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What's New in the History of Social Movements: a Review Article

Lutz Raphael: *Jenseits von Kohle und Stahl. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte Westeuropas nach dem Boom*. Frankfurter Adorno-Vorlesungen 2018, Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2019, 525 pp., ISBN: 978-3-518-58735-5.

Thomas Lahusen and Schamma Schahadat (eds.): *Postsocialist Landscapes. Real and Imaginary Spaces from Stalinstadt to Pyongyang*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020, 328 pp., ISBN: 978-3-8376-5124-9.

Alina-Sandra Cucu: *Planning Labour. Time and the Foundations of Industrial Socialism in Romania*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2019, 266 pp., ISBN: 978-1-78920-185-7.

Marsha Siefert (ed.): *Labor in State-Socialist Europe, 1945–1989. Contributions to a History of Work*, Budapest: CEU Press, 2020, 484 pp., ISBN: 978-963-386-337-4.

Carl Levy and Saul Newman (eds.): *The Anarchist Imagination. Anarchism Encounters the Humanities and the Social Sciences*, London: Routledge, 2019, 278 pp., ISBN: 978-1-138-78276-1.

Natalie Pohl: *Atomprotest am Oberrhein. Die Auseinandersetzung um den Bau von Atomkraftwerken in Baden und im Elsass (1970–1985)*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019, 443 pp., ISBN: 978-3-515-12401-0.

Astrid Mignon Kirchhof (ed.): *Pathways into and out of Nuclear Power in Western Europe. Austria, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Sweden*, Munich: Deutsches Museum, 2020, 299 pp., ISBN: 978-3-940396-92-1.

Maarten van Ginderachter: *The Everyday Nationalism of Workers. A Social History of Modern Belgium*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019, 265 pp., ISBN: 978-1-5036-0969-3.

Sebastian Elsbach, Ronny Noak and Andreas Braune (eds.): *Konsens und Konflikt. Demokratische Transformation in der Weimarer und Bonner Republik*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019, 354 pp., ISBN: 978-3-515-12448-5.

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Wolfgang Schmale: *For a Democratic 'United States of Europe' (1918–1951). Freemasons — Human Rights Leagues — Winston S. Churchill — Individual Citizens*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019, 195 pp., ISBN: 978-3-515-12464-5.

Siegfried Mielke and Stefan Heinz: *Alwin Brandes (1866–1949). Oppositioneller — Reformer — Widerstandskämpfer*, Berlin: Metropol, 2019, 566 pp., ISBN: 978-3-86331-486-6.

Stefan Müller: *Die Ostkontakte der westdeutschen Gewerkschaften. Entspannungspolitik zwischen Zivilgesellschaft und internationaler Politik, 1969–1989*, Bonn: J.W.H. Dietz, 2020, 429 pp., ISBN: 978-3-8012-4271-8.

Social movements, especially trade unions, have been fighting processes of deindustrialization everywhere in the global North since the Second World War. There are many excellent local studies on the effects of deindustrialization, on particular companies, industries and urban fabrics. However, there are relatively few international *comparative* studies on the impact of deindustrialization.[1] Lutz Raphael's analysis of deindustrialization in Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany is an exception to this, and it demonstrates the enormous value of such comparative perspectives on almost every page of this outstanding book that really needs an English translation, for it is of major interest to scholars working on deindustrialization outside of the German-language world. In line with other deindustrialization studies the book has a certain bias towards industrial workers and how they were affected by deindustrialization processes. It narrows the period of examination from around 1970 to 2000 and justifies this with the alleged break in contemporary history that Raphael, together with Anselm Döring-Manteuffel, has identified in a much-discussed German-language book, *After the Boom*.[2] The thesis posits that a fundamental break occurred in the social structure and self-understanding of West German society around 1970. Here Raphael extends this idea to the social history of Britain and France. What emerges clearly from Raphael's analysis is how fundamental the break with industrial society was. Hundreds of thousands of industrial jobs were lost, whole industries vanished, and the industrial worker, the archetypal proletarian that had inspired a range of social movements since the nineteenth century, was increasingly a marginal phenomenon. The comparison is particularly illuminating in that it highlights the very

1 There is, however, a major network of scholars in deindustrialization studies that is working on establishing more comparative perspectives among core countries of the global north. See the website of the 'Deindustralization and the Politics of our Time' (DePoT) project: https://deindustrialization.org/ [accessed on 18 August 2021].

2 Anselm Doering-Manteuffel and Lutz Raphael: Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970 (third edition), Göttingen 2012 [first published in 2008].

different responses of the British, French and West German states to the challenges of deindustrialization. The market radicalism of Margaret Thatcher's governments in the UK stood in maximum contrast to the welfare statism and the embedded capitalism of the Federal Republic, with France occupying a middle position. Citizenship in the Federal Republic, Raphael argues, contained a strong social element that strengthened the practice of co-determination and underpinned a generous system of welfare which together cushioned the outcomes of deindustrialiszation processes. Despite significant differences, especially in relation to wage bargaining procedures, the industrial workers, or what is left of them, have become politically homeless—a situation that prepared the ground for the rise of right-wing populist movements in all three countries under discussion here. Even where older workers could count on generous early retirement schemes, the question of what to do with the young and those who left school early has become a major challenge for regions where industrial employment used to offer relatively high wages and good jobs even for the unskilled and those without training. These groups now suffer from a lack of job prospects and often face long-term unemployment, or precarious forms of employment in the new service industries. Precarious employment, as Raphael shows, has become the new hallmark of society in all three countries, and this despite the fact than none of them can be properly described as post-industrial, as they still have a significant percentage of industrial employment. The service sector has no doubt increased, but one of the many strengths of this book is that it is never satisfied with monocausal explanations and linear developments. The full complexity of often ambiguous and contradictory developments is laid out before the reader. The survival of company paternalism stands next to decreasing welfare measures, and unstable jobs for marginal workers go hand in hand with secure jobs for core workers. Globalization is also not a one-size-fits-all development. The big automobile companies in Germany, for example, are beneficiaries of globalization as is its workforce, whereas the many workers in the industries supplying automobile companies have born the brunt of increased competition and cut-throat price wars. Almost constant retraining of the workforce went hand in hand in many companies with increased automation and digitization. Raphael makes excellent use of sociological studies, especially from labour and industrial sociology, to shine a light onto changes at the workplace. These have much to say on the nature of deindustrialization processes, on forms of reindustrialization, on changes in the world of work, on trade union struggles, labour relations and working-class political parties as well as biographical experiences that differed widely not only from nation to nation but also from region to region. Raphael has written an inspiring work of comparative history that deserves a wide readership not only in Germany, which has the ability of generating new research on working-class history from the 1970s onwards.

