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What is New in the History of Social Movements?

Michael Ruck (ed.): *Gegner—Instrument—Partner: Gewerkschaftliche Staatsverständnisse vom Industrialismus bis zum Informationszeitalter*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017.

Mary Hilson/Silke Neunsiger/Greg Patmore (eds.): *A Global History of Consumer Cooperation since 1850: Movements and Businesses*, Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Neville Kirk: *Transnational Radicalism and the Connected Lives of Tom Mann and Robert Samuel Ross*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017.

Christina Morina: *Die Erfindung des Marxismus. Wie eine Idee die Welt eroberte*, Berlin: Siedler, 2017.

Verity Burgmann: *Globalization and Labour in the Twenty-First Century*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

Greg Patmore: *Worker Voice: Employee Representation in the Workplace in Australia, Canada, Germany, the UK and the US, 1914—1939*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016.

Ulrich Brieler/Rainer Eckert (eds.): *Unruhiges Leipzig: Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des Ungehorsams in Leipzig*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2016.

Gareth Stedman Jones: *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion*, London: Allen Lane, 2016.

Claudia Kemper: *Medizin gegen den Kalten Krieg: Ärzte in der anti-atomaren Friedensbewegung der 1980er Jahre*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016.

Trade unions are among the most important institutions seeking to represent workers vis-à-vis employers. Historically, they have developed a very different understanding of the state, depending on time, place and ideological orientation.¹ Whilst many anarcho-syndicalist and communist trade unions sought to transform and overcome capitalism and therefore developed trade union strategies that were supposed to politicise workers at their workplace, develop their revolutionary consciousness and support all forms of resistance inside the factories, Social Democratic, Christian and Liberal trade unions were often far more willing to accept the legitimacy of capitalism. They intended to hedge capitalism in, to work towards an effective representation of working-class interests and achieve social reforms within the capitalist system. Higher wages, shorter working hours, longer holidays, better safety conditions at work, improvements to the welfare system—these were amongst some of the most important reformist agendas of trade unions. Sometimes, and this is especially true for some Social Democratic unions at certain times and places, they could also combine reformist agendas with a revolutionary perspective, i. e. concrete demands in the here and now could go together with a programmatic commitment to look for the eventual transformation of the capitalist system. Whether trade unions have been revolutionary or reformist, they always developed conceptualisations of the state, as the latter was crucial in providing legal frameworks under which trade unions operated.²

The volume edited by Michael Ruck provides us with an in-depth discussion of the development of the relationship between the trade unions and the state in Germany from the nineteenth century to the present day. The first two contributions of the volume deal with the dominant ideological trends of the German trade union movement—the Social Democratic and the Christian one. Klaus Schönhoven provides a masterly survey of the Social Democratic trade union movement between the revolution of 1848 and the establishment of the Weimar Republic in 1919. He emphasises the reformist character of the union movement seeking social justice through activities both on the shop floor and in wider society, the latter often in conjunction with the Social Democratic party with whom it was in close alliance. Yet its reformist practice often stood side by side with a rhetoric that could be revolutionary at times. The Christian unions were sometimes equally critical of capitalism which did not fit at all with the Christian values they espoused. Several Catholic encyclicals had condemned capitalism and called for the social responsibility of capital. The Catholic unions in particular saw themselves as the mouthpiece of this

1 For attempts to survey the development of trade unions globally see Craig Phelan (ed.): *Trade Unionism Since 1945: Towards a Global History*, 2 vols., Bern 2009; John T. Addison/Claus Schnabel (eds.): *International Handbook of Trade Unionism*, Cheltenham 2003.

2 There is a considerable literature on this – some of it trying to provide comparative and transnational perspectives. See, for example, György Széll/Paul Blyton/Chris Cornforth (eds.): *The State, Trade Unions and Self-Management: Issues of Competence and Control*, Berlin 1989.

demand for a more socially responsible capitalism from Imperial Germany to the Federal Republic. Bernhard Forster traces this path over almost one century with much sensitivity and nuance.

