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What's New in the History of Social Movements?

Wade Matthews: The New Left, National Identity, and the Break-Up of Britain, Leiden: Brill, 2013, ISBN: 9789004223967, 109 €.

Sven Reichardt: Authentizität und Gemeinschaft: Linksalternatives Leben in den siebziger und frühen achtziger Jahren, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2014, ISBN: 9783518296752, 29,90 €.

Shanti Sumartojo/Ben Wellings (eds.): Nation, Memory and Great War Commemoration: Mobilizing the Past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand, Berne: Peter Lang, 2014, ISBN: 9783034309370, 59,90 €.

Robert K. Schaeffer: Social Movements and Global Social Challenge: The Rising Tide, Lanham/Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014, ISBN: 9781442214903, 33 USD.

Steve A. Smith (ed.): The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, ISBN: 9780199602056, 150 USD.

Nationalism has been mobilising many social movements around the world for a very long time. In the Western world nationalist social movements could be found more often on the political right, whereas on the political left nationalism was mainly seen as a political force to be combatted rather than endorsed. Following Karl Marx, Marxist and Marxisant social movements tended to claim that "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got."[1] Class identities were allegedly more important than national ones, and nationalism in workers was at best regarded as "false consciousness". Nevertheless nationalism was one of the most potent political forces in the modern world, and the left time and again had to position itself *vis-à-vis* nationalist sentiments and movements.[2] The British New Left, the topic of Wade Matthews' book, faced the same dilemma and key intellectuals associated with the New Left, such as Edward P. Thompson, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall,

1 Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: The Communist Manifesto, New York 1948 [first published in 1848], p. 28.

2 John Schwarzmantel: Socialism and the Idea of the Nation, London 1991; Stefan Berger/Angel Smith (eds.): Nationalism, Labour and Ethnicity 1870–1939, Manchester 1999.

DOI: 10.13154/mts.54.2015.143-156 Moving the Social · 54 (2015) · p. 143–156

Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn wrote about nationalism in general and the national question in Britain specifically. Starting with the emergence of the New Left after 1956, Wade Matthews traces the ensuing debates through to the 1990s and focusses them on particular themes and issues: what was the meaning of socialist humanism? What place did nation have in concepts of culture and community? How was class to be negotiated with nation? What impact did European integration have on ideas of the nation? How was the New Left to position itself towards separatist nationalisms and towards contested concepts of Britishness? Nationalism was prominent in home-grown Thatcherism as it was in the postcolonial world during the Cold War and the East-Central and Eastern European states after the fall of Communism.[3] Once again, in all of these questions the New Left encountered nationalism and had to position itself.

Wade Matthews starts off by giving a brief and illuminating overview of the New Left's history. After that, he provides an analysis of the ways in which British socialism traditionally positioned itself towards questions of national identity. It was this tradition that the New Left inherited and that it had to work with. Building on Paul Ward's outstanding study of the relationship between the British left and nationalism in an earlier period,[4] Wade Matthews largely discusses the period from the 1930s to the mid-1950s here and argues that the left sought to represent a more democratic nationhood than the one it saw realised in the British state. It stood for "radical England", at the heart of which was a class alliance between the workers and other social groups also opposed to capitalism. Notions of "the people" as ordinary folk were at the heart of traditional socialist conception of the forces that were supposed to bring about the transition from capitalism to socialism in Britain.

The remaining five substantive chapters of the book are organised around key thinkers of the New Left. Wade Matthews starts with E.P. Thompson, arguing that his "Englishness" has in the past been over-stated. Rejecting previous arguments about E.P. Thompson's alleged provincialism or parochialism, Wade Matthews suggests that it was precisely his location "in the provinces" which allowed E.P. Thompson to provide a critical engagement with dominant nationalisms that were part and parcel of metropolitan power structures and historical determinisms. E.P. Thompson had a strong trust in "the people" who he saw as descendants of the "free-born Englishmen" with an almost in-built anti-fascism, anti-militarism and anti-imperialism. His trust in the

3 Raphael Samuel (ed.): Patriotism: the Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, 2 vols, London 1989; Andreas Eckert: Anti-Western Doctrines of Nationalism, in: John Breuilly (ed.): The Oxford Handbook on the History of Nationalism, Oxford 2014, pp. 56–74; Attila Melegh: On the East-West Slope: Globalization, Nationalism, Racism and Discourses on Central and Eastern Europe, Budapest 2006.