Deindustrialization hit the global capitalist North after the Second World War and with increasing ferocity from the 1970s onwards, but it, by and large, escaped the communist world, which followed its own logic and economic system until

around 1990. Hence it was only under post-communism that deindustrialization left its mark, and it is a kind of unseen shadow in the essays populating Thomas Lahusen's and Schamma Schahadat's collection on *Postsocialist Landscapes*. The book is the outcome of a research project entitled '(Post)Socialist Spaces' funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and it amounts to a truly multidisciplinary exploration of post-communist landscapes from Europe to Africa and further to Asia. Cultural anthropologists, geographers, historians, literary scholars and photographers are all present here, but the project's clear bias towards culture also means that social and economic developments and their impact on the analyzed cultural products are often insufficiently taken into account. Nevertheless, many of the essays that are assembled here in four parts are truly impressive. They virtually all take seriously the 'emotional turn' in the human sciences[3] asking about what kinds of emotional identification with place one can find in diverse postsocialist scenarios. A concern with topophilia is made concrete in relation to realms of memory such as monuments, museums but also everyday objects and living spaces. A sensibility for the emotions produced by places and constructed through places is weaving itself through the pages of this volume as leading theme for the entire collection. Another leading theme is that of hybridity. The spaces that have transitioned from communism to post-communism often have a hybrid quality, with remnants of communism still present and having the power to influence post-communist experiences and identifications. Several parallel temporalities are in operation in those spaces leading to fractures, disjointed and contested interpretations and representations of place. Seen from the vantage point of post-communism, communism may be viewed with ridicule and irony, but also with nostalgia. It may evoke feelings of negativity and oppression but also a sense of hope and solidarity amidst landscapes of economic destruction under post-communism. Another leading theme is the exploration of borders drawn between and within post-communist states leading to the construction of centres and peripheries, where visions of the future stand next to failures of the past and the emptiness and abandonment of today is juxtaposed with the dreamworlds of yesterday. The planned economies of communist states led to their own environmental and economic disasters, but the market radicalism of some post-communist countries still created a nostalgic longing for an allegedly more secure past—at least economically and socially.[4]

The book is divided into four parts. 'History's playground' (part 1) explores the political landscape of the Tsar's Garden in Kyiv and its many meanings from the 1980s onwards (Serhy Yekelchyk). Kate Brown looks at the promises and failure of the

3 On the history of emotions, see: Ute Frevert: Emotions in History—Lost and Found, Budapest 2013; Jan Plamper: The History of Emotions: an Introduction, Oxford 2015.

4 Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille (eds.): Post-Communist Nostalgia, New York 2010.

planned city of Slavutych that was constructed by the Soviet authorities after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster to rehouse some of the people from the Chernobyl region. Serguei Oushakine analyses the postcolonial spaces created by the Khatyn memorial near Minsk and the theme park 'Stalin's Line.' 'Friendship of the Peoples?' (part 2) looks at the legacy of multinational communist ventures, focusing especially on literary landscapes. Susi Frank's explorations into contemporary Ukranian-Russian poetry stand next to Schamma Schahadar's analysis of the literary and cultural landscape of East Central Europe. Gulzat Egemberdieva and Thomas Lahusen investigate the presence of notions of the friendship of peoples in Kyrgiz literature, and Davor Beganovič analyses literary texts dealing with Sarajevo's city planning from the Ottoman period to the Yugoslav civil wars. 'Minus Stalin' (part 3) examines what happened in post-communist regimes to the centre of power that had vanished and was still curiously present in many cultural representations. Mark László-Herbert compares two former 'Stalin cities' in East Germany and Hungary, whilst Ivaylo Ditchev explores changes in a specific neighbourhood in Sofia and Ekaterina Mizrohkhi confronts her childhood memories of living in a Moscow suburb with the changes she observes in the post-communist space. Finally, Daniela Koleva looks at continuities and discontinuities in promoting nationalism through tourist sites in Bulgaria both under communism and in post-communist times. 'Travelling Boundaries' (part 4) looks at what happened to communist aesthetics in post-communist times. Gesine Drews-Sylla examines the creation of a monument to the African Renaissance constructed in Senegal by a North Korean company in 2010. Andre Schmid examines the restructuring of living space in North Korean cities in the 1950s and early 1960s. Tong Lam's photo-essay on the 'urban village' of Xiancun in the southern province of Guangzhou (China) reveals the dark side of an urban turbo-capitalism unleashed by a system still nominally communist. Although many of the articles in this thought-provoking collection evade a straightforward argument, this seems to be in line with the meandering forms of knowledge, including emotional knowledge, explored through cultural studies approaches. It makes for intriguing and insightful reading even if it can be a bit frustrating for those readers intent on finding in these articles clear and unidirectional arguments.

If Lahusen's and Schahadat's volume explores the diverse facets of the unmaking of communism,[5] Alina-Sandra Cucu's monograph entitled *Planning Labour* is a path-breaking study in the making of communism in Eastern Europe after the end of the Second World War. The published version of her Central European University PhD in Sociology and Social Anthropology, it is a highly innovative re-reading of the socialist transformation in Romania between 1945 and 1955. Making good use of extensive archival holdings as well as interviews, Cucu focusses her analysis on two factories

5 On the economic and social consequences of the unmaking of communism, see also: Philipp Ther: Europe Since 1989, Princeton 2018.

and their neighbourhoods in the Romanian city of Cluj that was ethnically mixed between Hungarians and Romanians, after the German population had been purged in the post-war years and the Jewish population had largely vanished in the Shoah. At the centre of her attention is the effect of socialist planning on the forging of an industrial working class. Making good use of Ernst Bloch's notion of non-synchronicity, Cucu explores how the future-oriented vision of a modern communist society tallied with the life-worlds and experiences of a nascent working class that still had a strong background in rural agricultural worlds. Paying close attention to the local practices of working people, she traces their reactions to the attempts of communist elites to implement the economic plan aimed at forms of socialist accumulation that restricted the consumption of workers and ensured economic growth through the appropriation of the agricultural surplus. Focusing closely on the labour regimes in two factories, she sheds light on what the central plan actually meant for the everyday work practices on the shop floor. She shows how the plan was performed by the workers on the ground and how this created multiple tensions between the better life that workers envisioned for themselves and the lofty ideals of Communist leaders wanting to create the 'new society.' Being so close to the workers in the factories allows Cucu to show how new solidarities were forged but also how new inequalities and hierarchies were produced. Her micro-ethnographic investigation into the making of a new working class is alert to power-relationships, including those between ethnic Hungarians and ethnic Romanians, and those between men and women. She also emphasizes the net effects of a massive labour turnover that remained characteristic for the world of industrial work in Cluj during the ten years after the Second World War. Cucu is extraordinarily adept at showing us who the workers employed in the factories in Cluj were and how the socialist state sought to keep labour costs low. She describes the intricate relationship between the industrial town and its agricultural surroundings. The economic plan introduced a whole set of new labour regulations that did not always meet with enthusiasm on the shop floor, where workers had their own ideas based on highly gendered, classed and ethnicized moral universes. Cucu's story is one of struggle over the control of workers as well as their mobilization. It is admirable how she manages to unearth the day-to-day practices of workers who were confronted with the ideals and norms of 'the plan.' On the pages of her book labour becomes far more than a mere resource for the realization of economic planning. Its actions and articulations impacted massively on the ultimate failures of economic planning. Their voices and their rationality are highlighted in this book to understand how the planning of labour under early communism was entirely different from the actually existing labour relations. The contradictions produced by the plan and lived reality were ultimately too big to be squared and led to a situation where the promises of welfare, social mobility, access to education and full employment could not be met. The stories that Cucu tells of industrial workers are incredibly rich and capture their life-worlds with a clarity that is truly insightful. It is social history from below at its very best.