In a country famous for its profound statist ideology,³ it is perhaps not surprising that the union movement also found itself deeply attracted to various forms of statism. Michael Ruck is looking at the positioning of the union movement during the First World War and in the immediate post-war years, in which the unions became an anchor of stability for German society. In the famous industrial truce that the unions signed with employers and the state in 1916, in the form of the Auxiliary Services Law, they achieved, for the first time, official recognition by the state and the employers—in return for their support of the German war effort and their promise to keep the factories quiet and working. In the early years of the Weimar Republic the unions again became the saviour of the Weimar state, most spectacularly in 1920 when a general strike defeated the right-wing Kapp putsch against the republic. In a second contribution on the statism of the unions, Detlev Brunner looks at their role from the outbreak of the war until the end of the Weimar Republic. In a complex and intriguing argument, he presents the unions as being caught in desires for autonomy from the state, whilst feeling the need to confront the state and therefore often looking for close alliances with the state. At certain times the unions were desperately defending their autonomy vis-à-vis the state; at others they were confronting it with their own interests and demands; and at yet other times, they were the most solid defence system of the state against its enemies. All of this, as Brunner shows, did not work without manifold internal contradictions.

The third part of the book then deals with the resistance of the unions against the National Socialist state and with the union-state relationship in the Federal Republic from the 1970s to the present day. Peter Rütters provides an extremely knowledgeable account of how resistance, emigration and remigration after 1945 shaped many German trade unionists' understanding of the state. Especially the emigration to Western democracies, notably Great Britain and the United States, strengthened the commitment to pluralist understanding of the state and comprehensively westernised many trade unionists' understanding of the state that was to feed into the early history of the Federal Republic.⁴ It is a bit odd that this early history, from the foundation of the Federal Republic to the first major economic crisis in the early 1970s is not covered at all in this volume. Instead, we continue with Hans Otto Hemmer's article on the role of the unions in underpinning the so-called 'Model Germany' conceptualisation that is associated with the Social Democratic governments of Helmut Schmidt. The corporatist arrangements

3 Gregg Owen Kvistad: *The Rise and Demise of German Statism: Loyalty and Political Membership*, Oxford 1999.

4 Julia Angster: *Konsenskapitalismus und Sozialdemokratie: Die Westernisierung von SPD und DGB*, Munich 2003.

that had been built up in the post-war era, stood the test of time in the difficult economic period from the 1970s to the 1990s, when Germany fared much better economically than many other countries in the Western world. The unions played a prominent part in this statist arrangement, but it may well have come at a cost, namely that of not representing the increasingly large segment of precarious workers and unemployed that grew exponentially under the impact of various forms of neoliberalism—even the fairly moderate doses that characterised the German system. Wolfgang Schröder brings the story up to date arguing that unions are facing a difficult time under conditions of growing globalisation and a still dominant neoliberal frame of thinking trade and the economy. In this situation he perceives a need of the union movement to cling to the state and defend the corporatist arrangements that have been so characteristic of Rhenish capitalism in the period after the Second World War.

The volume lacks a chapter that would examine the relationship of the Communist union movement to the state of really-existing socialism in the German Democratic Republic (GDR).⁵ Whilst its outcome would in many ways be predictable, it still would have been interesting to see to what extent very traditional German statist conceptions went into the classical Communist scenario of seeing trade unions as transmission belts for the policies of the Communist Party to the shopfloor. Be that as it may, the volume more than recompenses with a wonderful last section that puts the German development into comparative perspective. Wolfgang Uellenberg-van Dawen examines the anarcho-syndicalist legacy of the French trade union movement arguing that it led to a critical distance of trade unions to both the state and political parties. It is certainly a striking contrast to the German situation where a tiny anarcho-syndicalist union movement, that only became a mass movement for a very brief period between the end of the First World War and the early 1920s, had little influence on the attitudes of unions towards the state.⁶ André Keil looks at the attitude of the British trade union movement towards the state, focussing on the paradox that the very strength of the union movement in Britain produced a general frame of mind in which the unions remained extremely sceptical of any state involvement in industrial relations. Whilst some unions were at times extremely radical, pursuing a class-war strategy, others saw themselves as pushing a reformist agenda, especially through their influence on the Labour Party. It was only after Margaret Thatcher smashed the unions in an unprecedented class war from above that the unions began to rethink their relationship to the state. Finally, Julia Angster looks at the trade unions in the United States and in a fascinating piece argues that their positioning veered between a voluntarist distancing from the state and the attempt to lobby political

5 For a short history see Ulrich Gill: *FDGB: die DDR-Gewerkschaft von 1945 bis zu ihrer Auflösung 1989*, Cologne 1991.

6 Hans-Manfred Bock: *Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus, 1918–1923*, Meisenheim am Glan 1969.

parties for influence on state measures that would amount to social reform. Overall, this is a wonderful collection of essays that gives those much food for thought who are interested in the important relationship of the union movement to the state in Germany.

