

The study does offer another perspective to the strike, but it is not the last word on the Winnipeg struggle.

Foster J. K. GRIEZIC

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JACQUES DROZ *et al.* — *Histoire générale du Socialisme*. Tome II: *De 1875 à 1918*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974.

The second volume of the *Histoire générale du Socialisme*, which is to be completed by a third has now appeared. Like the first, its format is sumptuous, and together with the third, the three volumes will approach or exceed 2,000 pages of text and include 144 well-chosen plates. In the first volume, Jacques Droz and his collaborators divided their task by looking at the distant origins of socialism in the ancient Orient, Greece and Rome, in the context of medieval and Renaissance society, in the struggles of peasant protest and war, in its further elaborations by some of the thinkers of the Enlightenment, in the experience of the French Revolution, and in its transmutations by the Utopian Socialists of the earlier nineteenth century who were quite consciously trying to create a science of society. The most original features of the volume are to be found in these sections of the volume and also in those which skilfully deal with the great complexity of the workers' movements from the time of the revolutions of 1848 to the tribulations and end of the First International. That part of the volume which concentrates on the England of those economists and the Germany of the philosophers is less challenging, if only because it is more familiar.

The present volume considers problems much closer to us in time, though they are still far from being well understood despite the existence of venerable studies on the regional, national and international socialisms covering the period from the dissolution of the First International in 1875 to the close of the first international industrial war. This middle volume also extends its gaze beyond Europe to other parts of the world where socialism was beginning to make some impression, but with the exception of the United States which receives fairly extended analysis, the principal focus is European, because of course the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, the Arab world and Asia remained largely resistant to the diverse forms of Socialist doctrine and organization until after 1918. It should also be pointed out that the treatment accorded the major European Socialist movements is not always consonant with their importance, a reflection of the state of the historiography; it is certainly not due to editorial direction or individual caprice. The rich and suggestive essay by Madeleine Rebérioux on the French labour movement and the proliferation of Socialist, anarcho-syndicalist sects and other forms of socialism owes a great deal to the solid, persistent and well-established research of French scholars. By contrast, the new directions taken by German scholars have not been sufficiently mirrored in the volume; and while British labour and social historians have often quite successfully widened their approaches and suggested new explanations of social and ideological conflict, François Bédarida's contribution centres on well-worn issues. The same may be said of Roger Portal's chapter on the Russian awakening to Socialist ideologies. In those areas of European socialism which are less well known, such as in Spain, Italy, Scandinavia, Belgium and Holland, readers will doubtless benefit from having at their disposal a compendium of information and intelligent comment. Concluding sections on the Second International and on the response to the first World War, the first by Annie Kriegel and the second by Rebérioux, raise general questions about the nature of Socialist penetration in the industrial and non-industrial worlds, as well as the philosophical structure of socialism, its internal conflicts, and its organizing strengths and weaknesses particularly at the international level. The problems which thus emerge serve, inadvertently as it were, to stimulate an assessment of the volume, beyond noting its obvious merit of providing a convenient source which is encyclopedic in its intent, elegant in its presentation, and thoughtful in its execution.

It appears that Droz and his contributors had in mind a survey, primarily political in its contours and content, with some acknowledgement of socio-economic structures, and an even sketchier discussion of the development of Socialist doctrines. There is of course much to be said for re-creating the Socialist movement's political edifice within existing national states, since it provides a workable framework for the analysis of the mobilization of popular support and the generation of contradictions arising from the espousal of revolutionary or neo-revolutionary ideals and participation within given political structures. Besides, the politics of socialism and the labour movement are more easily discernible and unquestionably more concrete. Moreover, as Droz reminds us, the enormous range and variety of socialism are rooted in the differing political traditions of the host societies, their social configurations, and their responses to the pace, impact and intensity of industrialization. Yet such a framework, while productive and useful, can also prove constraining and limiting.

What is largely lacking, though it seems to lie beneath the surface of the volume, perhaps too far below it, is a conceptual tool or series of tools which would serve to reveal the intricate network relating the doctrine, mentality and politics of the movement to its social matrix and to the development of the capitalist market place. We are, to be sure, made aware of the various strains and hybrids of Socialist thought whether in such technologically-advanced societies as Britain, Germany, France and the United States, or in the less industrialized societies of Mediterranean Europe, eastern Europe and Russia. But beyond these obvious reaffirmations and a few faint-hearted efforts to offer some explanations of the connections, for example, between anarchism and the whole range of compulsions of traditional societies, which were supposedly being extinguished rapidly in those societies more fully adapted to the imperatives of the market, or, to take another example, explanations of the affinity between well-articulated patterns of libertarian political authority and Socialist acceptance of its rules, the volume on the whole fails to pursue questions of this nature. Doubtless the task is a daunting one, and the authors of this volume are surely too intelligent and too knowledgeable not to be aware of its urgency. Their delineation of Socialist ideas and politics in a continuing dialectic seems, however, to be directed, as a result of the perspective they have adopted, to the advent of a unified Socialist doctrine co-terminous with intensive industrialism and the successive crises of capitalism. In this sense they have unwittingly equated socialism with modernization and robbed it of its ethic. But above all they have revealed the weakness of a scheme which, while sensitive to the existence of various strands of socialism, cannot present a convincing explanation of the force or ability of different clusters of Socialist ideas to attract support from different groups in any population. Calling attention to the mix of agrarian-industrial economies, to the persistence of artisanate industry, to the expansion of an unskilled labour force, in short to make connections between ideology, mentality, and economic change or lack of change would not by itself be sufficient, but the authors could have done more of this. They must just as assuredly begin to look seriously at such questions as religious belief, deference towards authority, Socialist views of work and leisure, and the means by which groups and classes release and express feelings of social discontent and how it is transformed in urban and semi-urban environments, old and new. The history of socialism must be much more explicitly grounded in such questions before its full importance as doctrine and protest can be grasped. These observations are advanced more to stimulate debate on what problems should engage historians in the future than to detract from the real achievement which this volume represents.

Harvey MITCHELL,  
*University of British Columbia.*