Cucu's work is representative of a larger trend in Eastern European labour history that has seen a remarkable renaissance over recent years. Marsha Siefert's edited collection on *Labor in State-Socialist Europe, 1945–1989* brings together many of the outstanding historians that have been at the forefront of these developments over recent years. If Stephen Kotkin could still ask somewhat anxiously in 1996 whether there was a future for labour history in post-communist Eastern Europe,[6] the special issue edited by Mark Pittaway ten years later on workers in Central and Eastern Europe answered that question with an emphatic yes.[7] Pittaway, who died tragically young at the age of 39, has certainly been an inspiration for many of those who have since emerged as central in the revival of Central and Eastern European labour history. Of course, there have been others, among them Susan Zimmermann and Marsha Siefert, both at the Central European University, who started a long-term initiative in 2012 to stimulate research in Central and Eastern European labour history that would make it part and parcel of the rising trend in global labour history. Many of the articles in this present collection have their origins in panels and workshops organized by this initiative. The revival of labour history in the West since the 1990s has been characterized not only by global perspectives but also by a move away from organized labour and towards the history of workers and their everyday life-worlds, a tendency that is also characteristic of the present volume. However, the volume under review here manages to explore the interaction between organized labour, in this case ruling communist parties, and the life-worlds of ordinary workers. In addition, it pays due attention to the repercussions of the interactions between a transnational capitalism and a transnational communism during the Cold War. What therefore can be seen as characteristic of many of the contributions in this excellent book is the combination of micro-perspectives with large-scale questions, onto which those micro-perspectives often throw a revealing light.

Furthermore, the new labour history of Central and Eastern Europe shows a number of fascinating parallels with labour history in Western Europe underlining how, despite the division of the continent, many of the challenges emerging between the end of the Second World War and the end of the Cold War were actually rather similar. This allows for intriguing comparisons between the communist East and the capitalist West—a trend in labour scholarship that is only beginning.[8] Not only do

6 Stephen Kotkin: Introduction: a Future for Labor under Communism?, in: International Labor and Working-Class History 50 (1996), pp. 1–8.

7 Mark Pittaway: Introduction: Workers and Socialist States in Postwar Centreal and Eastern Europe, in: International Labor and Working-Class History 68 (2005), pp. 1–8.

8 Jan de Graaf is currently leading a research group at the Institute for Social Movements, Ruhr-University Bochum, exploring the ways in which the post-war histories of Eastern and Western Europe coalesce: 'Europe's Postwar Consensus: a Golden Age of Social Cohesion and Social Mobility?' See also some of his published work like Jan de Graaf: Euro-

the new studies pave the way for East-West European comparisons, they also highlight the global entanglements in the world of labour between Communist Eastern Europe and the wider Communist world outside of Europe, in Asia, Africa and Latin America.[9] Transfers and dialogues impacted significantly on workers both in the European metropole and the non-European periphery. In the discussions on communist Eastern European labour, the Soviet Union as the motherland of communism and a global model casts a long shadow. However, many contributions in this volume, by focusing on the everyday negotiations of workers, also show the limits of the official communist discourse that often referenced the Soviet Union but incorporated a multitude of ambiguous and contradictory practices, for which Soviet communism cannot serve as the only explanatory model.[10]

The articles assembled here are of a very high quality throughout. They are organized into five sections which correspond to areas of research on Central and Eastern European labour that have been particularly prominent in recent years. The first section is about the recruitment and the making of workers in an area of the global North that certainly, with some exceptions, such as Czechoslovakia, did not belong to the most industrialized regions. Industrialization thus became a central challenge for the Communist regimes. Analyzing Romanian factory newspapers Cucu demonstrates how the official Communist discourse attempted to socialize workers but effectively only divided the emerging working-class fracturing their solidarity and introducing animosities between different types of workers. Tensions between established industrial workers and new recruits, commuting from the agrarian countryside to their new industrial employment, is also at the centre of Ulf Brunnbauer's and Visar Nonaj's account of the situation in new steel factories in Bulgaria and Albania. Labour shortages were often encountered in the communist economies of Central and Eastern Europe, and Alena K. Almagir shows how Polish workers were central to the Czechoslovak economy in the 1960s and 1970s. Later, Cuban and Vietnamese workers took their places and were often developing a strong militant culture fighting for better working conditions and wages. Not only chronic labour shortages, but at times and places also unemployment became a problem under state socialism, as Natalia Jarska shows in relation to 1950s Poland, where it led to attempts to exclude women from the job

pean Socialism Between Militant and Parliamentary Democracy: a Pan-European Debate 1945–1948, in: European Review of History 26:2 (2019), pp. 331–352. Idem: Socialism Across the Iron Curtain. Socialist Parties in East and West and the Reconstruction of Europe after 1945, Cambridge 2019.

9 See, for example: Anne Dietrich, Eric Burton, Immanuel Harisch and Marcia Schenck (eds.): Navigating Socialist Encounters: Moorings and (Dis)Entanglements Between Africa and East Germany During the Cold War, Berlin 2021.

10 For a good survey, see: Ben Fowkes: The Rise and Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, London 1995.

market in order to avoid what was a morally unacceptable and embarrassing form of social reality for a Communist state.

The second section of the book examines how the communist regimes tried to control and discipline labour. Małgorzata Mazurek discusses campaigns in Communist Poland to discipline dissatisfied consumers aiming at diverting attention from the systemic economic mismanagement. Ulrike Schult underlines how workers in Slovenia and Serbia, who often had agricultural backgrounds, sought to pursue their interests through absences from the workplace and other forms of lack of discipline. Eszter Bartha explores dissatisfaction of East German and Hungarian workers vis-à-vis the workers' hostels in both countries. Chiara Bonfiglioli looks at how Yugoslav women found themselves unhappy under a triple burden of paid work, housework and the demands of political participation in factory committees. Overall, the contributions in this section show how working-class dissatisfaction at the workplace contributed to strong feelings of disillusionment of workers with their Communist governments.

The third section of the book discusses questions of workers' safety. Thomas Lindenberger examines practices of safety self-regulation in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and discusses large-scale industrial disasters as a means of the state to take control of industrial relations by declaring a limited state of emergency. Adrian Grama interprets workers' disability claims in Romania as attempts to demand greater social justice. Marko Miljković puts forward an argument how work safety measures in factories in Yugoslavia drew a clear line between an essential core workforce and those deemed more expendable.

The fourth part of the book focusses on forms of protest under communism. Peter Heumos sees the emergence of factory councils and strikes in Czechoslovakia as a means to counter centralized party control. These practices should be seen, he argues, as an important part of the factory cultures of resistance that ultimately was to bring down communism in Czechoslovakia. Susan Zimmermann recounts the unsuccessful campaign for equal pay undertaken by a trade union women's committee in Hungary underlining how the gender pay gap also became an increasingly contested issue in Communist Eastern Europe in the 1970s. Sabine Rutar examines workers' strikes in the shipping and port industries of Rijeka and Koper that were heavily affected by processes of deindustrialization that spanned the capitalist West and the communist East and even produced similar strike action across the Cold War divide. Rory Archer and Goran Musić present a fascinating account of how workers in late Yugoslav socialism responded to the deepening economic crisis by demanding more market reforms. This, the authors argue, should not, however, be understood as demands to move to a capitalist system but rather as reforms meant to strengthen socialism. In the last section of the book we find just one article by Anca Glont who examines the global entanglements of the miners of the Jiu valley in Romania who trained miners from Vietnam, Cuba, Zambia, the Dominican Republic and Kenya—giving the remote Jiu valley a global significance that is often forgotten today but can be reconstructed

through labour history. Overall this is an outstanding collection assembling some of the truly remarkable work in labour history that has been coming out of Central and Eastern Europe for some time now.