The union movement has been one of four pillars of the labour movement—next to the political parties, the cultural and educational movements and the cooperative movement. Of those four pillars, arguably the latter, namely the cooperative movement, has often been neglected. Therefore, it is all the more welcome that we now have a masterly global survey of the history of consumer cooperation that has been edited by Mary Hilson, Silke Neunsiger and Greg Patmore. The first thing to say is that indeed consumer cooperation has been a global phenomenon—it can be found almost everywhere on the globe. The more than thirty contributions in this collection range from North and Latin America to Europe, Australia and Asia. It is a pity that Africa is largely absent also in this volume,⁷ but perhaps this is something that can be remedied in a second edition. In many ways the starting point of the movement is the foundation of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers in northern England in 1846. It introduced some of the features of consumer cooperation that were to spread in the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century from England to many parts of the globe. Above all, there was the dividend system, i. e. the idea that by purchasing from the cooperative the consumer would be rewarded by a dividend. The consumers were in effect also the owners of the cooperative.

Ideologically, as this volume also emphasises, the consumer cooperative movement was quite diverse: liberal cooperatives stood next to Catholic, anarcho-syndicalist and socialist ones. Some cooperative movements, e. g. the ones in Britain and Scandinavia, also maintained a party-political neutrality. In Britain the cooperative movement even founded a party of its own: the Co-operative Party. Whilst the contributions to this volume show a lot of national differences and peculiarities when it comes to the history of cooperation, it also emerges from these pages quite clearly, to what extent cooperation was a transnational exercise—with co-operators travelling far and wide to observe other co-operators, learn from them and establish what would be a kind of best practice in cooperation. As many of the articles underline, cooperation was never simply about consumption. In many parts of the world it was also about working-class education. Cooperative movements often carried important educational and cultural activities—a feature that made cooperation suspicious to those forces hostile to the labour movement.

Consumer cooperation was, in its origins, a working-class phenomenon. The idea was that workers suffered most from the profits of the middlemen who were selling consumer products. They were held responsible for driving up food prices and the prices for basic consumer articles. Hence the cooperatives had the aim of putting an end to this class of middlemen. Given its strong connection to the working class and the labour

7 E. M. Anangisy: *Co-operative Shops in Africa*, London 1977.

movement, it is not surprising that the movement entered a severe crisis, when and where the working-class was disappearing and the labour movement looked weak. In the second half of the twentieth century some prominent cooperative movements in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Britain and France declined markedly, as deindustrialisation significantly reduced the industrial working class in numbers and the labour movement lost, at least partially, its movement character. Where the cooperative movement could move beyond its traditional working-class base, it also managed to continue to be successful. With the more individualised consumer of the second half of the twentieth century, it was important to ensure the quality of the consumer products and to take on board the demand for healthy and environmentally friendly consumer products. The most successful consumer cooperative movements in Scandinavia, Italy, Spain and Switzerland did precisely this.

This edited collection also quite successfully manages to put to rest some traditional explanations for the decline of the cooperative movement. Thus, it was not always the case that the movement lacked capital, that it failed to invest and modernize and that it refused to make use of economies of scale. This volume is also an evocative call for the history of social movements to engage more thoroughly with the history of consumption, as cooperative movements are the central hinge that connects both fields. The history of the cooperative movement shows clearly that consumption is highly political and is not necessarily depoliticising the consumer. Anyone working on the cooperative movement will have this book on their bookshelves. It very much assembles the state of the art in the history of consumer cooperation.

