consists of selections from intelligent and “stupid” writings, which all have in common that they are “relatively ‘pure’ examples of the conspirational mentality” (the editor's formulation). It includes items which betray a spirit of subversion as well as such that emanate from fear or belong to the category of “countersubversion”. The period covered are the two centuries up to and including the middle 1960's. There are various anti-Catholic as well as anti-Masonic “calls”, but also an anti-big-business tract by Robert M. La Follette, Earl Browder's view of a right-wing conspiracy (1939) and comparable assertions for the post-war years, including both Communist and rabidly anti-Communist authors (W. Z. Foster; J. McCarthy, L. F. Budenz). The last item deals with the anti-war protest movement seen as the outcome of deliberate subversive activities (1966).

GOREN, ARTHUR A. *New York Jews and the Quest for Community. The Kehillah Experiment, 1908-1922.* Columbia University Press, New York, London 1970. xii, 361 pp. \$ 10.00.

The New York *Kehillah* (Community) was the product of a dual process: "the struggle to maintain ethnic integrity and to achieve social accommodation", i.e., to a considerable extent, Americanization. The role the organization played in the fields of philanthropy, religion, education and crime abatement is set forth in great detail. A special chapter is devoted to the relationship between the flourishing Jewish labour movement and the *Kehillah*. The book is very well documented; the notes provide a wealth of interesting details.

GREBLER, LEO, JOAN W. MOORE [and] RALPH C. GUZMAN. *The Mexican-American People. The Nation's Second Largest Minority.* The Free Press, New York; Collier-Macmillan Ltd, London 1970. xviii, 777 pp. \$ 14.95.

Research work for this impressive volume began in January, 1964; the study was completed in 1968. The result is based upon interviews and a broad collection of primary and secondary materials (cf. the appendices). A great many assistants were engaged. After an historical introduction on emigration of the groups concerned there follow chapters on the socio-economic conditions (population patterns, education gap, housing conditions, residential segregation, and so on), social class, mobility and assimilation, the role of the churches, and "political interaction" (contact with governmental agencies, ethnic organizations). It is demonstrated that the Mexican-Americans are on the average in a somewhat better position than the Negroes. Their ability to assimilate is strongly argued and documented. Urbanization has progressed far, though the appeal of "a rural ideology" is continuing. Socially and politically, an increasing differentiation can be observed.

HERTZBERG, HAZEL W. *The Search for an American Indian Identity. Modern Pan-Indian Movements.* Syracuse University Press, Syracuse (N.Y.) 1971. xi, 362 pp. Ill. \$ 12.00.

From about the turn of the century the origins of later Pan-Indian (i.e. nationally, not tribally, organized) movements are clearly visible, although the first major organization, the Society of American Indians, was not founded until 1911. Contrary to the somewhat later religious movement, the peyote cult (blending Christian with traditional elements), it was a typically middle-class affair; educated Indians rejected the tribal values in favour of (educational) modernization and integration. The author has made use of valuable source materials in writing her book, which is the first comprehensive account of Pan-Indianism up to 1934. The years since then are summarized.

MCLAURIN, MELTON ALONZA. *Paternalism and Protest. Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Organized Labor, 1875-1905.* Greenwood Publishing Corporation, Westport (Conn.) 1971. xviii, 265 pp. \$ 11.00.

After the Civil War many planters became textile-mill owners who employed "poor whites" as labourers. The author gives an account of two short-lived

and abortive attempts, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to organize those workers. They were undertaken by the Knights of Labor and by the National Union of Textile Workers. Though they met with favour on the part of the mill hands, the opposition of the paternalistic employers, who threatened to use black labour, proved stronger. New light is shed on the position of the Southern white workers.

MUSHKAT, JEROME. *Tammany. The Evolution of a Political Machine 1789-1865*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse (N.Y.) 1971. xiii, 476 pp. Ill. \$ 15.00.

Manuscript materials and contemporary newspapers are the primary sources worked up in this study, which of course could profit, too, from a broad literature, both nineteenth- and twentieth-century, on the subject. The origins of the ill-reputed "Hall" – symbol of corruption and scrambling for office, in the non-political, fraternal, order called the "Tammany Society" – are set forth, and an impressive account is given of the changes of the economy, social tensions and political issues in New York (both State and City) during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. Against this general background the functioning of Tammany Hall and the process of "machine building" is related – a process which in 1865 had reached full maturity. It is not a black-and-white picture which the author presents, but a cautious evaluation, offering evidence both to humane motives and ambiguities, unimaginativeness and lack of real political leadership.

OTTEN, C. MICHAEL. *University Authority and the Student. The Berkeley Experience*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1970. xviii, 222 pp. \$ 7.50.

The bulk of this volume is devoted to a description of the various patterns of authority in the century preceding the "Free Speech Movement" of 1964. These patterns are as much related to the individual opinions and styles of the succeeding presidents as that they reflect social and political changes. The interpretation of the crisis of the 1960's is that it basically emanated from the dominant trend of organizational centralization, and not from such issues as Viet Nam. The solution proposed is, therefore, decentralization and autonomy, but the author is well aware of the fact that public opinion is not favourable.

PARRISH, MICHAEL E. *Securities Regulation and the New Deal*. Yale University Press, New Haven, London 1970. xi, 270 pp. \$ 8.75.

The personal papers of Felix Frankfurter, one of the relatively few big-business men who supported the New Deal, and James M. Landis were used by the author in his account of the origins of the Securities Act and similar laws. Much light is shed on the influence of pressure groups. Of special interest is the exposé of the history of securities regulation – a demand put forward by progressives ever since the heyday of Populism. An extensive bibliography is appended.

SCHULTE NORDHOLT, J. W. In de schaduw van een groot licht. De neger-revolutie in Amerika. Het Zuiden 1954-1966. Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1971. 331 pp. Ill. Maps. Hfl. 35.00.

In this volume the author of a work on the history of racial conflict in the United States (*vide* IRSH, II (1957), p. 150) gives a more detailed account, mainly for the South, of developments from 1954 to 1966; a volume devoted to later years and to the North and the West will follow. The present book is a popular description and stretches from the bus boycotts, through the sit-ins, King's actions, Birmingham, etc., to the first march on Washington and the emergence of the Black Power idea. The author, who gives many detailed facts, mainly on instances of every-day discrimination, makes no secret of his unrestricted admiration for King, whose Christian outlook he shares.

TERKEL, STUDES. Hard Times. An Oral History of the Great Depression. Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London 1970. xiii, 462 pp. £ 3.15.

"This is a memory book, rather than one of hard fact and precise statistic." The "Great Depression" is related in first-person statements, collected and shortly introduced by Mr Terkel. Very different people, from all walks of life, gave their personal impressions: millionaires, workers, musicians, government employees, senators etc. etc. are represented with, mostly, highly personal stories which evoke the atmosphere of forty years ago.

VALE, VIVIAN. Labour in American politics. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1971. vi, 172 pp. £ 2.50.

A vividly written, thoughtful synopsis of the history of American labour provides a general frame for a number of essays on various themes: "The Voluntarism of Samuel Gompers", Roosevelt's New Deal, Sidney Hillman's role in maintaining good labour-management relations during the Second World War, Senator Taft's conservatism, and the political engagement of unions. Throughout, the British author stresses specifically American phenomena and views.

Violence and the Struggle for Existence. Work of the Committee on Violence of the Department of Psychiatry, Stanford University School of Medicine. Ed. by David N. Daniels, Marshall F. Gilula [and] Frank M. Ochberg. Foreword by Coretta Scott King. Little, Brown and Company, Boston 1970. xvi, 451 pp. \$ 12.50.

The contributors to this volume are all behavioural scientists, most of them physicians. The scope of the work is very broad. Different roots of violence are discussed and adaptive alternatives offered. In the two categories we mention (choosing at random) the very illuminating study on the biological bases of aggression (R. Ch. Boelkins and J. F. Heiser), the sober evaluation of drug use and violence (J. R. Tinklenberg and R. C. Stillman), and the exposé on strategies which can cope with social conflict (F. W. Ilfeld, Jr, who contributes a study on environmental theories of violence, and R. J. Metzner).

## ASIA

GHOS, SURESH CHANDRA. *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800*. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1970. x, 205 pp. Hfl. 48.00.

The aim of this very well-documented and instructive work is "to turn attention upon the Company's servants who [...] have been pushed into the background by their own achievements": the transformation of the Company "from trading corporation to ruling power". The increase in number of civil and military officers from a few hundreds into an impressive civil service and military apparatus is described in detail. Among the most interesting items is the social life of the British community, and of their home life and contacts with the native population, especially in Calcutta.

## Afghanistan

FRÖLICH, DIETER. *Nationalismus und Nationalstaat in Entwicklungsländern. Probleme der Integration ethnischer Gruppen in Afghanistan*. Verlag Anton Hain, Meisenheim am Glan 1970. ix, 250 pp. DM 33.00.

The first part gives a survey of older and more recent theories of nationalism, and a discussion of the relation between "Empire" and "Nation State". These theoretical concepts are then applied in the second part, which deals with Afghanistan's history, its geography, ethnic composition, government structure, and economic situation. It is argued that the country, where fierce nationalist controversies seem to be absent (though the Pathans – or Pashtun – constitute only somewhat more than half of the population, and their living in both Afghanistan and Pakistan is really, and perhaps even more potentially, a problem), has yet to enter the phase of national awakening; its very backwardness has only retarded the tensions which will emerge with the process of modernization.

## China

China: *Management of a Revolutionary Society*. Ed. by John M. H. Lindbeck. Contributors: Lucian W. Pye, Chalmers Johnson, Michel C. Oksenberg [a.o.] University of Washington Press, Seattle, London 1971. xv, 394 pp. \$ 12.50. (Paper: \$ 4.95.)

With the exception of the editor's introduction and an essay by a non-specialist on China, G. A. Almond ("China and Comparative Politics"), this volume is based on a conference held in the summer of 1969. Contributions on the extent and the limitations of mass participation and on political authority are by L. W. Pye and Ch. Johnson. The section entitled "Politics within Political Hierarchies" contains studies on policy making (M. C. Oksenberg; interesting also in that influences on Mao are examined) and on provincial politics (F. C. Teiwes). The problems of restructuring society are dealt with by P. Schran (economic policies), V. H. Li (legal system), and D. J. Munro (education). The subordination of foreign affairs to domestic policies is reflected in the essays by D. W. Klein (on the management of foreign affairs) and E. Joffe, who traces the rise of Lin Piao (especially since 1963, when the PLA partly replaced the CP, as the latter's response to Mao's demands was less positive).



HSIUNG, JAMES CHIEH. *Ideology and Practice. The Evolution of Chinese Communism.* Pall Mall Press, London 1970. viii, 359 pp. £ 4.50.

"The ideal of a political elite, ruling by correct ideology, has been perpetuated for at least two millenniums, and there are no signs of its early demise." Thus reads one of the general conclusions in this remarkable study, which – combining courage in formulating very clear opinions on yet inconclusive issues with precise argument – focuses on Mao's views and politics without neglecting those of his real or pretended opponents. Intra-party conflicts are analyzed with acumen. The Cultural Revolution is included in the picture.

KLEIN, DONALD W. [and] ANNE B. CLARK. *Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism 1921-1965.* Vol. I: Ai Szu-ch'i – Lo I-nung. Vol. II: Lo Jui-ch'ing – Yun Tai-ying. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) 1971. xxiii, 1194 pp. (in 2 vols.) \$ 30.00.