Among the fiercest critics of the Communist regimes in the east and the capitalist regimes in the West were anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. During the Cold War, research on anarchism was a niche concern, as the overwhelming interest and funding was for communism in the east and for social democracy in the West.[11] However, anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism always had a range of dedicated followers, and, as the edited volume by Carl Levy and Saul Newman entitled *The Anarchist Imagination* underlines, they had a considerable influence on a great variety of disciplines within the humanities and social sciences, which increased substantially after the end of the Cold War. It is well-known that anarchist thought had a deep influence on a range of social movements from 1968 to the new social movements of the 1970s and 1980s and the more contemporary anti-globalist and environmentalist movements. Much less discussed has been the intellectual influence of anarchist though in the academic world, which is where this pioneering and eye-opening book comes into play, breaking new ground in the study of anarchism. The lucid introduction by Carl Levy sets out the issues at stake and already provides tantalizing glimpses into the meeting of academic and anarchist worlds. He highlights Colin Ward's *Anarchy* magazine in the 1960s as a central platform of an ongoing dialogue between humanities and social science disciplines and anarchist thought. Classic scholars, including Karl Marx, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, the theorists of elites, such as Robert Michels, pragmatists such as C. Wright Mills, Green thinking, second and third wave feminists, theorists of intersectionality, social movement scholars, theorists of social capital, transnational labour historians, network analysts, the scholarship on altruism, the critique of ideology, postcolonial thought—they all engaged with anarchist thought and vice versa, leading to often extremely constructive and productive dialogues, but also occasional spats and violent disagreements. The following chapters are brimming with insights related to sociology, international relations, security studies, political theory, political science, feminist studies, geography, postcolonial studies, legal studies, educational studies, religious studies, art, anthropology and linguistics. Furthermore, there are fleeting references to history, psychology, criminology and organization studies.

As I cannot do justice to the complexity and richness of the arguments presented in these chapters, let me just pick out a few highlights. Mohammed Bamyeh provides a fascinating analysis of how anarchist-inspired sociologists have attempted to

11 For a good survey of the state-of-the-art in the history of anarchism and anarchist studies, see: Carl Levy and Matthew S. Adams (eds.): The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism, Basingstoke 2019.

make sense of the Arab spring in ways that can be developed also for other sociologies of revolt and protest. Saul Newman suggests tantalizing ways of renewing anarchist thought in political theory by incorporating ideas from poststructuralism, especially Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Sandra Jeppesen's chapter underlines the importance of anarcha-feminists in providing a deeper understanding of male forms of power and oppression over a wide range of topics and themes. Anthony Ince demonstrates how anarchist geography has reconceptualized space as networked and rhizomatic patterns of autonomy. Maia Ramnath shows how postcolonial studies has benefitted from the insight of anarchists on a range of topics including nationalism, cultural hybridity, and diasporic experiences. Allan Antliff highlights the integral role of aesthetics in the politics of anarchism and goes on to show, largely with reference to Canadian conceptual artists, how conceptual art in the twentieth century has been picking up many of the concerns championed by anarchists. In his compelling conclusion, Carl Levy describes the academic universe of the humanities and social sciences as 'a hall of mirrors' through which anarchists wandered. Exploring the long-lasting and deep relationship with anthropology, Levy provides a defence of anarchist anthropologists and he goes on to do the same for anarchist linguistics, the best-known representative of which was Noam Chomsky. Overall the reader of this volume will emerge from this book entirely convinced that anarchist ways of seeing have had a long-term and deep impact on how humanities and social science disciplines developed from the nineteenth century through to the present day.

Anarchism was a self-consciously transnational movement that forged many alliances across national borders.[12] The same is true for the protest movements against nuclear energy that were often inspired by anarchist thought. At the centre of attention in Natalie Pohl's superbly researched book entitled *Atomprotest am Oberrhein* stand the citizens' movements against nuclear energy that emerged on both sides of the French-German border in Baden and the Alsace in the 1970s and early 1980s. Pohl analyses the many innovative forms of protest championed by these movements and traces their significant impact on a variety of new social movements in both France and Germany.[13] The Baden-Alsatian Citizen Initiatives protested against the planned construction of nuclear power plants in Wyhl and Fessenheim, Breisach. Pohl narrates an intriguing story of trans-border cooperation to mobilize the wider public against political decisions taken by elected representatives. She is particularly good in

12 On transnational activism, see the more recent perspectives in: Donatella della Porta and Sydney Tarrow (eds.): Transnational Protest and Global Activism: People, Passions and Power, Lanham 2005, and for more historical perspectives, see: Stefan Berger and Sean Scalmer (eds.): The Transnational Activist. Transformations and Comparisons from the Anglo-World since the Nineteenth Century, London 2018.

13 See also: Hans Peter Kriesi, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Marco G. Giugni (eds.): Social Movements in Western Europe: a Comparative Analysis, London 2015.

highlighting to what extent a shared dialect and the construction of a shared regional past boosted the attempts of the protest movement and was an important resource for their struggle. The book has its origins in a cotutelle dissertation defended both at the universities of Paris and Saarbrücken. Making good use of a wealth of archival written and audiovisual sources, Pohl, who visited no fewer than 13 archives, gives many fascinating examples of the ways in which ordinary citizens on both sides of the border came to cooperate and champion innovative protest cultures that in turn were to have a huge influence on other protest movements. The background and development of the movement is accounted for in great detail. Thus, for example, she highlights the success of the illegal radio broadcaster Radio Verte Fessenheim that kept moving in order to escape the police and continue operating an independent communication and information platform. The ultimate success of the movement and its ability to get heard in local and regional politics was due not least to the fact that it commanded significant support among farmers and local people who tended to be far more conservative than the radical students who also were a prominent presence in the protests.

The first three chapters of her more than 400-page book comprehensively introduce the citizens' initiatives that formed in the region during the 1970s. Her comparison of the French and German initiatives shows that these were far more organized and associational on the French side, whereas on the German side they were more informal, spontaneous and unstable. By contrast, within the transregional umbrella organization, the Badisch-Elsässische Bürgerinitiative, representatives from Baden far outnumbered representatives from the Alsace. Particularly prominent individuals who played a leading role in the protests get a lot of space. Their rich ego-documents are mined thoroughly to show how the opponents of nuclear power saw the epic battle that was unfolding on the Upper Rhine in those crucial years for the formation of anti-nuclear protests in Germany and France. In particular, the singer songwriter Walter Mossmann, the priest Günter Richter, the peace activist Wolfgang Sternstein and the teacher Jean-Jacques Rettig are prominently represented here. A particular strength of Pohl's study is the analysis of the reaction of local politicians and the government of Baden-Württemberg to the protests, much of which is new and directly taken from the archives.

