

could be interpreted as a class situation; the function of the workforce in the plant divides them into various professional groupings, each defending their particular privileges, a grouping that is equivalent to the division of the employment market into differing segments. Thus there are no signs of a development of class-consciousness in objective situation or subjective perception.

It should be remarked in conclusion that, despite its deficits, the study deserves considerable commendation for taking the individual case seriously and being generally prepared to discuss unexpected findings. Its greatest merit lies in the fact that it links varying approaches and varying source-types and thereby makes a significant contribution to our comprehension of the manufactory and its workforce.

*Christian Simon*

MILNER, SUSAN. *The Dilemmas of Internationalism. French Syndicalism and the International Labour Movement, 1900–1914*. Berg, New York [etc.]; distr. excl. in the US and Canada by St. Martin's Press, New York 1990. viii, 260 pp. £ 37.50.

By focusing on its trade-union component, Susan Milner offers a welcome and important corrective to the history of workers' internationalism in the quarter century before 1914. For too long that history has read as if it were the history of the Second Socialist International. Politics, of course, fascinate. A rich and extensive literature on the Second International, but very little on the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres (ISNTUC, founded in 1903, but with its own pre-history), is a measure of this perennial attraction.

The inherent drama of the Second International has provided historians with many worthy themes, but this imbalance in the literature, this fascination with the party-dominated International at the expense of the most proletarian of workers' organizations, the trade unions, is problematical. It leaves out many union organizations, including the largest in France (*Confédération Générale du Travail* – CGT) and the USA (American Federation of Labor – AFL), which eschewed the Second International, but sometimes pursued their own international endeavours. More importantly, many of the International's most-discussed projects, such as May Day demonstrations or common action against war, required trade-union cooperation. The parties of the International could propose, but only the trade unions could dispose, and in disposing they consulted their own interests first. Moreover, trade unions could grow powerful enough to set national party policy, and through it, could shape policy in the International itself, as the German "Free" trade unions did by imposing their own opposition to the general strike on the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD), the International's premier party. Histories that unduly stress the role of political parties cannot fully capture the complex forces at work within a wider workers' internationalism before 1914, nor even within the International itself.

*Dilemmas of Internationalism* very creditably contributes to redressing this imbalance.

ance. The book is richer than the subtitle implies, for Milner has much to offer on a variety of topics – the growth and nature of trade-union internationalism, the varying contributions to it by national affiliates, and national – international tensions – quite aside from the specific role of French syndicalism, a central theme that comes fully into play only in the second half of the volume.

The ISNTUC emerged when the International's increasing preoccupation with party issues convinced even supportive trade-union leaders that their own immediate concerns received insufficient attention there. But, as Milner puts it, the ISNTUC reflected less the internationalism of class than an "international solidarity of like-minded organizations". The ISNTUC rested on the premise that while national trade unions could best discuss mutual concerns and support directly, a natural division of effort existed between the unions and the parties of the Second International. This corresponded to the view of the German trade unions, which put their imprint on the early ISNTUC. The remarkable expansion of the Free trade unions and the growing influence of their reformism within German social democracy are well known. Internationally the German Free unions could shape the early ISNTUC, first, because the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), their only potential rival, did not participate (although the smaller British General Federation of Trade Unions did), and second, because the Scandinavian unions, early promoters of international organization, held basically the same views, especially regarding the complementary interests of parties and unions. The prime mover in the ISNTUC and its only pre-war Secretary, Carl Legien, at the head of the highly centralized Free unions, was also an SPD deputy in the *Reichstag*, supported gradual reform through economic and political activity, dismissed the SPD's revolutionary rhetoric as "*Kladderadatsch*", and had little patience for such disruptive symbolic acts as May Day demonstrations ("organization is everything"). Thus the insistence that only a single national federation could join the ISNTUC, that only federation officials should confer and speak for national movements, and then only on matters of practical unionism, reflected the German situation. International ties, moreover, were seen as serving the interests of national federations, which ideally should take the form of centralized, disciplined organizations working closely with workers' parties.

To those who insisted upon the revolutionary direct action of workers, who insisted upon the autonomy of the unions and therefore on keeping political parties at arm's length, the ISNTUC was unsatisfactory in structure and character. Its structure – admitting a single affiliate from each nation – excluded most syndicalist organizations as national minority movements. And under Legien's guidance the ISNTUC could otherwise exclude dissidents, however high-handedly. By temporizing on the early application of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) until the moderate AFL had affiliated, it effectively excluded the IWW. The ISNTUC, moreover, unilaterally replaced its Dutch affiliate, the pro-syndicalist *Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat*, with the social democratic *Nederlandsch Verband van Vakverenigingen*.