Without any exaggeration it is said in the blurb of these two volumes that they constitute "the most comprehensive picture of contemporary Chinese leadership" yet available. The biographies of 433 Chinese Communists are given; many of them are unknown outside China. These biographies are (within the given compass) very detailed, and often they contain references to literature. The appendices deserve special attention; they contain, among other things, conveniently arranged lists of participants in the Soviets, the CCP organization, and the Government of the People's Republic. Here many names appear which are not included in the biographical sections.

*The Road to Communism: China Since 1912.* Ed. by Dun J. Li. Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, New York, Toronto, London n.d. [1971.] xii, 403 pp. Maps. \$ 6.95; £ 3.25.

Most of the 102 selections included in this volume have been translated by the editor. Though in extract form, the documents presented constitute, each of them, full statements on a variety of issues. The focus is on trends and evolutions. Thus, the Communists before and after 1949 are well represented in a series of systematically arranged texts which leave the Cultural Revolution aside. Other chapters – each preceded by a scholarly introduction – are devoted to the Kuomintang, the Japanese penetration, etc. There are texts by P'u-yi (Emperor of Manchukuo), Wang Ching-wei and the Japanese Count Yasuya Uchida as well as by Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi. The informative value of the book is outstanding.

WHEELWRIGHT, E. L. and BRUCE MCFARLANE. *The Chinese Road to Socialism. Economics of the Cultural Revolution.* Foreword by Joan Robinson. Monthly Review Press, New York, London 1970. 256 pp. \$ 7.50.

In their highly sympathetic though soberly formulated approach to the Cultural Revolution the authors emphasize that this book "is an exercise in institutional economics or political economy and not a treatise for specialists

or 'China-watchers'". Moral and psychological factors in general are, however, given an important place. Notwithstanding the "Mao cult" it is argued that the "heart and the direction of the Chinese Revolution is popular control over the administration", and also that Maoism is "a revolt against the imperatives of a more technological and industrial way of life".

WILSON, DICK. *The Long March 1935. The Epic of Chinese Communism's Survival*. Hamish Hamilton, London 1971. xx, 331 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 3.00.

Although the narrative of the Long March, with many quotations from participants' comments, constitutes the major part of this book – and it is valuable in itself as an excellent summary of the evidence available –, the author deals with the events from the angle of earlier and later developments as well. In the opening chapters he gives a short history, up to 1934, of the Chinese CP, focusing on the significance of revolutionary traditions (Taiping, Boxers). The enormous impact of the Long March in moulding the outlook of many leaders of today is treated in the last chapters. Four "legacies" are recognized: discipline, the guerrilla ethic, independence from Russia, and Mao's supremacy.

#### OTHER BOOKS

- ESMEIN, JEAN. *La Révolution Culturelle chinoise*. Editions du Seuil, Paris 1970. 348 pp.
- LEYS, SIMON. *Les habits neufs du président Mao. Chronique de la «Révolution culturelle»*. Editions Champ Libre, Paris 1971. 310 pp. Ill.

#### Cyprus

ADAMS, T. W. AKEL: *The Communist Party of Cyprus*. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford 1971. xxii, 284 pp. \$ 6.00.

The CP of Cyprus (AKEL) was founded in 1941; its history is treated here in a thoughtful way, balancing description with careful interpretation. At the same time, the book is a contribution to the recent history of the island, especially since 1960 (when the party became legal). A postscript continues the story to September, 1970. Of the appendices we mention the biographies of nineteen leading AKEL members.

#### India

BOUGLÉ, CÉLESTIN. *Essays on the Caste System*. Transl. with an introd. by D. F. Pocock. Cambridge University Press, London 1971. xv, 228 pp. £ 5.40.

Though the present essays originated in function of Bouglé's thesis *Les idées égalitaires*, not as the work of an Indian specialist, they constitute a truly pioneering contribution to our knowledge of the Indian caste system. The translator has acquitted himself of his task very carefully; wherever possible he has rectified obvious mistakes and misprints.

CLARKSON, STEPHEN. *L'Analyse soviétique des problèmes indiens du sous-développement 1955-1964*. Mouton, Paris, La Haye n.d. [1971.] viii, 270 pp. F.fr. 48.00.

After a historical survey, in which Roy's theory, the Stalinist position and the beginning "thaw" are dealt with succinctly, the author offers a broad picture of Soviet scholars' analyses of the causes of underdevelopment in India during the years mentioned in the title, with a postface on the period 1964-68. It is repeated several times that not the motivating ideology, but only the "analysis" is the subject; however, the careful treatment itself mirrors the overriding importance of ideology for shifts in approach and evaluation.

Essays on Gandhian Politics. *The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919*. Ed. by R. Kumar. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, London 1971. xiv, 347 pp. Maps. £ 3.25.

In 1919 the bills prepared by Justice S. A. T. Rowlatt and directed against any seditious activities or such considered as prejudicial to the security of the State were enacted. This sparked off the *satyagraha* (non-violence) movement. After a good introduction by the editor and chapters on Gandhi's thought, his position in 1919, and the organizing of the Rowlatt *satyagraha* (A. L. Basham, P. H. M. Van den Dungen, H. F. Owen), the movements and the political (and social) situation in 1919 are described in detail for the Central Provinces and Berar (D. E. U. Baker), Gujarat (K. L. Gillion), Bombay (J. Masselos), Delhi (D. W. Ferrell), and Lahore (the editor). The last chapter is on the Government of India and the first non-co-operation movement, 1920-22 (D. A. Low). A report from 1919 on Calcutta is appended.

MANDELBAUM, DAVID G. *Society in India*. Vol. I. Continuity and Change. Vol. II. Change and Continuity. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1970. xii, 376 pp.; ix, 394 pp. \$ 10.00 (£ 4.75) per vol.

"The overarching concept of Indian civilization consists in large part of the fundamental, prevailing ideas about man and society"; a basic feature of this civilization is the village, and the Indian villages are in the focus in this book, which is based on a rich literature on the subjects involved as well as on the author's own field work – carried out over a period of more than thirty years. The functioning of the *jati* groups, the *panchayat* pattern, relationships within the family, and the – affirmatively answered – question whether or not the traditional system allows for dynamism are subjects profoundly dealt with. The last years before independence provided as much material as the early and middle 1960's. Occasionally, data on Pakistan are included.

#### Indonesia

Officiële bescheiden betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950. Uitgeg. door S. L. van der Wal. Deel I. 10 aug. – 8 nov. 1945. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Kleine Serie, 36.] Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage 1971. xxiv, 616 pp. Hfl. 52.00.

The opening volume of this series of materials on the last years of the Netherlands Indies consists of 327 hitherto unpublished Dutch and Allied documents, many of them in English. They contain no sensational disclosures, but shed a vivid light on the confusion that ensued from the Japanese surrender and the proclamation of the Indonesian Republic. The reader sees the Dutch authorities, who were both unprepared and uninformed, groping for a more or less consistent policy, notably vis-a-vis the "so-called Sukarno government". Name and subject indices are appended.

SCHERMERHORN, W. *Het dagboek van Schermerhorn. Geheim verslag van — als voorzitter der commissie-generaal voor Nederlands-Indië 20 september 1946 – 7 oktober 1947.* Uitgeg. door C. Smit. Wolters-Noordhoff nv, Groningen 1970. xxx, 955 pp. (in 2 vols.) Ill. Hfl. 65.00.

After his retirement as Prime Minister, Professor Schermerhorn headed a triumvirate which was originally intended to participate in the administration of the Netherlands Indies, but was soon regarded by the Government in The Hague as "a kind of errand-running advisory committee". The words quoted here are to be found in the entry of January 28, 1947, of the present diary, which is above all a human document written, or rather dictated, by a kind-hearted Socialist who had anything but the fibre of a proconsul. The strained relations and armed conflicts with the Republic form of course the central theme of these pages. A number of related documents and an index of names are appended.

### Israel

LANDMANN, MICHAEL. *Das Israelpseudos der Pseudolinken. Antwort an Isaak [sic] Deutscher.*

DEREGH, SCHLOMO. *Der israelische Sozialismus.*

BAREL, S. *Tatsachen zum Nahostkonflikt.*

Colloquium Verlag, Berlin 1971. 1 vol. 148 pp. DM 12.80.

The present volume contains two rejoinders to leftist denunciations of the State of Israel by Professor Landmann, an essay on Israeli Socialism by Mr Deregh, and a somewhat biased historical survey of the conflict between Jews and Arabs by Mr Barel.

### Japan

BERAUD, BERNARD. *La gauche révolutionnaire au Japon.* Editions du Seuil, Paris 1970. 158 pp. F.fr. 15.00.

With obvious sympathy for the Trotskyite-inspired currents in the – very much divided – ultra-left students' and young workers' organizations (such as, e.g., *Zengakuren*), the author describes the policies adopted, and the changes therein, by the CP, the SP, and the radical trade unions and students' unions. He also deals with a number of protest movements in the 1960's. Mr Sato's policy is qualified as "nationalist, militarist, imperialist and authoritarian, not to say outright fascist".

*AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA***Australia**

BUCKLEY, K. D. *The Amalgamated Engineers in Australia, 1852-1920*. Department of Economic History, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra 1970. x, 318 pp. Ill. A\$ 5.00.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers (since 1920 the Amalgamated Engineering Union) originated from a large-scale lock-out in Britain (1852), which motivated some people to emigrate. The ties with the British labour movement remained strong for many years. In this mimeographed study a wealth of data is produced, which are related to the economic development of Australia as well as to the political and social climate in which trade unionism, and especially the ASE, could flourish. The early achievement, in Sydney and Adelaide, of the eight-hour day, the struggle for higher wages in the years before 1914, and the attitude towards the First World War and the demands of the war effort are among the subjects dealt with.

HARRIS, JOE. *The Bitter Fight. A pictorial history of the Australian labor movement*. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia 1970; distr. by International Scholarly Book Services, Inc., London. xx, 310 pp. Ill. A\$ 11.95.

Official notices, pamphlets, cartoons, photographs, and other illustrative materials, many of them very rare indeed, have been collected for this volume, which is no less remarkable for the accompanying text. The story covers the period from the arrival of the first convicts up to and including the first years after World War I, when Labour's position was largely recognized and powerful. The book gives details on strikes and other union activities as well as on political movements and currents; thus, the roles played by the IWW or the Anarchists receive attention, as compared to their importance no less than the Labour Party or the major unions. A very full bibliography is appended.

*Prelude to Power. The Rise of the Labour Party in Queensland 1885-1915*. Ed. by D. J. Murphy, R. B. Joyce [and] Colin A. Hughes. The Jacaranda Press, Milton (Qld) 1970. xx, 336 pp. Ill. A\$ 6.95.

In 1915 the labour movement won political power in Queensland; succeeding volumes will be devoted to the question of how it used it. The present book consists of essays and studies by the last-mentioned editor ("Labour in the Electorates"), the first-mentioned editor (four contributions, among them a study on the changing structure of the party and further biographies, e.g., of T. J. Ryan), and several others. Of a more general nature are the contributions by J. B. Dalton (a survey of the labour movement in Queensland), J. R. Laverty (on the economy, 1860-1915), and B. J. Guyat (the labour press, 1880-1915).

*EUROPE*

HORECKY, PAUL L., Ed. *East Central Europe. A Guide to Basic Publications.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1969. xxv, 956 pp. \$ 27.50.

—. *Southeastern Europe. A Guide to Basic Publications.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1969. xxiv, 755 pp. \$ 25.00.

