

needs to build a culture of resistance that continues after the election and after the collective agreement is signed. Therefore, one way to judge labour leaders is by how they foster and sustain militancy. It is clear that the leaders that Dubofsky supports do not measure up. It may be that they did win the best contracts possible, though this is debatable. In accepting the blandishments of the welfare state in the 1930s and 1940s, however, the Sidney Hillmans and Walter Reuthers agreed to stifle rather than encourage militancy, whether it came from the rank and file or from other union officials. If, as may be inferred from this book, militancy is the most important key to labour gaining from state intervention, the labour bureaucracy does indeed share some of the responsibility for labour's decline. In stressing the failure of the labour bureaucracy, the left is perhaps more pragmatic and practical than its critics who argue without evidence that the conservatives did all that could have been done.

Dubofsky ends *The State and Labor* on a bewildering note by insisting that the radical left and the conservative right are equally enemies of organized labour and solidarity. His rationale for this conclusion is that in "railing against trade union bureaucracy" (p. 237) the left places the rights of individual workers above the collective rights of the union just as anti-labour employers do. This is simply incorrect. The Marxist critique of bureaucracy is not primarily based on what Dubofsky dismisses as "rights talk" (p. 238) or a *laissez-faire* individualism. It is instead based on an expansion of the collective rights of the rank and file against the rights appropriated by the leadership. It is a call for a genuine solidarity based on democracy rather than a fragile pseudo-solidarity imposed from above. Dubofsky's misrepresentation of the left is unwarranted and splenetic.

Stripped of its highly charged polemics, *The State and Labor in Modern America* is useful for its broad survey of state policy and the goals of the labour elite. Professor Dubofsky is an excellent writer and stylist, and his insistence that the primary question of historians should be "who rides whom and how" is well placed and welcome. The research in secondary materials is thorough, and the bibliography is a handy guide to the field of labour history. But the book fails to achieve its aim of discrediting Marxist labour history and state theory. Indeed, its liberal analysis serves as a timely reminder that Marxism is necessary to fully understand labour, capital and the state.

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BERNHARD, MICHAEL H. *The Origins of Democratization in Poland. Workers, Intellectuals, and Oppositional Politics, 1976–1980.* Columbia University Press, New York 1993. xv, 298 pp. \$49.50. (Paper: \$17.50.)

The origin of the political opposition movement in Poland which caused the systemic change in 1989 can be traced back to the misled attempt of the Communist Party to raise food prices in 1976. The nationwide protests of the working class against this attempt and the subsequent repression of striking workers (and persons not involved) led to the foundation of the Workers' Defence Committee (KOR), a new kind of political opposition in Soviet-dominated countries.

The origins of KOR, its activities and its contribution to the rise of "Solidarnosc" form the centrepiece of this book. The main facts have already been given elsewhere, especially in Lipski's book on KOR, and one cannot but regret that the German literature has not been considered: Helga Hirsch's book on the political opposition and independent social movements in Poland 1976–1980 or Georg W. Strobel's contribution on the origins of "Solidarnosc" could usefully have been consulted for example. But Bernhard's study is based on many new sources which only became accessible after 1989–1990. He even provides such details as the increases in wages and pensions (both absolute figures and percentages) planned for different income groups after the announced price increases of June 1976. The strikes and the post-strike repression are described in detail, as is the birth of KOR, its different subgroups, the strategy for transforming the political system, and the unusual degree of cooperation between intellectuals and workers which gave KOR its particular strength. The Committee for Free Trade Unions in Silesia, Western Pomerania and the Baltic Seacoast (one of whose founding members was Lech Walesa) and its Charter of Workers' Rights was of crucial importance for the strikes of August 1980 and the birth of "Solidarnosc".

The core of Bernhard's empirical research is embedded in an ambitious theoretical framework. It includes a definition of civil society and its importance for eastern Central Europe and Poland in particular, as well as the problem of why the loss of support in society (legitimacy) was especially great in Poland when compared with other Soviet socialist states.

Polish society had not accepted Communist domination as legitimate. When the Communists stopped using terror on any great scale as a means to enforce obedience, they failed to secure economic legitimization because of the economy's poor performance, and thus they gradually forfeited the obedience of the people. This led to the extension of what Bernhard calls the public space by the civil society and the recognition of its boundaries by the state. The opposition movement is described in detail. Bernhard discusses not only KOR but also its conservative splinter group the ROPCiO, the students' and the peasants' movement, the Society of Scientific Courses ("Flying University"), the illegal independent press, etc. The role of the Catholic Church and its relationship to KOR could have been analysed in somewhat more detail – the tensions between its Catholic and non-Catholic wings were visible as early as 1980–1981 and became evident again in the election campaign of June 1989 (against Jan Józef Lipski for instance).

Bernhard is not quite successful in intimately connecting the theoretical and empirical parts of his study. Nevertheless it is an excellent academic study of the crucial years of the origins of democratization in Poland. The Polish experience is, as the author explains, unique, however, and cannot be generalized for neighbouring countries.

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