The global history of consumer cooperation is clearly a transnational history.⁸ In fact some of the most exciting recent work in the history of social movements is transnational in orientation. And one of the foremost historians representing this tendency is Neville Kirk. His latest book is a wonderful double biography of the British-born socialist Tom Mann (1856–1941) and the Australian-born socialist Robert-Samuel Ross (1873–1931)—two activists connected by friendship and a common cause. They formed part of a much wider transnational socialist network that inspired millions around the world to join the struggle for a more just and equal society. The first part of the book is all about the transnational context in which both men lived their lives as social activists. Reviewing both the promises and the pitfalls of transnational labour history, Kirk leaves no doubt that for him transnational history is one way to revive and rejuvenate labour history and move it away from its own methodological nationalism that has, for so long, limited its appeal.⁹

8 Pierre-Yves Saunier: *Transnational History*, Basingstoke 2013.

9 Anna Amelina et al. (eds.): *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies*, London 2012.

The transnational world that Mann and Ross inhabited was one shaped by industrial capitalism, free trade and intense globalisation. Between the 1860s and before the outbreak of the First World War, capitalism drew the different parts of the world closer together, allowing for an exchange of goods and people on an as yet unprecedented scale. Kirk paints a deft picture of this capitalist transnationalism and globalisation into which the likes of Mann and Ross were thrown. The second part of the book then deals with the kind of socialism that was Mann's and Ross's response to this world of capitalist globalisation. Theirs was, by and large, a syndicalist socialist world view. Their radicalism was very different from what is conventionally associated with both British and Australian labourism, i. e. an alleged preference for moderation, parliamentary orientation, gradualism and reformism. Instead the tradition represented by Mann and Ross stood for industrial militancy, working-class education towards socialism and a working-class politics that aimed not at reforming capitalism but abolishing and transforming it.

In a fascinating third part to his entirely engaging book, Kirk asks how inclusive their socialism was, in particular vis-à-vis women and people of colour. Labour movements in the Anglophone world (and not only there) were overwhelmingly male and white. Many labour activists had endorsed the bourgeois idea of 'divided spheres' according to which women had to take care of the home and the children, whilst their husbands went out to work and led public lives. At the same time socialists were also not immune to feelings of racism and some even justified imperialism in the name of an allegedly higher European civilisation. Australian Labour's commitment to a 'white Australia' policy is a perfect example of the attractiveness of racism to labour movements at certain times and places. Kirk's protagonists, however, stood for a different tradition in the Anglophone labour movement. Both women's emancipation and liberation as well as the genuine solidarity of workers across racial divides was something that they both preached and practiced, even if, as Kirk can also show, they both still managed to be imbued with some of the more mainstream ideas concerning the role of women and the alleged characteristics of different races.¹⁰

The book concludes with a chapter about the First World War and its aftermath. The surge of nationalism that also gripped wide sections of the socialist movement in all countries participating in the war was a deep disappointment to internationalists such as Mann and Ross. Yet they, alongside others, worked tirelessly to uphold an internationalist vision of socialism that condemned war and linked it to capitalist development. Overall this is a marvellous example of transnational labour history demonstrating how limiting

10 On women and the labour movement see Helmut Gruber/Pamela M. Graves (eds.): *Women and Socialism, Socialism and Women: Europe Between the Two World Wars*, Oxford 1998; on labour, ethnicity and race compare Stefan Berger/Angel Smith (eds.): *Nationalism, Labour and Ethnicity, 1870–1939*, Manchester 1999.

a national perspective is, for it has to ignore the manifold connections and ties that went across national borders, zig-zagged in complex and contradictory ways and ultimately informed the very fabric of a genuinely transnational socialist movement.