These annotated area guides are works of great scholarship initiated by the Subcommittee on East Central and Southeast European Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. The countries represented in the first mentioned volume are Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Poland; those in the second volume, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia. In both cases, the first part consists of an "overview" of the whole area, where studies relevant to supra-national (Comecon) organizations and others which deal with more than one country are listed. In the sections on the separate countries the arrangement of the materials is as follows: general reference aids and bibliographies; the land; the people; history; the state; the economy; the society; intellectual and cultural life. In the two "overview" parts the arrangements are slightly different. In the first volume there is a special section on the Sorbians and the Polabians. Many cross-references considerably enhance the usefulness. The annotation of the items, selected with care and comprising older ones, too, is such as could be expected from a numerous staff of specialists. The two volumes are an invaluable tool for students of social history and for those of other branches or disciplines.

*Sozialstruktur und Organisation europäischer Nationalbewegungen.* Unter Mitw. von Peter Burian hrsg. von Theodor Schieder. R. Oldenbourg, München, Wien 1971. 177 pp. DM 36.00.

Papers read (some in a revised form) and discussions held at a conference in Cologne (1969) are reproduced in this volume, which contains much information on several European national movements in the nineteenth century. The role of the middle class was outstanding in most of them, and dominated their organizational structures as well. We mention the special studies on the movements in the following countries: Italy (R. Romeo), Ireland (K. B. Nowlan), Croatia (M. Gross) and Germany (W. Zorn), the Danish and Finnish national movements being dealt with by P. Bagge and P. Renvall, respectively. The "small nations" (the Czechs receive much attention) and their national awakening are discussed from a socio-historical angle by M. Hroch.

**Austria**

BARON, GERHART. *Der Beginn. Die Anfänge der Arbeiterbildungsvereine in Oberösterreich.* Hrsg. von der Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte für Oberösterreich, Linz an der Donau 1971. 389 pp. Ill. Not for sale; apply POB 14, Linz.

The first eleven Upper Austrian workers' educational associations (in Linz, Steyr, Mauthausen and eight other towns), founded in the years 1868-74, are described here in great detail. The author gives much interesting information

on the economic and social conditions in each of the communities dealt with, and points out other activities undertaken by groups of workers, related and not related with the associations, for instance the consumers' co-operatives, which often owed their foundation to the associations. The book is beautifully produced; there are many illustrations not easily to be found elsewhere.

**HAUTMANN, HANS.** *Die verlorene Räterepublik. Am Beispiel der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschösterreichs.* Europa Verlag, Wien, Frankfurt, Zürich 1971. 285 pp. S 132.

The first edition of this work was noticed on p. 95 of the previous issue. The present second edition has been revised on some points: errors of fact were corrected, passages omitted, and new insights introduced. Thus, e.g., the relations of Koritschoner with Lenin have received a different treatment, as have Franz Werfel's connections with the Red Guard and the CP.

**Karl Renner.** *Eine Bibliographie.* Zus.gest. von Hans Schroth, unter Mitarbeit von Elisabeth Spielmann, Gerhard Silvestri, Ernst K. Herlitzka. Eingel. von Karl R. Stadler. Europa Verlag, Wien, Frankfurt, Zürich 1970. 152 pp. S 260.

The short introduction gives an uncritical summary of Renner's life and of his views. The bibliography is chronologically arranged; for each year there are separate headings for books and pamphlets, and for newspaper and periodical articles. Sixteen titles are mentioned under "literature about Karl Renner". The last item is a list of Renner's literary inheritance which is in the Austrian Public Record Office.

**LEICHTER, OTTO.** *Otto Bauer. Tragödie oder Triumph.* Europa Verlag, Wien, Frankfurt, Zürich 1970. 395 pp. S 198.

Partly by lavishly quoting from Bauer's writings and making use of his own recollections the author gives a vivid picture of the one-time leader of Austrian Social Democracy. Definite answers to pertinent questions are not always given; thus, e.g., Bauer's attitude towards the Soviet Union, as it is discussed here, remains somewhat enigmatic. Interesting is the sobering treatment of "Austro-Marxism". The differences between Bauer and Renner are dealt with extensively; for the years 1918-34 they are considered to have been rather small.

#### OTHER BOOKS

**FLORENCE, RONALD.** *Fritz [Friedrich Adler]. The Story of a Political Assassin.* The Dial Press, New York 1971. viii, 337 pp.

#### Belgium

**DELRUELLE, NICOLE.** *La mobilité sociale en Belgique. Analyse des résultats d'un sondage national.* Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Bruxelles n.d. vi, 106 pp. B.fr. 117.

This mimeographed volume is a by-product of an inquiry into electoral behaviour conducted in 1968. Special attention is paid to the distinctive features of social mobility in Flanders, Wallonia and the capital.



### Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak Political Trials 1950-1954. The Suppressed Report of the Dubček Government's Commission of Inquiry, 1968. Ed. with a preface and a postscript by Jiří Pelikán. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1971. 360 pp. \$ 10.95.

The documents contained in this report are "top secret" in Czechoslovakia at present. A sincerity and a readiness to discover the full truth behind the trials which are unparalleled in other Communist countries where victims of purges have been rehabilitated is coupled with a series of proposals for thorough changes in the political system. The Commission's work constitutes an eminent source on the "Prague Spring" as well.

KUSIN, VLADIMIR V. *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring. The Development of Reformist Ideas in Czechoslovakia 1956-1967.* Cambridge University Press, London 1971. vi, 153 pp. £ 2.60.

After an introduction on the Czechoslovak CP's rise to power and the early 1950's there follows a systematic treatment of currents of thought aiming at a reform, or a revision of various tenets of Communism as it had evolved during the Stalinist period. The author deals with men such as Vaculík (reform of the – actual – legal system), Kosík (philosophy: early Marx), Šik (the economy) and Špaček (party reform), and with the change of accents in historiography. In his conclusions he tries, among other things, to answer the question how Dubček, a member of the "inmost apex of the Party hierarchy" could become associated with the reform tendencies. In his case, "personal sincerity and integrity" provide the clue.

The Secret Vysočany Congress. Proceedings and Documents of the Extraordinary Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 22 August 1968. Ed. and with an Introd. by Jiří Pelikán. Transl. from the Czech by George Theiner and Deryck Viney. Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London 1971. vii, 304 pp. £ 3.50.

Almost the whole of the speeches and many of the interruptions from the hall on the first day of the Congress are now available thanks to the fact that they were tape-recorded. As they were devoted largely to rather technical questions about the election of a new Central Committee, the interest of the proceedings lies mainly in the idea they render of the atmosphere – the Russians being in the immediate neighbourhood of the factory in which the Congress was held. Various other documents are included, such as the memorandum compiled for the Fourteenth Congress on a long-term programme.

### Eire

ALTER, PETER. *Die irische Nationalbewegung zwischen Parlament und Revolution. Der konstitutionelle Nationalismus in Irland 1880-1918.* R. Oldenbourg, München, Wien 1971. 232 pp. DM 40.00.

Newspapers, pamphlets, police reports, collections of letters in various archives are the most important materials used for this very commendable study. Parliamentary records have not been systematically explored; thus

the study centres on the movement at large rather than on the details of the work of the Irish Parliamentary Party in London, though this aspect is not neglected. The first part deals, in a more general way, with the party's history, the second with its contribution to re-inforcing the Irish national consciousness, the third with the nationalist press and the symbols used by the party, and the fourth with "nationalism and social change" after Parnell's leadership. A short analysis of the social composition of the party is added. Throughout, its ambivalent position is stressed: revolutionary agitation (also a means to collect money from Americans of Irish descent) is practised alongside legal and parliamentary action.

#### France

BERNSTEIN, SAMUEL. *Auguste Blanqui and the Art of Insurrection*. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1971. 364 pp. £ 4.00.

For an appraisal of this political biography of Blanqui we may refer to our notice of the French translation, which was published before the original, in *IRSH*, XV (1970), p. 501.

BRANA, P., J. CAVIGNAC [et] Y. CUQ. *Le mouvement ouvrier en Gironde (1870-1939)*. Institut Aquitain d'Études Sociales, Bordeaux 1971. 72 pp. F.fr. 9.00.

Since the eighteenth century the Gironde region has become increasingly urbanized. The economic and social evolution from about 1750 to 1870 is dealt with at some length. Then follows a concise account, based in part on trade unions' archives and interviews, of the history of the labour movement from the days of the Commune, through the struggles between Syndicalism and the advocates of political action, up to the beginning of the Second World War.

CHAUVET, PAUL. *Les Ouvriers du Livre et du Journal. La Fédération française des travailleurs du livre*. Préface de F. Besnier. Les Éditions Ouvrières, Paris 1971. 350 pp. F.fr. 34.00.

The first part of this work, which is based on intimate knowledge, sketches the history of the *Fédération du Livre* (CGT) from its origins in the nineteenth century up to May, 1968. Notwithstanding occasional demonstrations of independence (protest against the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolution, 1956), the union as a rule has obeyed, since World War II, Communist paroles. The second part contains a systematic treatment of the structures, the evolution and the administration of the *Fédération*. Much is made of the spirit of solidarity and comradeship among its members.

DEPPE, FRANK. *Verschwörung, Aufstand und Revolution. Auguste Blanqui und das Problem der sozialen Revolution im 19. Jahrhundert*. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt/M. 1970. v, 299 pp. DM 17.00.

From a left-wing Socialist angle the author deals with Blanqui's efforts to organize vanguards to spark off mass revolutions, and their defense. Several theories on revolution (e.g., Brinton's, which is severely criticized) are examined. The author finds that in Blanqui's writings the "controversial unity of the theory of society and that of action" remains unsolved.

EDWARDS, STEWART. *The Paris Commune 1871*. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1971. xv, 417 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 4.50.

"The Commune as a revolution was not just one stage in a gradual social progress, but a 'tiger-leap', one of those moments that cancel historical time." And: the "legend is greater than the actual event". Seen in the light of such assertions, the lively description of Paris at the end of the Second Empire, the treatment of the "government of national defection", and the minute account of the Commune days together constitute a relatively sober account, for which the author has used many primary sources. Marx's evaluation is discussed, not without a critical undertone; in so far as the author is committed, his sympathies are rather with the Anarchist approach toward the Commune.

FEHLBAUM, ROLF PETER. *Saint-Simon und die Saint-Simonisten. Vom Laissez-Faire zur Wirtschaftsplanung*. Kyklos-Verlag, Basel; J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1970. xi, 159 pp. DM 24.50. (Paper: DM 19.50.)

The aspect of economic planning in Saint-Simonism is accounted for in this study, which takes into consideration the "political, sociological and philosophical doctrines" from which it derives. As a rule, the author does not go beyond the year 1832, when the Saint-Simonians split and their movement proper came to an end. Saint-Simon's inspiration is set forth; Bazard, Enfantin and I. Péraire receive most attention. The "Expositions" of the First and the Second Year constitute the most important sources.

FELD, CHARLES, avec la collaboration de François Hincker. *Paris au front d'insurgé. La Commune en images. Dictionnaires et Encyclopédies Diderot*, Paris 1971. 311 pp. Ill. F.fr. 81.60.

A rich selection from contemporary illustrations (photographs, paintings, drawings, caricatures) as well as extracts from (or reproduction of) newspaper articles, letters, books and pamphlets produce a fascinating picture of life in France in the 1860's, the war, the Commune, its suppression and aftermath. Much information is contained in the great number of short biographies of *Communards*, among them several of persons who until now were almost unknown. The album is of a very high standard of artistic and printing technique.

FIELDS, A. BELDEN. *Student Politics in France. A Study of the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France*. Basic Books, Inc., New York, London 1970. ix, 198 pp. \$ 7.95.