But if many dissidents could be excluded, the CGT was another matter. Only the CGT could claim to speak for French workers. No significant reformist rival existed with which to replace it, although the ISNTUC encouraged the large reformist faction within the CGT itself. From 1896, when the Second International required

affiliates to pledge themselves to political action, the CGT sought an alternative international theatre within which union autonomy would be respected. Its commitment to direct action, to the general strike, even more to anti-militarism, required international coordination. Only the ISNTUC – claiming over two million workers in 1904, over seven million in eighteen national affiliates in 1913 – appeared to offer a potential sphere of action bringing the CGT into contact with mass workers' organizations elsewhere and also placating domestic moderates who insisted on French participation. (Thus the CGT declined to participate in the independently organized 1913 International Syndicalist Congress in London.) But the ISNTUC proved little receptive to the CGT. Unable to get such proposals as the general strike and anti-militarism on the agenda, the CGT boycotted the 1905 Amsterdam and 1907 Christiania conferences. When the ISNTUC agreed to consider converting its biennial conferences to open trade-union congresses, the CGT agreed to host the 1909 conference in Paris, but it made no headway in the ISNTUC before 1914.

Milner clearly illustrates how, despite the lip service given to proletarian internationalism, national concerns shaped the ISNTUC, its membership, policies and debates. Increasingly powerful by the turn of the century, British unions were less attracted by such practical gains as blocking imported labour and raising strike support internationally that had led them to participate in the First International. The TUC remained aloof. The perception of such practical national benefits, on the other hand, prompted the German unions – confronting for example heavy competition from immigrant workers at the turn of the century – to promote international ties, but resting on a specific model. The ISNTUC could invoke workers' internationalism to deny the Czechs separate recognition, but it did so to protect the Austrian national union organization. The CGT, professing an internationalism of class, brought its own brand of unionism into the ISNTUC, where it encountered nearly uniform opposition. Ensuing recriminations, with the French depicting the German unions as bureaucratic, authoritarian and devoid of militant zeal, and the Germans depicting French labour leaders as ineffectual, irresponsible adventurists, scarcely fostered international understanding. But the CGT, constrained by a lack of options and reformist pressures at home, continued to hope that converting the ISNTUC meetings to open congresses would also bring a change in its agenda and character. Foreign critics predicted that the French organization would gradually become closer in character and concerns to the ISNTUC model. After the war the International Federation of Trade Unions (the ISNTUC's name from 1913), in which Jouhaux became Vice President, adopted the congress model, but by then the increasingly domesticated CGT had indeed moderated its own agenda. And by then the Comintern of 1919 (Milner errs in putting Lenin's twenty-one points of 1920 in 1919) presented a new challenge on the revolutionary left.

Milner anchors her work in diverse primary material – reports of national and international labour meetings, ISNTUC reports, the labour press, and archival material (that of the pre-war ISNTUC has disappeared), especially in France, but also from the Archive of the Workers' Movement in Copenhagen. Some critics may complain that labour leaders as spokesmen of national movements, issues of ideology and strategy, are at the centre of attention here, but it is inescapably so. *Dilemmas of Internationalism* fills a significant gap in labour literature and usefully underscores the fact that workers' internationalism encompasses much more than

the international activities of political parties. That it is unavoidably history from above diminishes neither its value nor Milner's achievement.

Wayne Thorpe

GERBER, JOHN. *Anton Pannekoek and the Socialism of Workers' Self-Emancipation 1873–1960*. [Studies in Social History, 10.] Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, Boston, London; International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam 1989. xxv, 250 pp. Ill. D.fl. 130.00; \$ 76.00; £ 46.00.

Dormant memories of days gone by were reawakened when I was sent this book to read. For a short time in 1975, I corresponded with Gerber on scientific matters concerning Anton Pannekoek's intellectual development and socialist militancy. We had a friendly exchange of material, information and opinions. Our rapport came to an end when I stopped my research work for about six years. Then, in the early 1980s when I resumed my research, I had completely forgotten the interesting written exchange with my American friend. I am now moved to discover that Gerber has also published a fine political biography of Pannekoek, and I am delighted to write this review. My own work, entitled *Scienza e socialismo. Anton Pannekoek 1873–1969*, was published in Italian in 1987 (see *International Review of Social History*, XXXIII (1988), p. 98).

I believe that Gerber and I both began by basing our work on the influence that Pannekoek's ideas had on some extreme left-wing movements towards the end of the 1960s, during the student demonstrations. Then, independently of each other, the nucleus was further developed and we were led to an appreciation of the doctrines of a thinker who has been almost totally forgotten today. Although Gerber's book only came to light in 1989, it was probably completed much earlier, since it does not consider important literature published after 1982 nor, to my dismay, my own earlier contributions. *Habent sua fata libelli*: unfortunately, this is often the fate of papers which find their publisher too late, when the author has come to terms with himself and gone on to deal with new subjects.

Gerber correctly views Anton Pannekoek's ideology and political career in the light of his concept of socialism, above all understood to be the "self-emancipation of the working class", and he reflects on its evolution from the historical-political conditions at that time and the critical arguments of Marxist theory. He gives detailed explanations of the way in which Pannekoek's socialist conscience developed within the Marxist milieu of the SDAP and the magazine *De Nieuwe Tijd*; his experiences in Germany with Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg; his emergence as theorist of the radical left, firstly Social Democratic and later Communist, at the time of the First World War and the revolutions; his contention with Lenin; his other exclusively intellectual position as "mentor" of the Dutch council-communist groups between the two world wars and after the Second World War. Serious, well-documented research has been carried out on original sources and important literature, despite the chronological limitations mentioned earlier. Having said this, I would also add that the book does perhaps give a politically one-dimensional and tendentially narrow impression of Pannekoek, while in fact he endeavoured to be