The remarkable strength of transnational labour history is also revealed in quite different ways by Christina Morina's outstanding collective biography of nine important Marxists who, in their different ways sought to popularise the writings of Marx and make them the basis of powerful social movements. Her protagonists are all born between the mid-1840s and the early 1870s, and around 1900 they occupied influential positions within the international Marxist labour movement. They come from different countries—Jules Guesde, Marx's son-in-law, and Jean Jaures from France, Rosa Luxemburg from Poland (although active in the German Social Democratic Party), Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky from Germany, Victor Adler from Austria, Peter Struve, Georgij Plechanow and Wladimir Ilyitsch Uljanow (Lenin) from Russia. They all were labour movement intellectuals who spent much time and energy in familiarising themselves with the complex theories of the master and translating them for a wider mass audience that had to be won over to the cause of Marxism. Those Marxists knew each other, they corresponded with one another, they travelled to internationalist socialist conferences, they agreed and disagreed with one another, they cooperated and they conspired against each other. Morina's is very much a history of connected Marxist lives. Out of their intellectual meetings with Marx, these Marxists developed an emotional dynamism that led them to take great risks and wage important political gambles, and Morina is especially adept at linking the intellectual history of Marxism to a history of emotions of Marxism. This history of emotions approach might well be useful also for other areas of social movement history in the future.¹¹ All of her protagonists were morally appalled by the social question that capitalism seemed unable to solve, and out of this moral stance they found in Marx a 'scientific approach' which showed the way out of the misery that capitalism had produced. They were, like Marx, children of a scientific age, in which the belief of science ruled supreme and in which the social could only be understood scientifically. Nevertheless, the science responded to an emotional need.

Many contemporary academics studying social movements are emotionally close to social movements, or are themselves social movement activists which in turn makes their publications both scientific and passionate. That certainly is the case with Verity Burgman's latest book, where she looks at the most recent wave of globalisation and its impact on labour movements, including the resistance that arises from within the labour movements to the negative effects such globalising tendencies have on workers' lives. Following Thomas Piketty,¹² she sees in the *trente glorieuse* after the Second World

11 Rob Boddice: *The History of Emotions*, Manchester 2018.

12 Thomas Piketty: *The Economics of Inequality*, Cambridge, Mass. 2015; see also idem.: *Capital in the 21st Century*, Cambridge, Mass. 2017.

War a high point of working class success in obtaining a fairer share of the capitalist spoils. In terms of wages and salaries, welfare and public services, those decades marked a high point of workers' control and high working-class living standards. The neo-liberal turn in the late 1970s set out to change this and to put capital back in the driving seat. Globalisation increased the exploitation of labour. She argues against the deterministic view that globalisation is like a force of nature that cannot be resisted. Instead, she argues that there are strategies of resistance and that workers still have agency to shape the consequences of globalisation.

Workers around the world, she argues, have found new and interesting ways to combine and form alliances to combat the power of global capital. Whilst traditional union structures, characteristic of the Fordist age, are often in decline, new forms of resistance have been established. Small groups of workers in vertically integrated supply chains have successfully challenged capital by striking at the smooth running of those supply chains. Discussing recent changes in production and labour processes, in particular the post-Fordist lean production techniques, Burgman resists the idea that we witness the decomposition of the working class and instead puts forward the notion of a comprehensive recomposition of the working class on a global level. She sees in the internet a huge resource for workers to unite and forge alliances across time and space. Cyber-unionism is using the power of the web 2.0 to aid workers' struggles in a great diversity of contexts.

Burgman also traces the rise of new sweatshops and the emergence of a new working-class and new types of labour conflicts. In the new low-wage economies of the global south, a new working-class is being formed and new labour struggles are being witnessed. Global union structures are beginning to emerge that respond to a need to transnationalise organisations and campaigns. At the same time rank-and-file solidarity campaigns from below emerge in many recent working-class struggles. Highlighting the importance of alliances between workers' organisations and civil society actors who denounce the new practices of exploitation, she confronts the problem of the increasing fragmentation of the workforce. Immigrants and other marginalised groups of workers need to be integrated into new forms of labour solidarity. Increasing levels of unemployment and precarity pose further challenges to labour in the globalised brave new world of flexible capital, but she takes courage from the fact that where unions have failed to represent migrants, the unemployed and the precarious, other organisations have taken up their cause—often very effectively.

While sections of the labour movement have followed the pied piper of neoliberalism, other sections have opposed the increasing marketisation of everything, including public goods and utilities. Burgman sees a lot of positive potential in recent anti-capitalist campaigns, including Occupy, the Social Forum idea, the anti-austerity protests in Greece and Spain. Overall then, this is a book from which critics of neoliberal globalisation and capitalism can take courage. Verity Burgman has for many years been both—an impeccable scholar and a passionate activist, and her latest book is testimony to both. It

will be required reading for all scholars interested in labour conflicts under conditions of contemporary neoliberal globalisation and for all social activists keen to fight the consequences of such neoliberal globalisation and work towards a post-capitalist future.