The history of the UNEF is related up to 1965, but in a postscript the events of May-June, 1968, are discussed briefly. The focus in the historical sections is on the years since 1944. The swing to the left became manifest in 1962, when the UNEF left the anti-Communist International Student Conference; in 1964 it joined the Communist-dominated IUS, which eventually led to its decomposition. In a systematic approach the specifically French situation is analyzed. The high degree of student activism is attributed, in part, to "the authoritarian process of socialization during childhood and adolescence"; another factor is the "absolute-value rationality" in French political culture.

GUILLEMIN, HENRI. *L'Avènement de M. Thiers et Réflexions sur la Commune*. Gallimard, Paris 1971. 313 pp. F.fr. 32.00.

Bismarck possessed, in France, a "fifth column", and his most willing collaborators were those people who headed the civil service and the army in charge of the Paris region. Thus the author, who defines his book as a "pamphlet", formulates his main thesis. He elaborates on this in the first part of this book, which deals extensively with the time between January 28, 1871 (capitulation signed) and March 18 (beginning of the Commune). The second part consists of reflections on the Commune and its adversaries.

MARCHAND, MARIE-HELENE. *Les conseillers généraux en France depuis 1945*. Armand Colin, Paris 1970. 213 pp. Maps. F.fr. 52.00.

This is a study of the members of the departmental *conseils généraux* since 1945. For the first section, which deals with the social and political background of the members, the author has drawn on computerized data from the Ministry of the Interior, while the second section, which is devoted to their functions, is in part based on interviews. The volume is provided with a considerable number of maps, tables and graphs.

*L'Ouvrier français en 1970. Enquête nationale auprès de 1116 ouvriers d'industrie*. [Par] Gérard Adam, Frédéric Bon, Jacques Capdevielle [et] René Mouriaux. Armand Colin, Paris 1970. 276 pp. F.fr. 38.00.

The scope of this inquiry among over a thousand workers is a broad one; it encompasses, e.g., the attitudes, grouped according to party, trade-union and church affiliation as well as to the number of employees in the firm where the respondents worked, towards the application of birth regulation. Major themes are life-standard expectations, rejection and adoption of trade-union membership (and preferences), political choices, family life, and social and economic mobility. The text is completed by a great number of graphs and tables.

*Problèmes de la Révolution socialiste en France. Semaine de la pensée marxiste (22-29 avril 1971)*. Editions Sociales, Paris 1971. 285 pp. F.fr. 10.60.

The "Week of Marxist Thought" was attended by Communists, Socialists and Catholics, politicians and university professors. We mention L. Sève, J. Piette, P.-H. Chombart de Lauwe, J. Bruhat, J. Rougerie and E. Labrousse. The papers read were mostly short; discussions took place. Subjects were "alienation", "Socialist democracy", lessons to be drawn from the Paris Commune, and the problems of class and political alliances.

SCHNEIDER, GERHARD. *Der Libertin. Zur Geistes- und Sozialgeschichte des Bürgertums im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart 1970. 320 pp. DM 30.00.

Whatever else this book may be, it is indisputably an invaluable semasiological history of the French word *libertin* and its derivatives up to the end of the seventeenth century. Originally designating a certain type of heresy fought

by Calvin and his followers, the word soon became a term of abuse for any ideological *nonconformity* (supposed to involve moral depravity), though it could also be used in a positive, anti-absolutist, sense. No one will deny that its final restriction to its present meaning has something to do with the history of the bourgeoisie, but in spite of his Marxist incantations Dr Schneider does not convincingly show that the same applies to the earlier stages.

SORIA, GEORGES. Grande histoire de la Commune. Edition du centenaire 1871-1971. Tome 1. Les origines. Tome 2. Les protagonistes. Tome 3. Une révolution française. Tome 4. La guerre civile. Tome 5. Les lendemains. Livre Club Diderot, Paris 1970; 1971. 380 pp.; 380 pp.; 380 pp.; 372 pp.; 404 pp. Ill. Maps. F.fr. 680.00. Not singly obtainable.

This is a lavishly produced and illustrated work on the Paris Commune, published on the occasion of its centenary. It is essentially a work of compilation, written from a Communist vantage point. Vol. I, starting with the Exhibition of 1867, covers the previous history, while Vol. V is wholly devoted to the aftermath. In between the reader will find a glowing account of what happened in the spring of 1871. Each volume has a separate bibliography; a very detailed index covers the work as a whole.

STAFFORD, DAVID. From Anarchism to Reformism. A study of the political activities of Paul Brousse within the First International and the French socialist movement 1870-90. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1971. xiv, 367 pp. £ 4.00.

Paul Brousse, the first to be called a "possibilist", has at last been made the subject of an excellent political biography, which concentrates on his Anarchist and earlier Socialist years. One of the most interesting conclusions, at which the author arrives on the basis of overwhelming evidence, is that Brousse's reformism was strongly influenced by Anarchist notions. Thus, Brousse's being immune from Marxist inclinations was a consequence of earlier insights. Brousse's political life after 1890, when his influence rapidly dwindled, is summarized.

STEARNS, PETER N. Revolutionary Syndicalism and French Labor: A Cause without Rebels. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick (N.J.) 1971. viii, 175 pp. \$ 9.00.

Concentration on the ideology of the Revolutionary Syndicalist movement has prevented historians so far from acknowledging the broad gap between it and the average worker, whose aims were both less far-reaching and more realistic. This is the main thesis of the present study, which possesses pioneering qualities, is well written and based on much evidence. Accents are shifted on several other points; thus it is argued that the thesis of the French industrial backwardness needs correction. In the twenty years preceding 1914 revolutionary rhetoric never attracted the majority of the working class; it remained, in an economic situation of stability, a concern of the few. Cf. Dr Stearns's interesting debate with Dr Mitchell mentioned above on p. 252.

WILSON, FRANK L. *The French Democratic Left 1963-1969. Toward a Modern Party System*. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1971. xi, 258 pp. \$ 8.95.

The subtitle should not be considered to suggest success, the last of the three major efforts to achieve unity of the non-Communist Left having met with failure and ended in chaos. This development is explained, among other things, by the lack of able reformers and leaders who could strongly appeal to the voters at a time when the "catchall" party replaces the more ideological one, by the strength of Communism (which makes it unlikely that any party on the Left could be successful if it were contributing to a weakening of polarization), and by the difficulties experienced in tracing a new foreign policy. A good and precise account is given of the "clubs" in the first half of the 1960's, of Defferre's presidential campaign (1965), and Mitterrand's federation, which, after electoral defeats, suffered from growing internal tensions.

## OTHER BOOKS

- ANSART, PIERRE. *Naissance de l'anarchisme. Esquisse d'une explication sociologique du proudhonisme*. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1970. 263 pp.
- CHOURY, MAURICE. *Les Cheminots dans la Bataille du Rail*. Librairie Académique Perrin, Paris 1970. 373 pp. Ill.
- DANSETTE, ADRIEN. *Mai 1968*. Plon, Paris 1971. 473 pp.
- Les femmes et la Révolution 1789-1794*. Prés. par Paul-Marie Duhet. Julliard, Paris 1971. 237 pp. Ill.
- LECŒUR, AUGUSTE. *Croix de guerre pour une grève. Cent mille mineurs contre l'occupant 27 mai - 10 juin 1941*. Plon, Paris 1971. 186 pp. Ill.
- MOUSNIER, ROLAND. *La Plume, la Faucille, et le Marteau. Institutions et Société en France du Moyen Age à la Révolution*. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1970. 404 pp.

## Germany

- Akten der Reichskanzlei. Weimarer Republik*. Hrsg. für die Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften von Karl Dietrich Erdmann, für das Bundesarchiv von Wolfgang Mommsen unter Mitw. von Walter Vogel. Harald Boldt Verlag, Boppard/Rh.
- Das Kabinett Scheidemann*. 13. Februar bis 20. Juni 1919. Bearb. von Hagen Schulze. lxxvii, 554 pp. 1971. DM 60.00.
- Das Kabinett Müller I*. 27. März bis 21. Juni 1920. Bearb. von Martin Vogt. lxxi, 375 pp. 1971. DM 60.00.
- Das Kabinett Cuno*. 22. November 1922 bis 12. August 1923. Bearb. von Karl-Heinz Harbeck. lvi, 799 pp. 1968. DM 60.00.
- Das Kabinett Müller II*. 28. Juni 1928 bis 27. März 1930. Bearb. von Martin Vogt. lxxxviii, 1682 pp. (in 2 vols.) 1970. DM 180.00.
- Die Entstehung des Youngplans*. Dargestellt vom Reichsarchiv 1931-1933. Durchges. und eingel. von Martin Vogt. Harald Boldt Verlag, Boppard/Rh. 1970. 396 pp. DM 30.00.

The archives of the former *Reich* Chancellery during the Weimar Republic are now in the custody of the Federal Record Office at Koblenz. Their importance for any student of that period being obvious, the present publication of documents, cabinet by cabinet, is highly welcome; each volume has a name and subject index. The editors have had to make a choice, which they account for in extensive introductions. Not even the cabinet minutes are printed in full, but the omission of inessentials has made room for reports of important meetings on other levels (e.g., with trade unionists), memoranda, etc. Sometimes there are considerable lacunae in the material, notably in the case of the Scheidemann government; usually these could be supplied from other archives. The report on the genesis of the Young Plan, written by government order to refute the allegations of Dr Schacht and now published for the first time, is in a sense a companion volume to *Das Kabinett Müller II*.

August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky. Hrsg. von Karl Kautsky Jr. Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., Assen 1971. lx, 394 pp. Ill. Hfl. 60.50.

For the history of the SPD and to a smaller extent that of European Socialism (especially Austria) these letters constitute a real mine of information. Hopes and conflicts (e.g., with Rosa Luxemburg) are reflected in a particularly lively way: though vastly different in character and background, Kautsky and Bebel became friends who discussed party (and personal) problems without much restraint. The annotation is satisfactory.

Birth of the Communist Manifesto. With Full Text of the *Manifesto*, all Prefaces by Marx and Engels, Early Drafts by Engels and other Supplementary Material. Ed. and Annot., with an Introd. by Dirk J. Struik. International Publishers, New York 1971. 224 pp. Ill. \$ 7.50. (Paper: \$ 3.25.)

Among the "other Supplementary Material" mentioned in the title there is Marx's account of the history of the Communist League, derived from his polemical booklet against Karl Vogt. In his introduction of almost 80 pages the editor goes into questions regarding the intellectual background of Marx and Engels as well as into their roles in the revolution of 1848-49.

Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution 1916-1923. Ein Sammelband. Hrsg. von Werner E. Mosse unter Mitw. von Arnold Paucker. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1971. viii, 704 pp. DM 72.00.

The Leo Baeck Institute herewith presents a companion volume to *Entscheidungsjahr 1932*, which was noticed in IRSH, X (1965), p. 337. The three contributions that take up most of the space are at the same time those most likely to cater for social historians: Werner T. Angress deals with the role played by Jews in revolutionary politics, Werner Jochmann with the expansion of antisemitism, and Eva G. Reichmann with the changing consciousness of the German Jews. A detailed bibliography as well as indices of subjects and names are appended.



FRIEDLÄNDER, SAUL. *L'antisémitisme nazi. Histoire d'une psychose collective.* Editions du Seuil, Paris 1971. 205 pp. F.fr. 18.00.

