

breakthrough, but not why the entire political current disappeared from the political stage. Another question which remains is why the majority of left-socialists returned to their social-democratic roots sooner or later. Perhaps the explanation can partially be found in the way that the revolutionary politics of the left wing came into being inside social democracy. They were a reaction to the crisis of the LSI's reformism in turbulent times. It was when the chances of revolution receded and Nazism prepared for war, when it became clear in the thirties what was happening in the Soviet Union, that the way back became an attractive option. But for a more definite judgement more studies are needed of the different parties with their different backgrounds, in their own national context. In doing this work future researchers can profit from the present book.

*Wim Bot*

MANN, REINHARD. *Protest und Kontrolle im Dritten Reich. Nationalsozialistische Herrschaft im Alltag einer rheinischen Großstadt*. Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, New York 1987. ix, 413 pp. DM 58.00.

This is a tragically incomplete book. The author died in his early 30s. He wrote only a small part of chapter 6 on the persecution of non-conformist behaviour by the Gestapo; chapters 7 and 8 on the definition and punishment of non-conformist behaviour by the various nazi agencies, and on the relationship between nazi penetration of German society and the persistence of traditional structures, both remained unwritten. Chapter 5, which forms the heart of the present book, makes it clear that the missing parts would have been a major and original contribution to our understanding of the nazi regime.

Much of this chapter is based upon a systematic and comprehensive statistical analysis of a large sample of the immense quantity of records assembled by the Gestapo and the courts on opponents of the regime and on politically unreliable persons in Düsseldorf. The sheer vastness of the source materials (and the fact that some of the documentation was in a standardised form) dictated the use of a sampling method. Mann developed great expertise, both in statistical techniques, and (even more important) in learning how to derive the maximum information from sources which were often routinized and full of silences and biases. He explains his research design with great clarity and persuasiveness, but he never allowed his historical enquiry to become a prisoner of his methodology: the book consistently draws upon a wide range of secondary and other primary sources, and Mann clearly saw himself as an historian who could learn a great deal from the social sciences, rather than as a social scientist who had chosen an historical research topic.

The great advantage of beginning this highly ambitious research project with a sample drawn from the surviving 3,770 Gestapo records on citizens of Düsseldorf was that it promised to yield a *comprehensive* picture of relationships between the police and the people, a portrait of *all* forms of oppositional behaviour and attitudes, a fully detailed analysis of the workings of the Gestapo itself. Chapter 5 shows this promise well on the way to fulfilment. Out of the sample of 825 persons, 245

were arrested (or at least interrogated) for continued activity in prohibited organisations; Mann writes (pp. 81, 188) that this category was underrepresented in the sample on account of the exclusion of many communists, a distortion which is not satisfactorily explained. 241 persons were investigated for “non-conformist everyday behaviour”, and 96 for conventional (mostly economic) criminality. 139 persons are grouped together for “various” forms of non-conformist behaviour (– this is not a very useful category, for some of the cases in it were clearly political). And there were 104 cases of administrative controls by the Gestapo.

The data is indeed probably largely representative, and this fact justifies the author in making a large number of fascinating statistical correlations, which range from the more obvious facts concerning the age and profession of “offenders”, their previous political careers or religious affiliations, on to less obvious details like the places where “offences” were committed. The fruits of this great labour of analysis are interlaced with a great many case histories, which give a welcome plasticity to the discussion. It is impossible to summarize this part of the work in a review, but a few salient points call for comment.

First, while the Gestapo was ruthless against the political Left, its reign of terror was not total or universal. Much of Düsseldorf’s rich (non-political) associational life continued with only cosmetic changes after 1933. Or to take another example, youth gangs began to spread in the area with the start of the war, but they were not persecuted severely until 1943. As Mann argues, intimidation was as important as actual terror in maintaining political discipline.

Second, while the most important Gestapo technique in destroying organised political resistance groups consisted in the use of double-agents, fully one third of its interventions were prompted by denunciations from the population at large. Some of the latter were quite baseless – the prosecution of personal vendettas. But here, as elsewhere in the book, Mann maintains a consistent and scrupulous awareness concerning those parts of his enquiry to which there can be no answers because the relevant documents have been destroyed: in this case many denunciations were probably made in the first instance to party organizations, a fact which was not always recorded by the Gestapo. There are almost no other relevant records. On any account, the question of denunciation was a vital aspect of nazism’s penetration of German society, and Mann shows that the holders of power were acutely aware of this fact.

Lastly, the author raises the question of the social ecology of opposition and non-conformity. This is most easily answered in respect of the working-class parties and trade unions, but in Düsseldorf, as elsewhere, such resistance groups had been largely wiped out by 1938. In consequence, well over one half of the “offenders” in the sample were recorded as acting *as individuals*, on their own lonely account. (This figure should probably be higher, for the sample includes no-one arrested for indiscipline at the work-place, a growing category of people after 1939, in whom the Gestapo took an active interest.) On the evidence presented it is a bit difficult to see how many of these individual “offenders” could have been related, in the analysis, to specific social structures or milieus. But Mann was going to address himself to these problems in the unfinished parts of the book.

Düsseldorf was a large, socially diverse and modern city. In this sense too (not least in some of the introductory chapters) the author’s work was a pioneering piece

of research, for hitherto such detailed studies have only been carried out for parts of Germany, such as Bavaria and the coal mining communities of the Ruhr, which had very specific traditions and social structures.

A valuable appendix brings together Mann's published articles – subtle reflections on method in the historical social sciences, and a brilliant historiographical essay on the German resistance to Nazism. These pieces serve to underline the combination of great intellectual ambition and sustained rigour which was the hallmark of the author's project.

*Tim Mason*

CAREW, ANTHONY. *Labour Under the Marshall Plan. The Politics of Productivity and the Marketing of Management Science*. Manchester University Press, Manchester 1987. x, 293 pp.

This study is an important contribution to our knowledge of the Marshall Plan and its implications. Focusing on the roles of US and West-European labour, this book simultaneously attempts to convey an understanding of the Marshall Plan as part of a broader, social transformation. The author makes it clear at the outset that he does not accept the customary portrayal of the Plan as some kind of conspiracy against labour. While acknowledging the cloak-and-dagger side of US involvement, Carew instead seeks to reconstruct the reshaping of European workers' consciousness in terms of objective trends of longer duration. Therefore Labour under the Marshall Plan repeatedly refers to the period after that of the Marshall Plan to make the outcome of the events of 1948-51 visible and understandable.

In an introductory chapter, the Administrator of the Marshall Plan, Paul Hoffman, is quoted as saying that the Plan amounted to a contest between the American assembly line and the communist party line. The trade unions were key players in this contest, and in the chapters on Western European and American labour, on the struggle over international trade union organisation, and on labour's representation in the Marshall Plan administrative structure, their commitments, dilemmas and actions are forcefully portrayed. Even so, the Plan itself was more than a design for the labour movement. "The hidden agenda was the long-term restructuring of Western capitalism." (p. 17).

This assessment justifies the central place taken up in the book by the main research theme, the productivity campaign which was part and parcel of the Plan. Chapters 9 through 12 contain important material on the Anglo-American Council on Productivity and the European Productivity Agency and the way in which the productivity campaign conducted by these bodies affected labour.

The book reserves a great deal of attention for the ideological processes involved in spreading the productivist gospel in Europe. The European trade unionists selected for fact-finding tours to the US often tended to advertise industrial practices which the American unions were struggling against. Thus, the industrial team reports written in the framework of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity "failed to analyse in any depth the background to the American unions' alleged