

of research, for hitherto such detailed studies have only been carried out for parts of Germany, such as Bavaria and the coal mining communities of the Ruhr, which had very specific traditions and social structures.

A valuable appendix brings together Mann's published articles – subtle reflections on method in the historical social sciences, and a brilliant historiographical essay on the German resistance to Nazism. These pieces serve to underline the combination of great intellectual ambition and sustained rigour which was the hallmark of the author's project.

Tim Mason

CAREW, ANTHONY. *Labour Under the Marshall Plan. The Politics of Productivity and the Marketing of Management Science*. Manchester University Press, Manchester 1987. x, 293 pp.

This study is an important contribution to our knowledge of the Marshall Plan and its implications. Focusing on the roles of US and West-European labour, this book simultaneously attempts to convey an understanding of the Marshall Plan as part of a broader, social transformation. The author makes it clear at the outset that he does not accept the customary portrayal of the Plan as some kind of conspiracy against labour. While acknowledging the cloak-and-dagger side of US involvement, Carew instead seeks to reconstruct the reshaping of European workers' consciousness in terms of objective trends of longer duration. Therefore Labour under the Marshall Plan repeatedly refers to the period after that of the Marshall Plan to make the outcome of the events of 1948-51 visible and understandable.

In an introductory chapter, the Administrator of the Marshall Plan, Paul Hoffman, is quoted as saying that the Plan amounted to a contest between the American assembly line and the communist party line. The trade unions were key players in this contest, and in the chapters on Western European and American labour, on the struggle over international trade union organisation, and on labour's representation in the Marshall Plan administrative structure, their commitments, dilemmas and actions are forcefully portrayed. Even so, the Plan itself was more than a design for the labour movement. "The hidden agenda was the long-term restructuring of Western capitalism." (p. 17).

This assessment justifies the central place taken up in the book by the main research theme, the productivity campaign which was part and parcel of the Plan. Chapters 9 through 12 contain important material on the Anglo-American Council on Productivity and the European Productivity Agency and the way in which the productivity campaign conducted by these bodies affected labour.

The book reserves a great deal of attention for the ideological processes involved in spreading the productivist gospel in Europe. The European trade unionists selected for fact-finding tours to the US often tended to advertise industrial practices which the American unions were struggling against. Thus, the industrial team reports written in the framework of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity "failed to analyse in any depth the background to the American unions' alleged

greater productivity consciousness. The 'negative incentives' for greater effort, such as the higher level of unemployment in the United States and the anti-union thrust of the Taft-Hartley Act, were rarely mentioned, and then in a non-critical manner" (p. 140).

While the American objective clearly was to raise a new generation of labour leaders favourable to the emerging mass-production economy with which postwar capitalism was to outflank redistributive experiments, the receptivity to work speed-up on the part of European trade union leaders was based on a preconceived misperception of their own real strength. Thus the TUC "seemed to overestimate the degree to which the British economy was being run in the interests of labour, to exaggerate the extent to which Labour had already transformed society" (p. 155).

Receptivity to and effectiveness of productivity programs meanwhile were significantly different in Britain, France, West-Germany and Italy, the four countries for which Carew systematically assesses his findings. In France and Italy, majority trade unions were communist-led and pro-US split-offs failed to secure benefits from "what was essentially a businessman's programme" (p. 176). German and British trade union leaders, on the other hand, interpreted the "Keneysian" restrictions on private finance in industrial management as a step towards socialism, which they should not disturb by objecting to the new work methods that accompanied this transformation in order "[not] to undermine the position of the 'functional leaders in industry whose work maintains industrial units as going concerns for the people to take over in good order when the time comes'" (p. 204, quoting Arthur Deaking).

The failure of trade union leaderships in Western Europe to adequately interpret the "managerial revolution" including the productivity campaign, or indeed the Cold War, as phases of *capitalist* restructuring and redeployment may have been of crucial importance in their decision to zealously contribute to the "marketing of management science". The force and sophistication with which this science was marketed as a brand of contemporary common sense contributed greatly to this failure. Actual interference with European labour in the sense of bribery and pressure was really marginal compared to the long-term effects of for instance the Ford Foundation programme on the overseas promotion of American managerial values and know-how, which Carew describes in illuminating detail.

The new common sense and the increased hold that capitalist logic acquired over social consciousness easily drowned statements like one trade union militant's lament that he had not come "on this earth [. . .] to work every minute of my life. I want to be able to understand music, to be able to read and enjoy this life of ours" (p. 209). Indeed, as Carew notes, "Among union members, resistance to the efficiency drive was deep-rooted, if instinctive rather than co-ordinated." (Ibid.) But the designated agents of such coordination, the trade union leaderships, had been enlisted in the efficiency drive at an early stage and apart from the ill-fated communist campaign against the Marshall Plan, the counterproject never materialised.

Anthony Carew's book forcefully conveys the long-term implications of this defeat while presenting a first-rate analysis of the period in which it transpired.

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