The well-known Israeli historian has tried his hand at an explanation of Nazi antisemitism. His approach is in part socio-historical, but above all it is psychoanalytical, stressing the neurotic and even religious personality of Hitler and his "true believers". Now over against the pundits of Marxism the author is of course right in stating that the physical destruction of the Jews was an *auto-da-fé* rather than an economic or political expedient. But when it comes to probing into the underlying motives, Ernst Nolte's analysis makes a much sounder impression than Professor Friedländer's Oedipus complex. And the incorporation of men like Eichmann with the "true believers" is an obvious fallacy, for in him we have the type of human robot who, as Simon Wiesenthal aptly put it, if so ordered would have destroyed all Germans with an initial letter K or all red-haired people – an even more appalling phenomenon.

GILLIS, JOHN R. *The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis 1840-1860. Origins of an Administrative Ethos.* Stanford University Press, Stanford 1971. xvi, 269 pp. \$ 8.75.

In this nuanced study the focus is on three questions. The first is the gradual change of Prussian society in the 1840's and its consequences for the members of the civil service. One of the modern trends was the gradual tightening of educational standards. The second is the role played by state officials in the 1848 revolution; many lower and younger ones were active in workers' and other democratic organizations. The ensuing reaction – the third question – meant for the civil service its submission to the Government; it became a tool of its policies and served the authoritarian State.

GRUNBERGER, RICHARD. *A Social History of the Third Reich.* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1971. viii, 535 pp. Ill. £ 5.00.

The present volume is a very readable compilation, but certainly no social history in any scholarly sense. The author deals with many aspects of life in Nazi Germany, stressing the element of mass hysteria rather than that of terrorism. But whereas he is overly critical of the average citizen, he is not of his source materials and least of all of his own work, which is marred by a large number of howlers.

HEER, HANNES. *Burgfrieden oder Klassenkampf. Zur Politik der sozialdemokratischen Gewerkschaften 1930-1933.* Luchterhand, Neuwied, Berlin 1971. 240 pp. DM 7.80.

The central thesis of this book, which is based on much material, is that the weak attitude of the ADGB was less a matter of failing leadership than of the reformist traditions entrenched in the unions. The relations with big business are related from the First World War onward, and the loosening of the ties with the SPD, which also comes up for its share of criticism, is regarded as a process leading to capitulation before Nazism. Documents are appended; in part, they do not appear to support the argument completely.

KUHN, AXEL. *Hitlers außenpolitisches Programm. Entstehung und Entwicklung 1919-1939*. Ernst Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 1970. 286 pp. DM 34.00.

Dr Kuhn, a young German historian, has written an interesting study on Hitler's attitudes vis-a-vis what, characteristically, he used to call "the other world", and on the genesis of his blueprint for a new foreign policy. The second part of the book is concentrated on the unsuccessful love affair with England, which made the *Führer* drop the relevant plank of his "programme". In the author's opinion this was the only revision Hitler ever made, but was not his policy towards France, from his exchange of letters with Hervé in 1930 to the Franco-German Frontier Declaration, equally at variance with the holy writ of *Mein Kampf*? However this may be, taken as a whole the argument is well-documented and thought-stimulating.

LIEBKNECHT, KARL. *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*. I. Hrsg. und eingel. von Helmut Böhme. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt/M.; Europa Verlag, Wien 1969. xxvi, 320 pp. DM 25.00. (Paper: DM 18.00.) —. *Militarisme, guerre, révolution. Choix de textes et prés. de Claudie Weill*. Trad. de l'all. par Marcel Ollivier. François Maspero, Paris 1970. 270 pp. F.fr. 23.70.

The first-mentioned volume contains extracts from Liebknecht's speeches and writings up to 1912; unfortunately, publication of Vol. II of Dr Böhme's anthology has been cancelled. The French volume covers Liebknecht's political career in its entirety. It does not include his critique of, e.g., the judiciary, but it does full justice to the "revolutionary tribune".

MCLELLAN, DAVID. [Ed.] *Marx's Grundrisse*. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1971. ix, 156 pp. £ 2.50.

"The present edition [...] has the modest aim of making available the most important passages of [the *Grundrisse*] with enough commentary to make them intelligible in the context of Marx's thought as a whole." It constitutes the first translation into English; that of the introduction is, as compared with the one contained in Marx's *Critique* (*vide* below) less literal, less precise, but more fluent.

MARX, KARL. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. With an Introd. by Maurice Dobb. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1971. 264 pp. £ 1.50.

In the introduction the *Critique* is compared with *Capital* and with the *Grundrisse*. It is followed by a new translation (from Vol. 13 of the *Werke* edition). Appended are translations of Marx's introduction to the unfinished *Grundrisse*, and Engels's review of the *Critique* which appeared in the Berlin paper *Das Volk*, 1859.

MARX, KARL and FREDERICK ENGELS. *The Cologne Communist Trial*. Transl. with an Introd. and Notes by Rodney Livingstone. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1971. 298 pp. £ 3.00.

The introduction sketches the situation of revolutionary retreat, emigrants' hopes and the split of the Communist League. The texts (mostly in the

*Selected Works* translation) are Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, and Marx's and Engels's *Heroes of the Exile*, as well as later statements (e.g., Marx's *Herr Vogt*, Appendix 4, and Engels's *On the History of the Communist League*). In the appendices relevant documents are reproduced, such as the March and June, 1850, addresses to the League, newspaper articles and letters to the editor.

Die Nachlässe in den Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bearb. in der Murhardschen Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek von Ludwig Denecke. Harald Boldt Verlag, Boppard/Rh. 1969. xiii, 268 pp. DM 60.00.

Die Nachlässe in den deutschen Archiven (mit Ergänzungen aus anderen Beständen). Bearb. im Bundesarchiv in Koblenz von Wolfgang A. Mommsen. Harald Boldt Verlag, Boppard/Rh. 1971. xxxix, 582 pp. DM 90.00.

The present two volumes localize and briefly describe the papers left behind by, or (notably in the former case) the manuscript collections relating to, thousands of German politicians, military officers, scholars, etc. Their importance for students of German history requires no further comment. While Dr Denecke has confined himself to materials in the custody of the West German libraries, Dr Mommsen's plan is a wider one: not only has he inquired into archives and private collections outside the Federal Republic, but in most entries he mentions the often curious adventures of the papers in question (even if they have been destroyed). Both volumes are alphabetically arranged according to names, but the latter will be followed by a separate index.

NIEL, HENRI. Karl Marx. Situation du Marxisme. Préface de Henri Chambre. Desclée de Brouwer, Paris 1971. 315 pp. F.fr. 28.00.

This study is based on a series of lectures held by the late Father Niel before the *Facultés Catholiques* in Lyons. A short "intellectual biography" is followed by chapters dealing with various aspects: the "influences" (Hegel, but also, e.g., Lorenz von Stein), evolution, materialism, history, atheism and the critique of religion ("Theology has to rediscover its dignity as a critical science"), class struggle and the state, and the critique of capitalism. Marxian, but also several Marxists', views are discussed; as to the former, continuity between the early and the later Marx is strongly argued.

RUBEL, MAXIMILIEN. Karl Marx. Essai de biographie intellectuelle. Nouvelle éd. revue et corrigée. Editions Marcel Rivière et Cie, Paris 1971. xxi, 460 pp. F.fr. 42.00.

The first edition of this thoughtful study was favourably reviewed in IRSH, II (1957), p. 501. In the second edition minor corrections have been made. A new preface contains a critique of critiques: apart from those who annex Marx for the defense of state capitalism (in the "Socialist countries"), L. Goldman, L. Althusser, A. Künzli and several others are the targets of sharp attacks. The author upholds his main thesis of Marx's theory as both a sociology and a social ethic.

SCHLEUNES, KARL A. *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz. Nazi Policy toward German Jews 1933-1939.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Chicago, London 1970. viii, 280 pp. \$ 7.95.

During the first six years of the Third *Reich* there was no consistent policy vis-a-vis the Jewish minority, not even on the part of Hitler, who allowed rival factions to dabble in the "Jewish question"; the practical measures that were taken, from boycott to emigration, failed to solve anything. This main thesis of the present volume may be startling, but the author does succeed in making it plausible. That the twisted road did lead to Auschwitz after all was, in his view, largely conditioned by the above failure.

STEGMANN, DIRK. *Die Erben Bismarcks. Parteien und Verbände in der Spätphase des Wilhelminischen Deutschlands. Sammlungspolitik 1897-1918.* Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Köln, Berlin 1970. 584 pp. DM 48.00.

Dr Stegmann, a pupil of Fritz Fischer, has written an enormously detailed study on the alliance of junkers and heavy industry in Wilhelmine Germany. The ups and downs of this alliance, its many forms and instruments, its impact on domestic and foreign policy, its anti-Socialism and its ideology are only some of the aspects dealt with. The volume is largely based on unpublished materials.

WEHLER, HANS-ULRICH. *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs 1871-1918. Studien zur deutschen Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte.* Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen 1970. 437 pp. DM 34.00.

Dr Wehler has collected and thoroughly revised fourteen historical studies, most of which deal with unfavourable and inauspicious, but in the author's opinion symptomatic, aspects of Bismarckian Germany. Biographical sketches of Friedrich Kapp, Eckart Kehr and Gustav Mayer as well as essays on the problems of German economic and social history are also included. The notes run to over a hundred pages and contain so many titles that one wonders whether the author could repeat A. J. P. Taylor's dictum "I have not mentioned any book that I have not, at least, seen the outside of".

WEINBERG, GERHARD L. *The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany. Diplomatic Revolution in Europe 1933-36.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 1970. xi, 397 pp. \$ 12.75; £ 5.80.

Professor Weinberg herewith presents the first volume of what must be called the first real monograph on the foreign policy of the Third *Reich*. The account is primarily based on a wealth of unpublished and even hardly known materials; numerous current errors are refuted in the process. The author draws a convincing picture of Hitler's personal style of government, which was "clear in its ends but entirely flexible in its means and instruments". Unlike A. J. P. Taylor, he does not represent the *Führer* as a moderate and basically opportunistic revisionist, but he concurs with that historian in stressing the elementary data of Germany's "natural weight" on the one hand, and the weakness and dissension of her neighbours on the other.

## OTHER BOOKS

- LEVIOVA, S. Z. Marks v germanskoj revolucii 1848-1849 godov. Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'", Moskva 1970. 375 pp. Ill.
- Marx Engels Verzeichnis. Werke, Schriften, Artikel. Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1968. 28\*, 358 pp.
- Marx Engels Verzeichnis. Band II. Briefe, Postkarten, Telegramme. Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1971. 22\*, 817 pp.
- MÜSSENER, HELMUT. Die deutschsprachige Emigration in Schweden nach 1933. Ihre Geschichte und kulturelle Leistung. Tyska Institutionen, Stockholms Universitet, Stockholm 1971. vi, 794 pp.
- OTTO, BERND. Gewerkschaftliche Konzeptionen überbetrieblicher Mitbestimmung. Bund-Verlag GmbH, Köln 1971. xii, 240 pp.
- WEBER, ROLF. Die Revolution in Sachsen 1848/49. Entwicklung und Analyse ihrer Triebkräfte. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1970. xvi, 390 pp.

## Great Britain

- BEST, GEOFFREY. Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875. [The History of British Society.] Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1971. xvii, 316 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 4.00. (Paper: £ 1.50.)

For the series of which this volume is a part we refer to our notice of Professor Harrison's book (*vide* below, p. 282). Professor Best pays much attention to the economic background, the growth of the cities and the amazing speed with which the country was covered with railway lines. Further, the lives, and the (changing) conditions of life, of the classes (workers, professional men, office clerks and so on) are pictured in a lively way. Other items are "respectability", "social dissidence" (in various shapes), and crime.