The last two chapters of Pohl's book extends the historical analysis of the protest movement to a media and memory analysis that also makes for intriguing reading. The author can show how the *Badische Zeitung* on the German side viewed the protesters far more favourably than the *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace* on the other side of the border. Furthermore, Pohl provides an excellent analysis of the counter-media shaped by the protesters themselves, including the radio station mentioned above. Memory also became a crucial resource for the protesters that was actualized in publications and songs. Thus, the protest movement discovered and celebrated a long tradition of protest in the region ranging back to peasant wars of the sixteenth century, eighteenth and nineteenth-century riots and the 1848 revolution. Recalling past

struggles against governments allowed the anti-nuclear activists to put themselves in a long line of a politics from below directed against official political representatives. Overall, Pohl's study is the definitive work on the iconic protests in Baden and the Alsace that have drawn attention from other scholars but have never been examined in such detail to date.[14]

Women played a major role in the protests on the Upper Rhine. That this was no exception is underlined by the outstanding comparative exploration of the fortunes of nuclear power in five West European nation states that is edited by Astrid Mignon Kirchhof under the title *Pathways into and out of Nuclear Power in Western Europe*. As the editor herself highlights in her superb introduction, difference-based feminists were particularly prominent in the protest movements of the five countries who argued that as women they had a higher rationality and morality that was both biologically and ecologically rooted. Individual physicists like Berta Karlik in Austria also had a prominent place in opposing nuclear energy. As all chapters in this highly informative volume underline the pioneering role of anti-nuclear protests in championing strategies and practices of resistance, they emerge here as important inspiration for cross-movement mobilization from the 1970s onwards.[15]

The book is organized into five separate national chapters that follow a similar grid of questions to be addressed which makes for good comparability of the country case studies. They all follow a 'rise and fall' narrative which starts with high hopes and ends with disillusionment. Christian Forstner writes on Austria's Nuclear Energy Programme, Jan-Henrik Meyer on the refusal of Denmark to introduce commercial nuclear power plants, Astrid Mignon Kirchhof and Helmuth Trischler on (West-) Germany's Nuclear Phase-Out, Matteo Gerlini on Italy and Arne Kaijser on a kind of Swedish exception which does not quite fit the narrative arc of 'rise and fall.' One might add that in global perspective this narrative arc is entirely unconvincing, as nuclear energy is far from a spent force. The climate crisis and the search for ways out of it has actually given nuclear energy a new lease of life in many parts of the world

14 See also: Dieter Rucht: Von Whyl nach Gorleben: Bürger gegen Atomprogramm und nukleare Entsorgung, Munich, 1980; Dorothy Nelkin and Michael Pollack: The Atom Besieged: Anti-Nuclear Movements in France and Germany, Cambridge, MA, 1982; Michael Schüring: ‚Bekennen gegen den Atomstaat': die Evangelischen Kirchen in der Bundesrepublik und die Konflikte um die Atomenergie, 1970–1990, Göttingen 2015; Andrew Tompkins: Better Active than Radioactive! Anti-Nuclear Protests in 1970s France and West Germany, Oxford, 2016; Stephen Milder: Greening Democracy: the Anti-Nuclear Movement and Political Environmentalism in West Germany and Beyond, 1968–1983, Cambridge 2017; Dolores L. Augustine: Taking On Technocracy: Nuclear Power in Germany, 1945 to the Present, New York, 2018.

15 See also the special issue on cross-movement mobilizations guest edited by Sabrina Zajak, in: Moving the Social: Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements 63 (2020) entitled *Cross-Movement Mobilization: Perspectives from the Global North and South*.

and one can speak with some confidence of a renaissance of nuclear energy in recent years.[16] Some of the West European states discussed here would then be seen almost as exceptions to the rule.

Yet, sticking with the West European comparative perspective, the volume is utterly convincing in tracing the critical discourses on nuclear energy in the five countries under discussion here. The transnational similarities as well as the national peculiarities emerge clearly from the pages of this extremely readable and insightful book. It is particularly fascinating to observe how all five chapters identify Social Democratic parties as the most enthusiastic in demanding the development of nuclear energy in the early days of the nuclear power industry. Only over the course of the 1970s and 1980s did they change tack. The increased greening of the Social Democratic parties meant that earlier hopes for an abundant energy resource gave way to ecological concerns and gloomy narratives of pending atomic disasters that were powerfully underlined by the Chernobyl disaster of 1986. Social Democratic parties therefore had to look for alternative ways of powering economies that continue to be dependant on energy-intensive industries employing millions of workers seeking to participate in the growing consumption, who are classic Social Democratic voters. After the red received some green shades from the 1980s onwards, Social Democrats are currently seeking to put the red back into the green.

Sweden and Germany mark two different pathways of how to deal with nuclear energy. Whereas a Christian Democrat-led government in Germany, under the influence of yet another nuclear disaster, Fukushima in Japan, decided to phase out nuclear energy altogether after a red-green government had already taken the decision to abandon nuclear energy in 1998, Sweden has retained nuclear energy as one energy resource among others following a referendum on the issue as early as 1981. It is also interesting to observe that in those countries who opted for nuclear energy, the energy companies were often among the least fascinated by this prospect as it was far easier for them to stick to fossil fuels with which they were making very healthy profits. The exception to the rule here is Italy, where energy companies promoted the use of nuclear. In Germany and Austria, it was the advances of research on the potential of nuclear energy that led to a veritable euphoria in the 1950s about the possibilities of nuclear power production. In Denmark a strong anti-nuclear protest movement not only prevented the development of a separate Danish programme for the use of nuclear energy, it also campaigned vigorously against nuclear plants just beyond the borders of Denmark, both in Sweden and in the GDR. It is impossible to do full justice to this superbly informative edited collection that succeeds admirably as an exercise in

16 Ekaterina Tarasova: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Discursive and Political Contexts: Between Expert Voices and Local Protests, Stockholm, 2017, which I reviewed in: Moving the Social: Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements 62 (2019), p. 85f.

comparative history despite being written by an authors' collective rather than an individual. As such, it also demonstrates how fruitful it can be to bring authors together on a specific theme and give them a structure that allows for comparison across the national case studies that are being examined.

The anti-nuclear protest movement is an intriguing social movement in that it used feelings of regional identity and belonging to a specific place—a sense of Heimat —to good effect.[17] Heimat sentiments were often linked to local or regional places, but in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nationalism adapted these feelings of smaller Heimats to develop the larger Heimat, i. e. the nation. National identity has no doubt been one of the most powerful collective identity markers in the modern world, partly because nation states provided a forum for entitlements and rights. Even critics of dominant nationalisms could often not but formulate alternative visions of the nation, promoting nationalisms that were different to those that were dominant. This was, by and large, the case for the nineteenth-century labour movements in Europe that were internationalist in their emphasis on common forms of exploitation of workers across nation states, but at the same time, the nation-state was increasingly the frame in which labour parties and trade unions operated and hence a forum in which concreted social reforms could be obtained.[18] Thus we can observe a creeping nationalization of labour, the more it was possible for labour movements to be accepted by employers and the state.