Social movements have their activists and their scholars, but they also have their places. One such important place for social movements in Germany is the city of Leipzig. Leipzig was in many respects the key city of the peaceful revolution of 1989 that brought the Communist dictatorship to an end in Germany.¹³ Ulrich Brieler and Rainer Eckert have edited a book about social protests in Leipzig from the thirteenth century to the present times. During the middle ages the citizens already rebelled against the duke (Margrave). In the sixteenth century religious conflicts ran high in the city, with different Protestant wings battling for superiority over the city's churches. Early modern and modern protests against poverty loomed large in the city's history. These included, in the nineteenth and twentieth century, many powerful strike movements. Before then, German Jacobins sought to emulate the French revolution in Leipzig.

Leipzig was home to thinkers of the early German Enlightenment, such as Christian Thomasius, who sought to spread the Enlightenment from Saxony. It was also the city of the 1848 revolutionary Robert Blum. The women's rights activist, Louise Otto, organised the struggle for women's emancipation from nineteenth-century Leipzig. And the Social Democrat leader August Bebel, nicknamed the 'workers' emperor' contributed to making the city a stronghold of Social Democracy in Imperial Germany. The range of social protests and social movements discussed in this volume is truly staggering: there are articles on religious dissent in the city, on the life reform movement around the turn of the century, on the resistance to the First World War, on the revolution of 1918, on the resistance against the Kapp putsch, on the Spanish civil war activist Gerda Taro, who worked as a photo-journalist in Madrid alongside Robert Capa, on the resistance against National Socialism, on workers' protests on the streets against 'really existing socialism' in 1953, on protests against the destruction of the university church in Leipzig during the 1960s, and again on protests against communism in 1968.

There is an especially interesting piece on squatting in the late GDR, and, of course, considerable room is given to the revolution of 1989. But the story does not end with the collapse of the GDR. It was also in Leipzig, in 2003, that the biggest demonstration that Germany witnessed against the Iraq war, took place. The final article in the volume discusses a great range of protests and movements, including the right-wing protest associated with 'Legida'. It is, in fact, the only example of protest coming from the political right. But it is a timely reminder that social movements exist both on the left and on the right, and that it is important to deal with both. The editors of this intriguing collection would like to highlight the role that active citizens can play in bringing about social

13 Hartmut Zwahr: *Ende einer Selbsterstörung: Leipzig und die Revolution in der DDR*, Göttingen 1993.

change in a great variety of different contexts. Hence the book is especially interesting for social movement specialists, as it deals precisely with the conditions under which activists can bring about change by mobilising groups of supporters in a highly localised environment such as that of a city. The volume sings the praises of disobedience in many different contexts.

Trying to stir the citizens into acts of disobedience—this was also something that Karl Marx was keen to do at various points in his life and especially in 1848. Gareth Stedman Jones's intellectual biography of Karl Marx has been long in the making and is arguably all the better for it. It is his declared intention to peel back the many layers of the reception of Marx and to disentangle Marx from his long-time companion, co-author and interpreter, Friedrich Engels. Instead, Stedman Jones wants to introduce to us the man that entered the stage of economics, philosophy and politics in the 1830s until he left this stage again with his death in 1883. Much about Marx is, of course, all too familiar. There is hardly a dearth of biographies of the man.¹⁴ Nevertheless, what Stedman Jones does so well is provide us with a vividly narrated milieu in which Marx operated, which made him possible and without which it is very difficult to understand his economics, his philosophy and his politics. Stedman Jones is thus truly historicising Marx in the sense that he becomes understandable and recognisable as a man of his and in his time. Like most biographers he organises his material chronologically, starting in chapter one with the family history of Marx and the Rhineland, where Marx grew up. Chapter two is moving the story forward from Marx's school days to university and his engagement with Jenny von Westphalen. Chapter three is mostly about the Hegelian influence on Marx during his Berlin years. In chapter four we encounter the journalist Marx and his work for the *Rheinische Zeitung*. As Stedman Jones shows, Bruno Bauer's influence on him during those years was considerable.