- BINGHAM, MADELEINE. Scotland under Mary Stuart. An Account of Everyday Life. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London 1971. 268 pp. Ill. £ 3.50.

This traditional social history of sixteenth-century Scotland caters for a wide readership. It is vividly written and contains many telling anecdotes, but unfortunately it does not meet scholarly standards.

- COATES, B. E. and E. M. RAWSTRON. Regional Variations in Britain. Studies in Economic and Social Geography. B. T. Batsford Ltd, London 1971. xiv, 304 pp. Maps. £ 4.50.

Excellent figures (maps) and tables enhance the value of this work, which is a mine of information on the (great) variations in economic and social development between the areas in Britain. Employment, incomes, female employment, growth of the tertiary sector in the economy, population (increase of immigrants), medical services – on all these and other issues precise data are given, pertaining to the 1950's up to about 1966.

- COLE, MARGARET. The Life of G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1971. 304 pp. Ill. £ 4.95.

In this well-written biography the author stresses her late husband's qualities as an educator. The great influence Cole exerted on many Socialist politicians

is fully documented. The author's own reminiscences contribute much to the vividness of the story, which contains not a few details never published before. This holds true, e.g., for the account of the Nuffield Reconstruction Survey (World War II). It is also interesting to learn how Cole contributed in an effective way to the preservation of archival materials in the possession of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis when they were threatened by Nazi aggression.

The English Defence of the Commune 1871. Ed. and Introd. by Royden Harrison. Merlin Press, London 1971. 292 pp. £ 2.25.

In his interesting introduction the editor argues that not only Marx's initial condemnation of the Parisian uprising and his hesitations on its course prevented him from defending it (before its suppression) before the British workers, but that his attitude towards the British Positivists had also to do with his silence: criticizing their views fundamentally, Marx had to acknowledge the fact that Beesly, Bridges and Frederic Harrison staunchly defended the *Communards*. The mentioned Positivists are well represented in this volume; their writings (in part also those on the war previous to the Commune) are intelligent and their positions remarkable. Some testimonies by unknown people are included, as well as statements by R. Congreve, Th. Smith, and W. Morris.

HARRISON, J. F. C. The Early Victorians 1832-1851. [The History of British Society.] Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1971. xix, 195 pp. Ill. £ 4.00. (Paper: £ 1.50.)

In the general editor's preface E. J. Hobsbawm defines the aim of social history "today" as that of "writing the history of society"; it is devoted, of course, to class and social structure, but also to historical demography and, in general, "the life and activities of the common people". The present volume in the series deals with the history of British society between 1832 and 1851. Recent studies in this field have been synthesized into an overall survey which is yet detailed in several major questions. The social effects of industrialization take pride of place: the rise of the middle class, the conditions of the "poor" (encompassing a rather broad spectrum), but also the value system as well as social thought and social movements. Repeatedly, gaps in our knowledge about the period are signalized. The notes have been restricted, as in other volumes in the series, which is intended to serve a broader readership than just the specialists, to almost a bare minimum, but general references are made to "further reading" titles.

INGLIS, BRIAN. Poverty and the Industrial Revolution. Hodder and Stoughton, London 1971. 437 pp. Ill. £ 3.75.

This study, covering the years 1780-1835, is largely in the field of social history, though economic and political history both come into the picture as well. The general question posited is how society took the course which led, in our days and in the wealthiest countries, to a state of affairs in which poverty has not altogether disappeared. Thus, it is also ideas and mentalities, myths and prejudices which are scrutinized. The economists and the utilitarians are dealt with at length, as are, for instance, the motives of the "Luddites". The book is, therefore, of broad scope, which also involves discussion of morals (the "double standard").

KEATING, P. J. *The working classes in Victorian fiction*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1971. xiv, 310 pp. Ill. £ 3.50.

"Apart from a few Chartist novels imaginative prose is non-existent" in genuinely working-class literature, which mainly consists of pieces of regional poetry. Consequently, the chapters in this well-documented study deal mainly with novels and other literary expressions on working-class life written by outsiders. We mention George Gissing, Walter Besant, Rudyard Kipling, and Arthur Morrison. The "Cockney School", too (Henry Nevinson and others), comes up for special attention.

LEESON, R. A. *United We Stand. An illustrated account of Trade Union Emblems*. Adams & Dart, Bath 1971. 72 pp. Ill. £ 2.10.

The heyday of trade-union emblems was between 1870 and 1900, when some 100,000 emblems were sold. Many were displayed on the wall at home, others decorated pubs. A great number are reproduced in the illustrations. The text, explaining their meaning, contains not a few remarkable particulars on the unions concerned, and on their attitudes towards society at large.

MIDDLETON, NIGEL. *When Family Failed. The Treatment of Children in the Care of the Community during the First Half of the Twentieth Century*. Victor Gollancz Ltd, London 1971. 335 pp. £ 2.80.

This is a lively story of gradual, mostly slow, change in the treatment of children of the poor, of broken-up families and of unmarried mothers. The nineteenth-century legacy – the Poor Law and its harsh execution – is extensively described. Developments in the social services are put against the background of ethical standards and the social climate of the time under consideration. The Boer War marked a turning point: children's physical condition became a matter of broad concern (school meals). In evaluating things of the past, the author uses the measuring staff applicable to the modern welfare state.

PRITT, D. N. *Law, Class and Society*. Book I. *Employers, Workers and Trade Unions*. Book II. *The Apparatus of the Law*. Book III. *Law and Politics and Law in the Colonies*. Lawrence and Wishart, London 1970; 1971. 174 pp.; 127 pp.; 151 pp. £ 2.00 per vol.

These three volumes will be followed by a fourth on "the law of property, the law of personal relations, the law of contract and tort, the police and the armed forces, and the topic of civil liberties". In the present volumes the author, who could profit by a vast experience, seeks "to discuss under what influences and pressures the law has grown and developed through the centuries, and is still growing and developing". The first volume is devoted to labour conflicts and to a number of legal barriers against the workers' class struggle; the second deals with judges, juries, lawyers, etc.; the third contains an account of cases in which independence movements (India, Ghana) were involved. Throughout, the law is considered to serve capitalist interests.



Robert Owen. *Prince of Cotton Spinners. A Symposium*. Ed. by John Butt. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1971. 265 pp. Ill. £ 3.75.

Some stubborn myths about Owen are refuted in this collection of interesting essays. For instance, the "Socialist label fits Owen very uneasily" (editor's introduction). A well-balanced account, which sets new accents, on Owen's social and economic thought is contributed by J. H. Treble. Owen's views on education, his evaluation of the working class, and his work as a factory reformer are dealt with by M. Browning, W. H. Fraser, and J. T. Ward, respectively. I. Donnachie writes on a Scottish Owenite community, the editor deals with Owen as a business man, and J. R. Hume offers details on the buildings of New Lanark, the compactness of its lay-out, machinery, etc.

Robert Owen. *Prophet of the Poor. Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth*. Ed. by Sidney Pollard and John Salt. With an Introd. by Sidney Pollard. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1971. xi, 318 pp. £ 5.00.

Owen's many-sided appeal is reflected in the studies collected in this volume. J. F. C. Harrison points out the gaps in the Owen studies which should be filled in the future. Chushichi Tsuzuki deals with Owen's attitude toward revolution, R. G. Garnett with the Community experiments, H. Silver with Owen's views on education, W. H. G. Armytage with Owen's American friends. On Owenism in France and Germany there are contributions by H. Desroche and E. Hasselmann. Other studies in this highly interesting and important volume are by Eileen Yeo, J. Saville, A. J. Robertson, W. H. Oliver, and Margaret Cole.

ROBERTS, ROBERT. *The Classic Slum. Salford life in the first quarter of the century*. Manchester University Press, Manchester 1971. xiii, 219 pp. Ill. £ 2.64.

The author was himself brought up in a "classic slum" (Engels), and his book, which is of an uncommonly evocative quality, is "the talk [...] of men and women, fifty or more years ago, of ideas and views repeated in family, street, factory and shop, and borne in mind with intent". But the "talk" – masterly though it is reproduced and synthesized – is corroborated by research which provided the author with hard facts and figures. The work is an important contribution to social history, especially for the Edwardian era.

ROSE, MICHAEL E. [Ed.] *The English Poor Law 1780-1930*. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1971. 335 pp. £ 2.75.

Mr Rose has brought together a variety of documents and comments on the reform of the old Poor Law, and the introduction of the new one in 1834, the latter's increasing unpopularity and its decay. These documents (most of them in extract form) comprise official statements as well as criticisms; such writers as Malthus, Colquhoun, W. D. Evans, J. Chamberlain and S. Webb are represented. Besides a good general introduction, which gives a historical summary, Mr Rose has introduced each major section, and written (biographical and other) notes to each of the more than a hundred items.

The Sheffield Outrages. Report presented to the Trades Unions Commissioners in 1867. With an Introd. by Sidney Pollard. Adams & Dart, Bath 1971. xix, xvi, 452 pp. £ 5.25.

The present volume is a facsimile reprint of the report presented to the Royal Commission by the sub-committee on the trade-union outrages in Sheffield. Notably the minutes of evidence, in which the examiners, by asking many thousands of questions, try to get at the bottom of such practices as "rat-tening", constitute a mine of information on the tool-making craftsmen, who in some respects still lived in the days of the guild system. Professor Pollard has provided an able introduction.

SWARTZ, MARVIN. The Union of Democratic Control in British Politics during the First World War. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, London 1971. xiv, 267 pp. Ill. £ 3.15.

Itself the product of dissatisfaction among radicals over the Liberal Party's policies, especially, but not exclusively, over foreign policy, and Liberal and Labour pacifism of various shades, the Union of Democratic Control, founded on August 5th, 1914, became an important factor in the process which led to Labour overtaking the Liberals. A very commendable account is given here; it is based on a wealth of primary sources. The book reveals and illustrates important trends in British politics which, though hard to classify – neither radical Socialism nor pacifist Liberalism would provide a catchword –, combine strong traditions with awareness of change.

THOMPSON, DOROTHY. [Ed.] The Early Chartists. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke 1971. xii, 307 pp. £ 3.75. (Paper £ 2.00.)

In many cases the editor has selected documents which space allowed to publish *in toto*. Her selection, drawn from newspapers, placards, pamphlets, etc., not only gives insight into political ideas, but also illustrates the character of the people, their motives and their social and cultural backgrounds. The early Chartists are approached here in an original way, therefore, and the social roots of their movement are laid bare with much clarity.

THOMPSON, LAURENCE. The Enthusiasts. A Biography of John and Katharine Bruce Glasier. Victor Gollancz Ltd, London 1971. 256 pp. Ill. £ 3.00.

Of the three Scots whose role in creating the ILP and the Labour Party was outstanding, Hardie, MacDonald and Glasier, the last one is the least known. This biography of him and his wife is based on the rich family archives. Born around 1860 as the son of a farmer, Glasier grew up under difficult circumstances in Glasgow, joined the Socialist League, and became a forceful propagandist for a non- or even passionately anti-Marxist Socialism, which was inspired to a considerable extent by Morris's ideas. The book is also interesting in that it sheds light on the clash of ideas in the history of Labour (e.g., conflicts between Hardy and MacDonald) from about 1890 to the year of Glasier's death (1920).

The Unknown Mayhew. Selections from the *Morning Chronicle* 1849-1850. Ed. and Introd. by E. P. Thompson and Eileen Yeo. Merlin Press, London 1971. 489 pp. Ill. £ 3.25.