Martin van Ginderachter's brilliant study entitled *The Everyday Nationalism of Workers* provides a detailed case study of the Belgian Workers Party (BWP) and its attempt to forge a sense of national identity that appealed to their core constituency, i. e. industrial workers, but that was still capable of differentiating the BWP's vision of nation from that of its bourgeois rivals. After setting out his own understanding of nationalism that emphasizes the role of states and their elites in promoting nationalism as a form of state building and pays special attention to symbols and cultural practices of the everyday to trace how those elite-driven processes are adapted 'from below,' Ginderachter introduces the reader to the special context of the Belgium nation-state as it emerged out of international diplomatic initiatives in the nineteenth century. He emphasizes the strong liberal frame of the Belgian state which set significant limits to its willingness to interfere with the lives of its citizens. Institutions that were vitally important for the building of nations elsewhere, such as schools, the military, colonialism and welfare states all remained somewhat deficient and underdeveloped.

17 On the concept of Heimat, compare: Bernhard Schlink: Heimat als Utopie, Frankfurt am Main 2000. On its origins in nineteenth century Germany, see also: Celia Applegate: A Nation of Provincials: the German Idea of Heimat, Berkeley 1990.

18 John J. Schwarzmantel: Socialism and the Idea of the Nation, London 1991.

Society was heavily pillarized and divided along liberal versus Catholic lines, to which the socialists added a third pillar in the late nineteenth century.

The BWP was founded in 1885 and from its inception it sought to square a pronounced internationalism with an oppositional nationalism that emphasized the democratization of politics and other spheres of life, including the economy. Indeed, the 1893 general strike brought an extensive expansion of voting rights that now incorporated large sections of the working class for the first time, but the proportional voting system that was introduced also highlighted ethnic cleavages between Walloons and the Flemish. In particular, the attempts of the BWP to associate the founding of Belgium in 1830 with the revolutionary ideals of the French revolution of 1789 met with hostility or, at best, indifference, by Flemish workers many of whom remained hostile to what they saw as an elite Francophone culture. Another difficult terrain for the BWP was republicanism, as many workers remained loyal to the monarchy—a trend that was exacerbated after the unpopular Leopold was succeeded by Albert. The third pillar of the BWP's programme, anti-militarism, was arguably, according to Ginderachter, the most popular, as the army remained unpopular with many workers—increasingly so after conscription was introduced relatively late in the day in 1913.

Socialist workers remained distinctly distrustful of the national flag and the national anthem, which they rejected as a symbol of the clerical and bourgeois nature of official nationalism. Making good use of so-called 'propaganda pence,' i. e. short messages in the socialist newspapers *Vorruit*, penned by supporters of the BWP, Ginderachter can show how Flemish workers in particular championed the Flemish language and Flemish history. Despite the fact that a clerical Catholic Flemish movement dented the socialist workers' enthusiasm for Flemishness, Ginderachter argues that Flemish socialist workers remained receptive to the tropes of Flemish 'banal nationalism.'[19] Yet Flemish nationalism did not prove all that divisive for the BWP before 1914, as the pillarization of the country along class lines remained strong. Where the party struggled significantly more was in squaring the circle between its professed internationalism and its championing of a democratic nationalism—but that was a fate that the BWP shared with all socialist parties in the Second International.[20]

Socialists were, throughout the long nineteenth century, among the political forces most intent on democratizing nation states.[21] In Germany they were at the heart of

19 For the concept of ‚banal nationalism', see: Michael Billig: Banal Nationalism, London 1995.

20 Patrizia Dogliani: ‚The Fate of Socialist Internationalism', in: Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (eds.): Internationalisms. A Twentieth-Century History, Cambridge 2017, pp. 38–60.

21 That socialism was, above all, a movement for greater democracy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is underlined by Geoff Eley: Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000, Oxford 2000.

transforming an authoritarian Imperial German state into a parliamentary and social democracy after the revolution of 1918.[22] In German historiography there has been a long-standing debate to what extent this democratic transformation has been successful. Historians have asked whether socialists did not push democratization far enough in 1918/9 when they still had the power to do so, and whether this failure sealed the fate of the Weimar Republic almost from its beginning.[23] To what extent this question of democratic transformation is still at the heart of much recent scholarship on Weimar democracy is underlined by the collection of essays edited by Sebastian Elsbach, Ronny Noak and Andreas Braune, which emerged out of a conference organized by the research centre on the Weimar Republic at the University of Jena in conjunction with the Weimar Republic Association in Weimar. The central concern of many of the contributions assembled here is with the history of democracy and the collection as a whole seeks to answer the question to what degree the Weimar Republic was a hinge connecting the histories of Imperial Germany before 1918 and the Federal Republic after 1949. It draws attention to a range of conflicts that characterized Weimar politics, but far from arguing that Weimar politics were too conflictual, many articles stress how the republic was relatively successful in dealing politically with such conflicts. As political and social conflict is at the heart of modern democracy, the successful mediation of such conflicts via democratic procedures is central to working democracies. How did the Weimar Republic fare with this stress test for democracies? Were there indeed too many who refused to accept conflict as the basis of modern democratic societies? Was there an overwhelming longing to return to an alleged social harmony and a consensual politics that was anti-pluralist and ultimately anti-democratic?

In sum, the contributions to this extremely readable collection give a highly differentiated answer to these questions in a wide variety of different societal fields. Thus, Angela Schuberth points out that the concept of 'people's community' (Volksgemeinschaft) was by no means a concept used exclusively by an antidemocratic right. It was widely used among democrats signalling a democratic people's consensus—a meaning that has been completely lost through the dominance of National Socialist concepts of *Volksgemeinschaft*. The anti-revolutionary mobilization of students and staff at the universities at the beginning of the republic (Florian Schreiner) and the widespread use of political violence, including killings (Sebastian Elsbach), just as the overwhelming scepticism towards parliamentarism among many political parties

22 Much of the recent literature on the German revolution of 1918 has emphasized its role in establishing the first German democracy. See: Reinhard Rürup: Revolution und Demokratiegründung. Studien zur deutschen Geschichte, 1918/19, Göttingen 2020. See also: Stefan Berger, Wolgang Jäger and Anja Kruke (eds.): Gewerkschaften in revolutionären Zeiten. Deutschland in Europa 1917–1923, Essen 2020.

23 Wolfgang Niess: Die Revolution von 1918/19 in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung. Deutungen von der Weimarer Republik bis ins 21. Jahrhundert, Berlin 2013.

not just on the political right but also within the ranks of democratic parties (Jörn Retterath), and the widespread militarization of the political language towards the end of the Weimar Republic (Sebastian Gräb) all point to the strong forces critical of the conflictual set-up of the new democracy. The failure of the left-liberal DDP to make its attempts to form a bridge to reformist social democracy attractive to its overwhelmingly bourgeois voters (Alex Burkhardt) can also be seen as a sign of the unwillingness of large swathes of the German middle classes to accept a conflictual form of consensus-building as the basis of the new polity. The championing of anti-liberalism by intellectuals such as Carl Schmitt formed a bridgehead to fascism already during the Weimar Republic (Ludwig Decke). Especially for German Jews, the increasing threat posed by the Nazis led to a situation where Jewish publications endorsed political candidates on the basis of who was most likely to defeat the Nazi candidate in the early 1930s (Simon Sax).