4 Paul Ward: Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left 1881–1924, London 1998.

English people can be juxtaposed to his rejection of the European Union that, to the end, remained a capitalist venture for him. Instead he sought, not the least with the help of European Nuclear Disarmament, to build an alternative Europe from below.[5]

This interesting re-reading of E.P. Thompson is followed by an equally innovative perspective on Raymond Williams. Here many recent analysts have stressed his "Welshness" but often they only inadequately connect his national commitment to his socialism. Yet it was, as Wade Matthews argues, precisely Raymond Williams' connection of Welshness to revolutionary socialism and the working-class communities of Wales that set Raymond Williams apart from more mainstream variants of Welsh nationalism. Raymond Williams equated "the people" with the working-class communities of South Wales, especially with their strong notions of community and neighbourhood. Unlike Edward P. Thompson, he campaigned for European integration in the 1970s, as he associated it with opening up possibilities for regional socialisms and the weakening of oppressive nationalisms. Hence, Raymond Williams hoped that the European Union would allow socialist Welshness to blossom in a Europe of the regions.[6]

Arguably Edward P. Thompson's and Raymond Williams' engagement with the national question centred on Britishness, Englishness and Welshness, although both were also ardent anti-imperialists. It is, however, with Stuart Hall that the New Left encountered and explored in a major way the legacies of British imperialism. His direct experience of that legacy and his move to the metropolitan centre informed his perspectives on empire. But he was not only influential through his writings on empire, but also became one of the key analysts of Thatcherism in the late 1970s and 1980s. The success of Thatcherism made Stuart Hall suspicious of "the people", who, he argued, were open to racism, parochialism, xenophobia and anti-socialism. Hence earlier notions of socialism simply representing "the people" were questioned by Stuart Hall's analysis. "The people", to Stuart Hall, became a discursive battlefield and the left had to work hard to maintain its presence on that battlefield, as the Conservatives were powerful contenders for claims to represent the British "people." The failures of socialism had not the least to do with its inability to be victorious in this discursive battle.[7]

5 Edward P. Thompson/Dan Smith (eds.): Protest and Survive, London 1980.

6 Dai Smith: Raymond Williams: A Warrior's Tale, London 2008.

7 David Cameron, at the Conservative Party conference, declared that the Conservatives had now become the party of the working people, and, indeed, many British workers at the 2015 general elections did vote Conservative. See David Kirkby: How the Conservaties can Become the Workers' Party, in: The Guardian, 13 October 2015, at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/13/conservative-become-workers-party (accessed on 8 January 2016).

Whilst Edward P. Thompson, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall can be spatially rooted in Englishness, Welshness and the empire respectively, Perry Anderson represents the New Left's most distinguished cosmopolitan thinker. His often detached and elitist cosmopolitanism included, as Wade Matthews argued, a clear rejection of nationalism as the counter-opposite to the kind of transnational rational discourse that was at the heart of Perry Anderson's intellectual being. Like Stuart Hall, Perry Anderson was appalled by the working-class nationalism that he encountered with Thatcherism and argued that it would need much socialist schooling of the working-class before it would be ready to support socialism. Like many thinkers of the second New Left he was far more distrustful of the people than representatives of the first New Left. They looked not so much to the British working class bur more to the urban and peasant guerrillas in the so-called Third World as models for a revolutionary socialism.[8] In the West the best hope for socialism lay with students and intellectuals rather than workers. His marked cosmopolitanism did not make Perry Anderson a convinced European; indeed, like Stuart Hall, he condemned the capitalist European Union as the most important barrier to the realisation of a socialist Britain. Instead they sought to promote a more global orientation of the British left and the development of a truly global internationalism.