A selection from among the eighty-two letters which Mayhew published in the *Morning Chronicle* from October, 1849, to December, 1850 (which averaged 10,500 words), and which were used by him in the compilation of his *London Labour and the London Poor*, is preceded by two introductions. The first-mentioned editor discusses Mayhew's relations with the *Chronicle* (which ended in bitter conflict), the second his significance as a social investigator. The published letters – on the "honest" and the "dishonest poor" (those who "won't work") – contain uncommonly vivid descriptions and much statistical material. The volume is lavishly illustrated.

VESTER, MICHAEL. Die Entstehung des Proletariats als Lernprozeß. Die Entstehung antikapitalistischer Theorie und Praxis in England 1792-1848. Mit einem Vorwort von Alfred Krovoza und Thomas Leithäuser. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt/M. 1970. 454 pp. DM 28.00.

Each of the six "struggle cycles" into which the author divides the first period of the labour movement in Great Britain (1792-1848) is proclaimed to be understood at the same time as a "learning cycle". The theory of "the working class" is seen as a process catapulted by practice. This approach also allows for the incorporation of regressive moves. The focus is on Owenism and Chartism. In his evaluation of the early labour movement the author criticizes many other interpretations such as "vulgar Marxism", which reduces the working-class struggle to material pauperization only.

WILSON, HAROLD. The Labour Government 1964-1970. A Personal Record. Weidenfeld and Nicolson; Michael Joseph, London 1971. xix, 836 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 4.80.

Mr Wilson's record makes fascinating reading. Whether he tells about his experiences with Rhodesian leaders, his contacts with President Johnson, his discussions with Prime Minister Kosygin or the numerous labour conflicts with which he was confronted, the picture is full of interesting details. Often the language is quite unequivocal: to African ambassadors to the UN, who repeatedly took a more radical position than their governments, an "exaggerated herd instinct" is attributed. On internal party conflicts the book contains less information. The passages on Mr Wilson's own pro-Common-Market attitude do not seem to have been retouched, nor do his judgments on his collaborators; Mr Jenkins, e.g., comes up for much praise.

### Italy

Giuseppe Garibaldi e la tradizione garibaldina. Una bibliografia dal 1807 al 1970. Raccolta con introd. e annot. da Anthony P. Campanella. Comitato dell'Istituto Internazionale di Studi Garibaldini, Grand Saconnex, Ginevra 1971; distr. by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. 2 vols. xxvii, 595 pp.; vi, 715 pp. Hfl. 79.20.

This mimeographed bibliography lists over sixteen thousand books, pamphlets, articles and unpublished materials, usually with location(s) and often critically annotated, which have to do with Garibaldi in some way or other, including people and organizations bearing his name. The printed materials listed are in fifty different languages and dialects. The value of the bibliography is considerably enhanced by a detailed index of names.

SPRIANO, PAOLO. *Storia del Partito comunista italiano*. II. Gli anni della clandestinità. III. I fronti popolari, Stalin, la guerra. Giulio Einaudi editore, Torino 1970. xiii, 431 pp.; xiii, 362 pp. L. 5000; 4200.

The first volume of this monumental history was favourably reviewed in *IRSH*, XII (1967), p. 514. The main sources are, for the second and third volumes as for the first, the *Archivio Centrale dello Stato* and the archives of the Italian CP in the custody of the Gramsci Institute. The history of the party – both in Italy and abroad, in the emigration – is admirably put against the background, first of the Italian Government's policies, secondly of the developments in international politics, and thirdly of the Comintern's directives, including, of course, those announcing or explaining shifts. Vol. II is devoted to the years 1926-35; it opens with the conflict which opposed Bordiga and the Soviet leaders, continues with the debates on Trotskyism (an unpublished letter by Trockij belongs to the eminently important materials not contained in the archives mentioned above), and ends with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Vol. III deals with the Abyssinian and Spanish Civil Wars; the latter became a training ground for a new generation of Communists. It continues the story until Italy's taking part in World War II. A fourth volume is planned on the Resistance and the Republic.

#### The Netherlands

DILLEN, J. G. VAN. *Van Rijkdom en Regenten. Handboek tot de Economische en Sociale Geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek*. Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage 1970. viii, 698 pp. Hfl. 59.80.

At the time of his death, Professor v. Dillen had almost completely finished the manuscript of this book, which has now been edited by W. M. Zappey. The versatile author's work is of eminent importance for the economic history of the "Republic", but also for its social history. For a long time to come it will remain the authoritative synthesis of research on the subject, much of which was carried out by, or under the guidance of, the author. Very informative are, e.g., the sections on the economic bases of Dutch power in the seventeenth century, the gradual decline of that position of relative superiority since about 1650, or on the increase of social tensions in the eighteenth century.

EEDEN, FREDERIK VAN. *Dagboek 1878-1923*. Voor het Frederik van Eeden-Genootschap uitgegeven en toegelicht door H. W. van Tricht. Deel I. 1878-1900. Deel II. 1901-1910. Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn N.V., Culemborg 1971. 500, xxiii pp.; 650, xx pp. Ill. Hfl. 35.00; 45.00. Not singly obtainable.

The famous Dutch novelist, psychiatrist and social reformer Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932) left a diary, an abridged version of which was published

in the 'thirties. Notably the first two volumes of the present unabridged edition will be welcomed by specialists in Dutch social history, since v. Eeden was active in the movement for productive workers' associations and founded the "Walden" community (1898-1907). In this connection his contacts with European Anarchists (Kropotkin, Reclus, Tařrida del Marmol and others) are of interest. During his visits to the United States preparatory work was done for a community to be founded in that country (1908-09). Scattered throughout the diary are the expressions of his hopes and beliefs as well as the disappointments which he encountered in his efforts to solve the social problem and to create a world without capitalism. Although the diary is highly self-centred, it records interesting meetings with members of the European and American intelligentsia such as Lady Welby and Sayous (in this edition misspelt Sayons). The get-up of the volumes is excellent.

**ROMEIN, JAN & ANNIE.** *Erflaters van onze beschaving. Nederlandse gestalten uit zes eeuwen.* 9e, herz. en bijgew. druk. Em. Querido's Uitgeverij N.V., Amsterdam 1971. 895 pp. Ill. Hfl. 49.00.

Since their first publication on the eve of the Second World War, these biographical portraits of thirty-six distinguished politicians, artists, scholars and philosophers, from Erasmus and William the Silent to Vincent van Gogh and Domela Nieuwenhuis, have found a wide readership. Like the companion volume *De lage landen bij de zee* they bear witness to a Marxist approach, which Jan Romein in his contributions sometimes combined with ventures into individual psychology. Unlike its predecessors, the present ninth edition is produced in a handsome format and lavishly illustrated.

**ROOY, P. DE.** *Een revolutie die voorbij ging. Domela Nieuwenhuis en het Palingoproer.* Fibula-Van Dishoeck, Bussum 1971. 109 pp. Ill. Hfl. 7.90.

Especially in Amsterdam, but to a lesser extent in other Dutch cities as well, the years 1885-87 were characterized by social tensions. The anti-monarchical activities of the radical Socialists provoked fear and suppression. Among the populace a strong feeling against the police resulted in bloody riots in the summer of 1886; the Socialists were held responsible – erroneously, as the "Orange fury" of the next year was to prove. The author gives a lively description based on various primary sources; the book is beautifully illustrated. The title ("A revolution that passed") is defied by the contents.

#### Poland

**BLIT, LUCJAN.** *The Origins of Polish Socialism. The History and Ideas of the First Polish Socialist Party 1878-1886.* Cambridge University Press, London 1971. ix, 160 pp. £ 3.00.

The young founders of the first "Proletariat" party in Congress Poland were the pioneers of Marxism in that country. The manifestos, tracts and three periodicals they published constitute the most important materials on which this study is based. In an introductory chapter the author sketches the changes in Polish society since the 1863 uprising, especially the disappearance

of the gentry as the national elite, which paved the way for a new, urban intelligentsia. Such men as Ludwik Waryński became Socialists as students. Russian and German influences are carefully traced. The party was suppressed in 1885 by the arrest of its leaders.

### Spain

GARCIA, QUINTIN. Les coopératives industrielles de Mondragon. Préface d'Henri Desroche. Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris 1970. 168 pp. F.fr. 24.00.

This booklet gives a good but not very critical outline of the rise, the growth, and the organization of the industrial co-operative movement in the Basque provinces, which began in 1956, and now comprises a large number of works with a variety of products. The movement originated from the *Escuela profesional*, which was founded in 1943 by Father Arizmendi.

GEORGEL, JACQUES. Le franquisme. Histoire et bilan (1939-1969). Editions du Seuil, Paris 1970. 399 pp. F.fr. 30.00.

This well-balanced book, based on existing literature, deals with the history of the Franco regime, its ideology and its organization, and ends up with the conclusion that the structural crisis that led to the Civil War will still exist on the day of the Caudillo's death. The author pays more attention to politics than to social history. The *treintistas'* manifesto is erroneously mentioned as an example of the more revolutionary tendency in the CNT (p. 85). The book has a good bibliography but no index.

IZARD, MIQUEL. Revolució industrial i obrerisme. Les "Tres Classes de Vapor" a Catalunya (1869-1913). Ediciones Ariel, Barcelona 1970. 157 pp. Maps. Ptas 140.

The *Tres Classes de Vapor*, an organization of the Catalan cotton workers, was the most important of the anti-Bakuninist workers' organizations in Catalonia. It first turned toward the Marxist Social-Democratic parties and then, in later years, toward possibilism and "Socialist opportunism". The author of this important monograph deals with the background of the Industrial Revolution in Spain and the expansion of the cotton industry and the cotton proletariat. He gives as many concrete figures as possible, and his appendices contain interesting maps. But because of lack of authentic sources of the movement itself, the inner history of the organization (especially its foundation, the years 1874-81, and the turn toward opportunism) often remains obscure.

LEVAL, GASTON. Espagne libertaire (1936-1939). L'œuvre constructive de la Révolution espagnole. Editions du Cercle; Editions de la Tête de Feuilles, Paris 1971. 402 pp. F.fr. 35.00.

With more enthusiasm than criticism the author glorifies the FAI-CNT inspired experiments in "libertarian democracy", especially in the countryside, during the Civil War. Those experiments, which here receive a vivid

account (with personal recollections by the author), are said to represent the true revolution, over against, e.g., the Government's activities. The Anarchists' taking part in the Valencia, and earlier in the Catalan, Government is not only fiercely condemned, but attributed in part to such negative qualities as vanity.

MARAVALL, JOSÉ MARÍA. *El desarrollo económico y la clase obrera (Un estudio sociológico de los conflictos obreros en España)*. Ediciones Ariel, Caracas, Barcelona 1970. 260 pp. Ptas 190.

The author, in this interesting study, gives exceedingly important and systematic surveys of the strikes and other labour conflicts in present-day Spain, especially during the years 1966-67. The strikes have been systematized according to, for instance, number, motives, geographic distribution, and branch of industry. In the theoretic part of this study in industrial sociology, the author pays more attention to economic developments as causes of conflicts and tensions than to class antagonism and class structure.

MINTZ, FRANK. *L'Autogestion dans l'Espagne révolutionnaire*. Bélibaste, Paris n.d. [1970.] 188 pp. F.fr. 30.00.