On the other hand, the increasing democratization of the stock corporation law (Felix Selgert) and the extension of the welfare state (Oliver Gaida) just as the attempt to build a more republican school culture (Anne Otto), the successful feminization of the Protestant churches (Michaela Bräuninger) and the resilience of democratic institutions in Thuringia (Timo Leinbach) show how the forces of democratization were successfully reforming aspects of political culture in the Weimar Republic. Birgit Bublies-Godau's contribution on the Venedey family as a democratic family dynasty is a particularly intriguing chapter as it points to the potential of using a transgenerational family history in order to build democratic memory traditions. Whilst conservative intellectuals could make their peace with democracy in the 1920s (Andreas Behnke), republicans, like Hans Kelsen were more than capable of countering critiques of democracy (Helene Eggersdorfer). Several contributions pick up on specific continuities between Weimar and the early Federal Republic, which are very visible in the schools for party officials (Ronny Noak). Intellectual patterns of conflict that had already been forged during the Weimar Republic remained alive and important in the early years of the Federal Republic as Frank Schale underlines in his discussions of the political conflicts surrounding re-armament. Sarah Langwald can show how the persecution of communists in the early Federal Republic owed much to the continuities, both personal and intellectual, in the German legal system before and after 1945. Thomas Schubert even sees an intellectual civil war raging in Germany from the Weimar Republic to the end of the old Federal Republic, in which liberals, conservatives, fascists and communists struggled for intellectual hegemony. On balance, the volume underlines that the 1918 revolution was followed by a wave of democratizations in different spheres of public life in Germany, thus refuting earlier notions that Weimar had already failed before it had properly begun.

Democratizing the nation-state did not only become a huge challenge in Germany and, one might add, in many other European nation states after the First World

War.[24] As Wolfgang Schmale shows in his fascinating book on a variety of different organizations and individuals championing notions of a more united Europe, ideas of democratization also very much came to the fore among those seeking to build a united Europe from the interwar period to the early 1950s. Schmale focusses on three groups in particular, the Freemasons, the Human Rights' Leagues, and what he terms individual citizens who had been inspired by Winston Churchill's various speeches on Europe between the end of the Second World War and the early 1950s. Making good use of archival material and printed newspapers and bulletins, Schmale sees a direct relation between the idea of building a united states of Europe and some of the key values of Freemasonry, among which Schmale counts democracy, human rights, peace and civilization. He upholds a very rosy-eyed and positive perception of Freemasonry that informs his explanations for the Masons' commitment to Europe. An analysis less rooted in a history of ideas and more in social history might have been able to unmask much of the 'ideas' of Freemasonry as ideology, but it is nevertheless highly interesting to read about primarily French Masons committing themselves to the idea of building a united Europe in the interwar period. The Masons were, however, part of a social, political, and economic elite that were motivated by plans to stabilize and extend that elite's position in the world. Hence, time and again, they refer to the economic and military benefits that would be derived from a united states of Europe. Their commitment went hand in hand with a commitment to colonialism and imperialism and should be read, more than Schmale gives credit to, not as the outcome of a human rights and democracy discourse, but more a discourse of global power constellations.

Schmale's second case study is based on the European Human Rights' Leagues, in particular the French Ligue Internationale des Droits de l'Homme. Again, the discourse on human rights, human dignity and democracy is very much to the fore in the publications of the leagues that are analyzed by Schmale. They put particular trust in the League of Nations and argued that under the umbrella of the League, larger territorial federations should emerge, including a European, an American, an Asian and an African federation. Their thinking in continental federations points to a global political frame for the ideas of Europe that were championed by the leagues. In fact, Schmale observes a considerable overlap of activists between the Masons and the leagues. The leagues also emphasized the economic benefits of European unity and, like the Masons, they intended to build a colonialist and imperialist Europe where Europe would keep its colonies and continue with an alleged civilizational mission in the non-European world.

24 See the contributions by Ralph White, Stefan Berger and Angel Smith, in: John Garrard, Vera Tolz and Ralph White (eds.): European Democratization since 1800, Basingstoke 2000, pp. 77–140. See also, more generally: Kari Palonen, Tuija Pulkkinen and José Maria Rosales (eds.): The Ashgate Research Companion to the Politics of Democratization in Europe. Concepts and Histories, Avebury 2016.

If the Masons' and the leagues' understanding of democracy and human rights was therefore quite limited and certainly not in line with mainstream understandings of democracy and human rights today, the same is true for the reaction of individual citizens to Churchill's speeches that Schmale has dug up from the Archives of the European Union in Florence. Here it is crystal clear that many of the admirers of Churchill had little to do with either democracy or human rights. Anti-communism, occidentalism, imperialism, white supremacism, the idea of the civilizational superiority of Europe—they all feature much more strongly than any convictions that the supporters of the EU might want to align with its present-day incarnation. It would have been interesting to see whether more letters are contained in the Churchill Archives in Cambridge, but Schmale has apparently not explored this avenue further. Overall Schmale's insightful book is part and parcel of a growing literature on the antecedents of the European Union, among which were many whose democratic credentials were rather dubious, like those of Count Koudenhove-Kalergi.[25] Once again it was the socialist labour movement that was amongst the most democratic stalwarts of the idea of European unity, even if also here we find notions of racism and colonialism present.[26] But internationalism, however problematic, was part of the DNA of the socialist labour movement.

This is also true for Alwin Brandes, the subject of an exemplary biography of Siegfried Mielke and Stefan Heinz. Brandes headed the most influential member union of the Social Democratic trade union federation, the ADGB, namely the metalworkers' federation, in the Weimar Republic. Coming from an artisan background, his father was a master locksmith, Brandes joined the Social Democrats at 24 years of age. His harsh experiences as an apprentice brought him into the metalworkers' union, where he quickly rose through the ranks to become a full-time union official organizing metalworkers in Magdeburg. At the same time, he sat for the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the city council of Magdeburg, where, on the one hand, he experienced first-hand how the conservative and liberal parties shunned Social Democrats. Yet he also saw how political work was not in vain, as he was one of the driving forces behind the creation of a city housing office working towards improving the dreadful housing conditions of many workers. Municipal social reforms in many parts of Imperial Germany could count on the support of Social Democrats everywhere. Brandes opposed the First World War and when German social democracy split, he joined the Independent Socialists (USPD): his union in Magdeburg supported mass strikes of metalworkers against the war.

25 Anita Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler: Botschafter Europas. Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger und dreissiger Jahren, Vienna, 2004; more generally, compare: Rüdiger Hohls and Hartmut Kaelble (eds.): Geschichte der europäischen Integration bis 1989, Stuttgart 2016.

26 Willy Buschak: Die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa sind unser Ziel. Arbeiterbewegung und Europa im frühen 20. Jahrhundert, Essen 2014; Idem: Arbeiterbewegung und Europa im frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Dokumentenband, Essen 2018.

