

democratization and modernization. All this no longer has anything to do with the subject matter: the study has lost its way.

(2) It is in my view misguided to try to draw conclusions about the intellectual climate of the German empire on the basis of a partial analysis of social democracy and protestantism. Hölscher's first effort in this direction mixes elements which do not belong together (such as an avowedly "general mood of decline", fin-de-siecle art, and the policies "aimed at preventing and avoiding the socialist revolution" that finally failed on 9 November 1918, see pp. 280f.). Later on he declares that "the period of empire was, particularly after 1890, one of ideological upheaval, of looking forward to the future". Everything was dominated by the "consciousness of belonging to a new age, which had irretrievably left behind the ways of life and ways of thinking of the old world" (p. 441). Such statements cannot be justified on the basis of an analysis of social democracy and protestantism, only two elements contributing to the intellectual climate of the times.

(3) The theme is approached in a very academic fashion. Hölscher depicts the contents of conceptions of the future, shows how they differ from each other or overlap, and outlines the methodology of predicting the future, including its weaknesses, contradictions and ambivalences. Occasionally he also refers to the circumstances surrounding the development of socialist futurology, noting, for instance, that not a few socialist visions of the future were written down in prison. But at no point does he address the fact that specific expectations, hopes and fears attached to the different visions, that they contained a determining ethical element, and that they spawned new forms of community organization.

Erhard Lucas-Busemann

PELED, YOAV. *Class and Ethnicity in the Pale. The Political Economy of Jewish Workers' Nationalism in Late Imperial Russia.* Macmillan, Basingstoke, London 1989. xii, 171 pp. £ 29.50.

There is hardly a Jewish labour leader who, at some stage, did not feel compelled to put down his life-experience in writing. And the loving care with which a party such as the *Bund* nursed its archives, despite persecution and repression in several countries, is amazing. Obviously, there is a typically Jewish penchant for history at work here. All the Jewish political organisations had at least one thing in common: they cherished their own history and felt that it was incumbent upon them to transmit the memory of things past to future generations. No wonder therefore that social historians find the Jewish labour movement to be a goldmine of information. It ranks as something like a favourite among them.

Mr Peled is the last in a long row to have delved this fertile soil. His purpose, though, is not to bring us a new outline of the history of the Jewish labour movement but to use the history of Jewish socialism as a demonstration for his theses on "ethno-class consciousness". In order to make his point, the author successively sketches the historical setting, describes the evolution of the *Bund's* national programme, and analyzes the various interpretations which have been proposed to

explain this evolution. These issues are by no means simple and, therefore, the author requires some space to deal with them, which he does in an extremely able way. The result of this is a certain imbalance: whereas the subject of the book is ethno-social consciousness, in fact two-thirds of the text are devoted to the history of the Bund. The presentation is excellent, being both perceptive and scholarly. It is therefore a useful *résumé* of the present state of the studies in that field.

The actual issues the author wishes to tackle are the exclusion of most Jewish workers from modern industry in the Pale at the beginning of the present century and the evolution of Bundist ideology towards increasing ethnic awareness. Mr Peled is not satisfied with the traditional analysis of the exclusion of Jewish workers from workshops and the ideological development of the Bund. He offers a structural explanation relying on Bonacich's model of the "split labour market" and Hechter's model of "internal colonialism".

In the author's view, the "increasingly nationalist positions" adopted by the Bund reflected an attempt by the leadership to broaden the basis of the movement by addressing what they believed to be the particular concerns of the Jewish masses (p. 110). In doing this, Peled feels that the leaders sacrificed "theoretical soundness" and "the logical consistency of (their) ideology" to the aim of shaping the consciousness of the Jewish working class (p. 131). This reviewer has some doubts concerning this opinion. It is unclear in which manner the Bund was less consistent in its ideology then, say, the Polish or Russian Social-Democrats. Peled rightly points out that in the USA and in Great-Britain in the absence of a cultural division of labour, ethno-class consciousness tended to fade away. But is this mainly due to the cheap labour power of the immigrant Jewish workers, as the author would have us believe, or is it not rather a consequence of the comparative absence of deeprooted national prejudice in these countries where nothing comparable in intensity to Eastern European antisemitism ever developed? Another factor which should be stressed is that Jewish political self-awareness expressing itself in a national programme was a convincing proposition in the Pale, where the Jews represented the sizeable slice of the local population. On the other side of the Channel or the Atlantic, the Jewish immigrants constituted just another, albeit important minority.

The author strives to incorporate an analysis of the State and its relation to the labour market into the split labour market theory, thus transforming this concept from an economic model into a political-economic and historical theory (and incorporating the concept of ethnic class-fraction into the analytic framework of internal colonialism) (p. 141). There is undeniably much to be said for this approach which – as Peled points out in her closing lines – would prove most fruitful in studying working-class nationalism and racism. However, with respect to the evolution of the Jewish labour movement, this reviewer feels that Hechter aptly summed up the issue in a formulation quoted by the author (p. 135): "If an individual perceives his class origin to be more important for the determination of his life chances than his ethnicity, he is more likely to be class than ethnicity conscious. Correlatively, if his ethnicity appears to be more important than his class origins in this regard, his ethnic identity will be more salient."

Nathan Weinstock