The author tries to arrive systematically at a number of answers to problems concerning the collectivizations in the Spanish Civil War. Why did they take place? How did they proceed? What were the results? Did they have original features? The book contains interesting facts and overall figures, but it makes a slipshod impression. As the author has not used any new basic material, the value of his generalizations is limited; they are too far removed from the historical context and the concrete problems of the collectivizations.

*The Republic and the Civil War in Spain*. Ed. by Raymond Carr. Macmillan, London, Basingstoke; St Martin's Press, New York 1971. x, 275 pp. £ 3.90; \$ 10.00.

The body of the present volume consists of three essays on the Second Republic, and five on the Civil War. The majority of the contributors focus on political and military affairs, but there is an interesting study by Hugh Thomas on Anarchist agrarian collectives. Both parts are ably introduced by the editor, who has also included chronological tables.

ROJAS, CARLOS. *Porqué perdimos la guerra*. Ediciones Nauta, Barcelona 1970. 441 pp. Ill. Ptas 650.

This book is an anthology of testimonies written by the losers of the Spanish Civil War; it is beautifully produced and illustrated with a great quantity of excellent photographic material, and has no scholarly pretensions. It contains fragments from memoirs and other writings, mostly published in exile, by forty-two well-known personalities who played a role in Republican Spain (divided into four groups: politicians, military men, artists and intellectuals, foreigners). Among all these leading lights one rather misses the "Unknown Republican".



Saltuv. La empresa comunal. Una experiencia española de socialización. [S.A. Laboral de Transportes Urbanos de Valencia, Valencia 1970.] 207 pp. Ill. Maps. Ptas 300 plus postage (direct from SALTUV).

This celebratory volume of the SALTUV, the public transport company in Valencia, contains a number of articles (by, *inter al.*, Manuel Lizcano and Juan López, a one-time Minister on behalf of the CNT and now attached to the company), and a factual account of this Spanish "experiment in socialization". The SALTUV is completely owned by the employees and tries to realize, within the framework of the present polity and economy, a piece of workers' self-management.

## OTHER BOOKS

PEIRATS, JOSÉ. La CNT en la revolución española. 2a ed. Ruedo Ibérico, Paris 1971. 3 vols. viii, 345 pp.; vii, 306 pp.; vii, 364 pp. Ill.

**Union of Socialist Soviet Republics - Russia**

BOHMANN, ALFRED. Menschen und Grenzen. Band 3. Strukturwandel der deutschen Bevölkerung im sowjetischen Staats- und Verwaltungsbereich. Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Köln 1970. 427 pp. DM 72.00.

Many tables and a commenting text provide a wealth of information based on Soviet statistics (census reports) on demographic evolutions from the First World War up to and including the returns of the 1970 census: population growth in the separate republics, urbanization, the numerical strength of the nationalities are the foremost items. Then follows a very full description of the German minorities up to 1939, and of the latter in the territories occupied since 1939; here, due to the fact that the Soviet Union does not communicate differentiated information either on the number of Germans in each territory (Latvia, the Moldavian SSR, etc.) or on their regional and social backgrounds, there are unavoidable gaps in the picture presented.

HYDE, H. MONTGOMERY. Stalin. The History of a Dictator. Rupert Hart-Davis, London 1971. 679 pp. Ill. Maps. £ 3.95.

In spite of the claim made in the blurb, the present volume is not likely to prove the definitive study of Stalin, but without doubt it makes fascinating reading. Although he is sometimes none too critical in this respect, the author has made use of a wealth of (mostly printed) sources. The book is essentially a political biography, with a few glimpses of Stalin's personal life; his record as a Marxist theoretician is not so much as mentioned.

KUCHEROV, SAMUEL. The Organs of Soviet Administration of Justice: Their History and Operation. With a foreword by John N. Hazard. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1970. xxiv, 754 pp. Hfl. 96.00.

A very full exposé is given here of the Soviet legal system and its organs. The impact of old traditions dating from the tsarist times becomes clear. The abandoning of the expectations cherished in 1917 furthered a union of

(allegedly) Marxist notions (the former lawyer Lenin did not develop a theory for judicial reform after the revolution) with – often multiplied – traditional practices. Many instances of party interference with legal procedures are given, for the first years as well as for the 'thirties and the recent trials of intellectuals and writers. Though a public opinion is emerging, the fundamental lack of justice to be obtained for the individual confronted with the regime's arbitrariness remained.

LENIN, W. I. *Ausgewählte Werke in sechs Bänden*. Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1970; 1971. 871 pp.; 886 pp.; 783 pp.; 846 pp.; 783 pp.; 751 pp. Ill. M 8.50 per vol.

This six-volume anthology, published on the occasion of Lenin's hundredth birthday, contains the writings included in the three-volume edition mentioned in IRSH, VII (1962), pp. 520f., plus a number of writings supposed to be of special topical interest; "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" is not among them. The order is basically a chronological one. To each volume a number of explanatory notes and an index of names are appended.

LENINE, V. *Œuvres*. Tome 17. Décembre 1910 – avril 1912. Tome 18. Avril 1912 – mars 1913. Tome 39. *Cahiers de l'impérialisme*. Tome 40. *Cahiers sur la question agraire 1900-1916*. Tome 41. 1896 – octobre 1917. Tome 42. Octobre 1917 – mars 1923. Tome 43. Décembre 1893 – octobre 1917. Tome 44. Octobre 1917 – novembre 1920. Tome 45. Novembre 1920 – mars 1923. Editions Sociales, Paris; Editions du Progrès, Moscou 1968; 1969; 1970. 646 pp.; 686 pp.; 895 pp.; 567 pp.; 669 pp.; 693 pp.; 829 pp.; 674 pp.; 886 pp. Ill. F.fr. 13.00 per vol.

Vols 17 and 18 contain writings from December, 1910, to March, 1913. In the first, the struggle against the "liquidators" is a foremost theme; the second reflects the strengthening of the revolutionary movement and the precision of Lenin's ideas on the agrarian question. Vol. 39 contains the text of the notebooks of 1916, which were eventually worked up in Lenin's book on imperialism; Vol. 40 those on the agrarian question (composed from 1900 to 1916). The supplementary Vols 41-45 contain "new" texts included in the fifth Russian edition: Vols 41 and 42 articles, speeches and notes, Vols 43-45 letters, telegrams and notes including the letter to Stalin of March 5, 1923, announcing the rupture. The annotation, though strongly biased and, on ticklish points, incomplete, elucidates many details.

MALE, D. J. *Russian Peasant Organisation Before Collectivisation. A Study of Commune and Gathering 1925-1930*. Cambridge University Press, London 1971. viii, 253 pp. £ 4.00.

The October Revolution left intact the commune (*mir*), and the Communists were not successful in replacing the institution by rural soviets; the commune remained, by and large, a unit of local administration as well as a land-holding unit. In 1925, when the slogan "Enrich yourselves" seemed to guarantee the peasants a substantial measure of freedom, their interests and that of the Government demanded an increase of agrarian output, and this neces-

sitated a reform of the commune. The book gives a precise account of structure and organization of the commune – with due regard for great differences from case to case –, programmes for modernization, the strengthening of the party hold, and the destruction of (most of) the communes under the collectivization.

POSPIELOVSKY, DIMITRY. *Russian Police Trade Unionism. Experiment or Provocation?* With a foreword by Leonard Schapiro. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1971. xi, 189 pp. £ 2.50.

S. V. Zubatov's attempt to create loyal, non-revolutionary and independent unions did not find favour with Marxist historiographers, especially in the USSR. The author of this important and – as far as available sources admit – exhaustive study, in which Zubatov's collaborators receive a fair share of attention as well, analyzes this police officer's motives. Interesting, too, is the response his ideas produced with progressive Jewish labour leaders. Zubatov's attempts were frustrated by extreme conservatives (Pleve), who were unable to differentiate between the average worker and revolutionary agitators.

SUTTON, ANTONY C. *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development 1930 to 1945.* Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford 1971. xxiv, 401 pp. \$ 12.50.

The first of the three volumes in this series was very favourably reviewed in IRSH, XIV (1969), pp. 313f. The second volume is mainly devoted to the years mentioned in the title, though in various cases it was necessary to carry the story further back. It is proved beyond doubt that in this period, too, technological development was, with very few exceptions, due to "borrowing" from developed countries. The importance of the Lend-Lease programme is clearly put forward. The technical-assistance agreements concluded between 1930 and 1945 are the central theme; the data provided on their effects in the growth of the USSR's economy are numerous and often remarkably precise.

"Vpered!" 1873-1877. *Materialy iz archiva Valeriana Nikolaeviča Smirnova – From the Archives of Valerian Nikolaevich Smirnov.* Otoberal, snabdil primeč. i očerkom istorii "Vpered" / Ed., ann. and with an outline of the History of "Vpered" by Boris Sapir. Tom/Vol. I. *Očerk istorii "Vpered" – On the History of "Vpered"*, transl. by Brian Pearce. Tom/Vol. II. *Dokumenty/Documents.* D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht 1970. 403 pp.; 556 pp. III. Hfl. 215.00.

The first volume contains, in Russian and in English, "an outline of the history" of the Populist paper *Vpered!*, "which is at the same time a commentary on the documents included in the second volume". An impressive account is given of the ideas of, and the political issues debated among, Russian revolutionaries in the 1870's. Of much interest are also the biographies of Lavrov's collaborators such as V. N. Smirnov and G. A. Lopatin, and of P. N. Tkačev. For Vol. II have been selected those parts of the Smirnov collection which

are of the greatest interest from the viewpoint of the paper's history. They are printed in Russian only, and they have been supplemented with documents from Lavrov's papers in the possession of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis.

ZELNIK, REGINALD E. *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia. The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg 1855-1870.* Stanford University Press, Stanford 1971. ix, 450 pp. \$ 15.00.

This study is to be followed by one covering the 1870's. In the introductory chapters, the author portrays urban institutions, characterized up to 1870 by corporate stratification (though weaker than in Europe before the French Revolution), and the origins of factory labour, as well as the social structure of St Petersburg before Alexander II's accession to the throne. Besides giving a full picture of conditions of life, police attitudes toward the workers, efforts aimed at an amelioration of their lot, and of labour unrest culminating in the first major strike in the city, the author analyzes with much acumen factors relevant to the differences between Russia and the West: the strong rural ties of the workers, the polity's fear of "proletarianization" *versus* the economic need for skilled, city-oriented workers, the autocratic suppression of legal movements.

#### OTHER BOOKS

- DE MAEGD-SOËP, CAROLINA. *De progressieve vrouw in de Russische literatuur. Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de Russische samenleving in de jaren 1855-1866.* Desclée De Brouwer, Brussel 1970. 428 pp.
- LEJKINA-SVIRSKAJA, V. R. *Intelligencija v Rossii vo vtoroj polovine XIX veka.* Izdatel'stvo "Mysl", Moskva 1971. 368 pp.
- NEĚLOV, M. M. *Massovo-političeskaja rabota Kommunističeskoj partii v period ustanovenija i upročenija Sovetskoj vlasti (Oktjabr' 1917 g. – ijul' 1918 g.). Zapadno-Sibirskoe Knižnoe Izdatel'stvo, Omskoe otdelenie, Omsk 1970. 359 pp.*
- SENJAVSKIJ, S. L. [i] V. B. TEL'PUCHOVSKIJ. *Rabočij klass SSSR (1938-1965 gg.).* Izdatel'stvo "Mysl", Moskva 1971. 534 pp.
- ŠKARATAN, O. I. *Problemy social'noj struktury rabočego klassa SSSR (Istoriko-sociologičeskoe issledovanie).* Izdatel'stvo "Mysl", Moskva 1970. 472 pp.

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