During the revolution he was an advocate of a council republic and wanted to push economic, social and political reform further than the Majority Social Democrats under Friedrich Ebert. However, he also opposed Bolshevism and was sceptical about post-revolutionary developments in Russia. Hence, when the left wing of the USPD joined the German Communist Party in 1920, Brandes, alongside many others, rejoined the Social Democrats. Between 1919 and 1933 he was chairman of the metalworkers' union, one of the most left-wing unions in the ADGB. Yet he also was a strong anti-communist and categorically ruled out any united front between social democratic and communist unions. As Reichstag deputy for the SPD he was strictly against any cooperation with the Communist Party (KPD). As a trade unionist he was active in the international secretariat of the metalworkers and knew many of the leading metalworkers' unionists in Britain, France and many other European nations. He was also committed to the cause of women's rights. Mielke and Heinz underline how the world economic crisis after 1929 left the union incapable of fighting the employers on the factory floor and the SPD incapable of fighting the rise of the Nazis. The toleration of the chancellorship of Brüning cost the party dearly at the ballot box. As a prominent Social Democrat and trade unionist Brandes was persecuted by the Nazis—twice he had to serve time in a concentration camp. Despite these experiences he remained active in the resistance against the Nazis commanding over an expansive network of contacts ranging throughout Germany and to comrades in exile. After the end of the Second World War Brandes stayed in the Soviet zone of occupation and fought hard as a Social Democrat to prevent the take-over of the rebuilt metalworkers' union by the communists. Given the power constellations in the Soviet zone this was an impossible task and had he lived longer, he would probably have had to leave or face renewed persecution—this time by the communists. Brandes was representative of a type of socialist labour movement official who struggled on behalf of the collective advancement of his class towards greater opportunities in politics, the economy and in society. Although it is by no means a hagiography and written in the sober scientific ductus that befits a scholarly work, one cannot put this book down without feeling great admiration for Alwin Brandes, whose idealism and practical politics still shine as a major example to everyone fighting for greater social justice and democracy today.

Although there remain many blind spots, the history of trade unionism is a rather well-researched field in German history. This is partly thanks to the Cold War, when Communist East Germany sponsored labour history written in a Communist mould and capitalist West Germany sponsored, through Social Democracy, a labour history broadly written in a Social Democratic mould.[27] After 1990 the latter tradition

27 On the trajectory of German labour history, see: Stefan Berger: 'Writing the Comparative History of Social Democracy: a Comparative Look at Britain and Germany', in: John Callaghan and Ilaria Favretto (eds.): Transitions in Social Democracy: Cultural and Ideological

remained strong, not the least through the efforts of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, close to the SPD, and the Hans-Böckler Foundation, close to the trade union confederation, the DGB. The last book to be discussed in this review deals with the contacts of the West German trade unions with Communist Eastern Europe during the period of détente between 1969 and 1989. What emerges clearly from yet another impeccably researched work of labour history, based on stupendous archival research and a masterly knowledge of the substantial secondary literature, is how much these contacts were part and parcel of West German foreign policy during the 1970s and 1980s, in particular during a time of Social Democratic governments between 1969 and 1982. But Stefan Müller has interesting things to say even in his brief survey of the pre-history from the Weimar Republic through to the 1960s. Thus, it is intriguing that already from the mid-1950s the trade union movement took steps to work more productively with the de facto division of Germany and the European continent. Especially Heinz Kluncker, who was elected chairman of the influential public services union (ÖTV), was one of the key people behind the strategy to seek contacts behind the Iron Curtain, as early as 1964. The youth movement of the DGB supported these moves energetically.

Throughout the two decades that are examined in great depth here, i.e the 1970s and 1980s, these contacts were extended substantially: the aspiration of leading trade unionists oscillated between euphoria that it might be possible to overcome the East-West division of the Cold War and the realization that it might at best be possible to stabilize the bipolar world order of the Cold War and prevent renewed tensions between East and West. In 1969, the DGB congress formulated its own positions vis-à-vis *Ostpolitk*, which were broadly in line with the incoming Social Democratic government under Willy Brandt. In particular, Heinz-Oskar Vetter, chairman of the DGB between 1969 and 1982, played a significant role in preparing the ground for the success of the Social Democratic *Ostpolitik* through his travelling diplomacy between Warsaw and Moscow. As with *Ostpolitik* more generally, the contacts with Poland and the Soviet Union were far easier to develop than the contacts with the other Germany, the GDR, and its trade union movement, the FDGB. But here West German trade unionists were also ultimately successful in forging ties, many of which stayed intact for the remainder of the Cold War division of the European continent. Throughout, trade union leaders coordinated their activities very closely with the Social Democratic government, and they became a vital instrument for Brandt's foreign-policy initiatives vis-à-vis Communist Eastern Europe in the early 1970s.

Problems of the Golden Age, Manchester 2006, pp. 59–74; Stefan Berger: 'Introduction: the Revival of German Labour History', in: special issue 'German Labour History' guest-edited by Stefan Berger, German History 37:3 (2019), pp. 277–294.

It makes for intriguing reading to follow Müller through the analysis of the many differences that characterized the positions of different West German unions in relation to their attitudes to Communist Eastern Europe, ranging from crypto-communist positions to stark anti-communist positions. It is all the more surprising that Vetter and the DGB could keep the ship on course and play a constructive role in preparing the Berlin Treaty of 1972. Following the peak of *Ostpolitik*, the DGB and many of its unions initiated, during the second half of the 1970s, an intensive schedule of mutual visits of delegations discussing a variety of different topics, from détente to practical issues of ensuring better work safety, better working conditions, better pay, trade union education and other trade union related matters. Whilst these exchanges could be more or less intense at certain times, they left an overall somewhat stale and disillusioned feeling among many West German trade unionists, as they felt that no real dialogue with their counterparts was possible. Müller's analysis shows clearly how the emergence of the independent Polish trade union *Solidarność* marked a decisive caesura and made it difficult to continue with an increasingly routinized and cosy travel arrangement between West German and Eastern European trade unionists.[28] He shows how, for a long time, the West German unions attempted to position themselves as mediators between the official communist unions and *Solidarność*. That, however, satisfied no one and left German unionists in an extremely uncomfortable position. Ultimately, the DGB lent its support to the Polish dissident unionists, but unofficially they were often frustrated about the inability to enter into a constructive dialogue in a situation of rising tensions within Poland. Yet Müller is also extremely astute in working out that the responses to and the lessons learnt from *Solidarność* were by no means the same among West German trade unionists. Whilst for some it led to a break with Communist unions, others attempted to continue a dialogue with the official union movements which brought them harsh criticism from representatives of *Solidarność* and dissidents more generally across Eastern Europe.

During the Second Cold War in the 1980s, the unions lent support to all foreign-policy initiatives of the SPD that sought to rescue détente from the increasingly polarized and hostile noises coming in particular from Washington and London. German-German trade union contacts especially thrived in the 1980s around issues of peace and ongoing dialogue between the different systems. Most West German unionists, with some exceptions, accepted the existence of a second German state and sought to work not for a unified Germany, but for a liberalized GDR. Müller argues convincingly that ultimately the dense network of contacts did not only lead to a diminished notion of enmity but also to forms of mutual understanding that worked

28 This is also true for other West-European union movements—to varying degrees. See: Idesbald Goddeeris (ed.): Solidarity with Solidarity. Western European Trade Unions and the Polish Crisis, 1980–1982, Lanham 2010.

towards undermining a hardline communism in the GDR. Throughout the 1980s the unions continued to operate as quasi-state institutions, coordinating their activities behind the Iron Curtain closely with West German governments, regardless of whether they were headed by the SPD or the CDU.

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