In the next chapter we move to the *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher*, from where we proceed to Marx's friendship with Engels. From here on we basically get introduced to one important work after the other: the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844, Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England* as well as the jointly penned *The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology*. Stedman Jones then introduces us to Marx's debates with Proudhon and his struggle against German Proudhonists, such as Karl Grün. The birth of the *Communist Manifesto* is located in this context and in the context of the 1848 revolution, which is also discussed in great detail in the book. After contextualising Marx in London during the 1850s, we wade through another set of 'great works': *Grundrisse*, *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, and *Capital*. Towards the end of the book we learn about the fraud relationship of Marx with Ferdinand Lassalle, Marx's activities in

14 Jonathan Sperber: *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life*, New York 2013; Francis Wheen: *Karl Marx: A Life*, London 2001; Jürgen Neffe: *Marx: Der Unvollendete*, Munich 2017; Karl Hosfeld: *Karl Marx: Philosoph und Revolutionär*, Frankfurt/Main 2009.

the International Working Men's Association, including his epic struggle with Bakunin, and his attitudes towards the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune are all covered extensively. The final chapter comes back to *Capital's* second volume and deals with the development of the socialist movement in Europe during the 1870s and 1880s. Overall, this is an extremely well-written and engaging biography of a man that is still able to fascinate millions of people and generations of intellectuals who will celebrate the 200th anniversary of his birth in 2018.

Marx was, of course, also the key inspirational figure for the Communist movement—a movement that, during the Cold War, ruled half of the world and was locked in deadly battle with liberal capitalism that controlled the other half of the globe.¹⁵ The fear of nuclear war accompanied the history of the Cold War consistently. With a new turn in the armaments spiral imminent, an organisation came into being, in June 1980, that assembled International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). The idea behind that initiative was that the professionalism and moral stature of medical doctors on both sides of the Iron Curtain could build bridges and contribute to the threatened climate of *détente*. The organisation celebrated its greatest success when it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985. The IPPNW had become a recognised part of the global peace movement. As Claudia Kemper shows in her impeccably researched monograph on medical doctors participating in this organisation, the precondition for their activity was silence on any political aspects of the Cold War, including the human rights record of the communist regimes. The main self-set tasks of the organisation were two-fold: first, to campaign for a stop to nuclear weapons' testing, and, secondly, to provide an information campaign on the consequences of a nuclear war that amounted, in effect, to a rallying call for disarmament.

Kemper's study is based on extensive archival studies of the organisation's headquarters in Boston as well as the archives produced by its West and East-German sections. Hers is a history of a very specific organisation (IPPNW) within a broader social movement (the peace movement) at a particular juncture of the Cold War between the twin-track decision of NATO in 1979 and the advent of Gorbachev's reforms after 1985. Kemper succeeds in contextualising the emergence and development of the movement: whereas the US-based movement was carried by an elite of highly established medical doctors, in West Germany, it was rather an oppositional movement of mainly junior doctors dissatisfied with the (conservative) state of the medical profession. An important factor in West Germany that was also absent in the US was the very recent attempts to come to terms with the National Socialist past of the medical profession, in particular its collusion in National Socialist crimes against humanity.

15 Odd Arne Westad: *The Cold War: A World History*, New York 2017.

Following this careful historical contextualisation, Kemper deals more straightforwardly with the organisational history of the movement. She analyses a variety of different campaigns and important themes that were present in the discussions within the organisations and in the organisation's attempts to mobilise a broader public for its concerns. Kemper highlights the tensions that existed between the central organisation in Boston and its national affiliations, like the two German ones. In particular the West German one had much broader concerns and developed a much wider portfolio of themes it wanted to push than the central organisation. It was the explicit wish of the central organisation that both German sections should also cooperate more closely, but this was extremely difficult. On the one hand, the GDR was mistrustful of any genuine cooperation with West German organisations. On the other hand, many West German medical doctors felt uneasy entering into a dialogue that excluded those unofficial elements of the peace movements that were persecuted by the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED)-regime. Hence the local conditions in Germany made a replication of the US-Soviet story at international level difficult. Overall, Kemper has written an intriguing history of an organisation that played a prominent role in the first half of the 1980s, when nuclear war seemed to many in East and West a very real possibility.

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