

GERMAN POLITICS UNDER SOVIET OCCUPATION. By *Henry Krisch*.  
New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974. xiv, 312 pp. \$15.00.

This book is an important addition to our knowledge of German politics in the immediate postwar period. It fills some of the gaps left in earlier studies of the Soviet Zone of Occupation. Krisch's book, which covers only the first year of Soviet occupation, focuses on the reemergence of the Social Democratic (SPD) and Communist (KPD) Parties in the Soviet Zone and the process that led eventually to their merger in 1946. Drawing upon his personal interviews with former officials of the Soviet Military Administration (SMA) and other previously unavailable sources, the author describes the month-to-month developments surrounding the attempt to unite the two parties, and shows how the final outcome of this drive toward party unification was shaped by Soviet policy.

The author contends that the Soviet Union used the Eastern Zone initially as a testing ground for a calculated strategy of transposing the KPD into the predominant political force within a united front of anti-fascist parties. Executed by highly skilled political officials who were experienced in German affairs, the strategy permitted the reemergence of indigenous political forces (that is, traditional anti-fascist parties) at the end of the war, even before the licensing of political parties in the Western Zones of Occupation. The SPD and the KPD, which commanded the support of most working men before Hitler came to power, were the strongest of these forces. Under the manipulative hand of the SMA, Krisch notes, these forces were harnessed to prevent an SPD "opening to the right," which would have included the Christian and Liberal Democratic Parties (the only other parties licensed by Soviet authorities), and also to foreclose the possibility of a premature fusion of SPD and KPD. Such a fusion, prior to the settlement of leadership struggles within each party, might have undermined Soviet interests in Germany.

As Krisch tells the story, it was good strategy for the SMA initially to insist on the KPD's independent existence. A Communist Party that could articulate German national interests and demonstrate broad working-class support within a multiparty context was expected to benefit the KPD in the Western Zones and, hopefully, lead to an all-German party. In addition, given the antipathy of German laboring men toward Moscow for the dismantling of the factories in which they worked, together with the general population's hatred of Soviet occupiers arising out of the criminal misconduct of Russian soldiers, any direct imposition of a Soviet-controlled Communist Party on East Germany might have been counter-productive. The historical conflict between the SPD and the KPD, intensified by postwar hostility fed by mutual accusations of blame for Hitler's rise to power, also counseled restraint on the part of the Soviet authorities. Thus, by letting politics take its "natural course," Communist ideologists could later claim that occupation forces had simply created an environment which helped "working-class" parties to overcome their differences, even as the SMA had begun to interfere with the internal politics of both the KPD and the SPD.

Finally, this book is a convincing documentation of the thesis that the SMA's decision in late 1945 to accelerate the process of party unification was a consequence not of any perceived threat from the West (as some revisionist historians would have it), but rather of the growing independence and popularity of the SPD in the Eastern Zone, which posed a severe threat to the KPD. The SPD lost its utility for the SMA as soon as it became clear that the SPD in the Eastern

Zone would exert little or no influence upon the SPD in the Western Zones (which was stridently anti-Soviet and explicitly opposed to the Eastern party's policy of cooperation with the KPD). The rest of this well-told story is an account of SMA pressures and tactics which drove a reluctant SPD and a conspiring KPD into a new coalition known as the Social Unity Party (SED) which, according to the author, was intended by the Soviets as a model for political organization in all of Germany and the rest of Europe.

The author concludes that the experience in East Germany and Soviet efforts to build similar coalitions elsewhere are to be understood "as an important step in the attainment of power by the Communists by a process of inclusion rather than exclusion, by utilization of the state rather than insurrection, and by monopolization of permissible political movements rather than by ideological purity." My only quarrel with this book is its seeming reluctance to impute sinister and aggressive intentions to Soviet authorities, even as the author recounts the constraints imposed by the SMA upon the SPD, which led to the SPD's loss of freedom and, eventually, to dictatorial rule in East Germany. There is a point where the "manipulation" of indigenous political forces recedes into subversion of the democratic process. It occurred in East Germany, as the author ably demonstrates. I only wish he had called the game by its real name.

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THE FORMATION OF A MODERN LABOR FORCE: UPPER SILESIA, 1865-1914. By *Lawrence Schofer*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. xvi, 213 pp. Tables. \$12.00.

The process of transition from a traditional agrarian and artisanal community to a modern industrial society is one which has intrigued social scientists since the beginning of the industrial revolution. A vital aspect of this transition is the creation of a labor force for the modern sector which is amenable to conditions of industrial discipline and time orientation, as well as capable of mastering modern technological production tasks. This relatively short volume attempts to detail such a process for one important historical case study, the mining and metallurgical complex in Prussian Upper Silesia from 1865 through 1914.

Based on Professor Schofer's doctoral dissertation (characterized as a "distant relation to this book"), this study makes extensive use of both published and archival materials, the latter having been acquired during research in archives in Bytom, Katowice, Gliwice, and Wrocław in Poland. The work deals almost exclusively with the formerly Prussian area of the Upper Silesian basin, then as now, one of Eastern Europe's most important industrial regions. The Prussian sector (now completely within Poland) was, by far, the largest producing area, and also had excellent records available. The central focus is the coal mining labor force, although ample attention is paid to iron, zinc, and lead mining, as well as iron and steel manufacture and fabrication.

After an initial chapter describing the region and its labor force, the author traces the ethnic and geographic origins of the labor force, and the social and economic aspects of the transition from agriculture to industrial employment. Of particular value are archival documents, especially worker lists from particular mines and smelters, giving information on the origins and characteristics of individual