An erstwhile close collaborator of Perry Anderson, Tom Nairn, positioned himself very differently towards nationalism. Tom Nairn was the only New Left thinker who was comfortable with being called a nationalist. He also made the most serious contribution from among the New Left to the theory of nationalism. His Scottish nationalism, according to Wade Matthews, sat uneasily with a socialist cosmopolitanism that he could also espouse at various times, although the latter became somewhat submerged over time by Tom Nairn's more and more pronounced nationalism in which the "people" as national people took centre stage again. His hopes for socialism became closely aligned with his hopes for the Scottish people opting for independent nation-statehood. In the process his hopes for socialism were, according to Wade Matthews, almost eclipsed by his desire for nationalism. Tom Nairn was also to become the most ardent supporter of the European Union among the British New Left, for he increasingly associated it with the protection of long-suppressed nationalisms in Europe. Tom Nairn was prominent in tackling an issue that was often neglected by the New Left, namely Northern Ireland. He rejected what he saw as simplistic explanations circling around issues of religion and ethnicity, and instead saw the main problem in uneven development that resulted from the fragmentation of the framework of the British state.

8 For similar tendencies in West Germany see Quinn Slobodian: Foreign Front. Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany, Durham, North Carolina 2012.

Overall, Wade Matthew's analysis points to the enduring importance of the debates surrounding the viability of Britishness to the fortunes of the New Left.[9] The nation state has, of course, been, for a long time, the main framework in which socialist politics were acted out and in which the left has operated. Many of the issues which threatened British national identity, from Europe to migration and further to globalisation and the rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism had a deep impact on the failure of the socialist project in Britain. The New Left's engagement with those issues that are discussed by Wade Matthews leaves the reader with much food for thought also for the present-day situation.

The presence of national pasts is also the topic in a fascinating edited collection on the commemoration of the First World War in different parts of the world. In the introduction to this book, Andrew Mycock, Shanti Sumartojo and Ben Wellings point out that states have continuously and successfully mobilised that past for mainly nationalist but sometimes also for transnational purposes. The strength of public commemorations is rooted in the strength of the family memories that are connected with the Great War and the power of the institutionalised memory that is reflected in museums and memorials around the world.[10] The book deals with commemorative experiences in Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium and Germany as well as the French overseas territory of New Caledonia. In its first part the impact of Europeanisation and globalisation on the commemorative practices associated with the First World War are discussed. John Hutchinson warns of overstating the transnational impact on those commemorative practices. According to him, it is nationalism rather than trans- or postnationalism that continues to inform those practices almost everywhere. Ben Wellings subsequently builds on Hutchinson's argument by analysing the diverse ways in which globalisation has strengthened the weakened nation-states' efforts to provide certainties and identities through commemorative practices focussing on national moments. His example of the Anzac narratives of the First World War is very convincing. Finally Roger Hillmann focusses on filmic representations of the First World War[11] arguing that the memory of the Second World War in film has also shaped filmic representations of the First World War which are dominated by what he calls "sentimental supra-nationalism."

The second part of this volume looks at the commemoration of the First World War as state projects. Frank Bongiorno analyses the ways in which the Australian state has sought to streamline memory of the Great War thereby declaring "un-Australian"

9 Paul Ward: Britishness since 1870, London 2004.

10 Jay Winter: Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History, Cambridge 1995.

11 See also Michael Paris: The First World War and Popular Cinema: 1914 to the Present, Edinburgh 1999.

all those contestations and diverging memories that do not fit the prescribed unitary and generalising one. Andrew Mycock traces a similar desire of the British state to provide an all-inclusive and unitary framework for First World War commemoration for all the different parts of the United Kingdom which are ultimately elusive and bound to produce contradictions and resistances. James W. McAuley contrasts the memory of the Great War among nationalist and loyalist communities of Ireland arguing that it was the moment of division between 1916 and 1923 that, like so much in twentieth-century Irish history, determined the patterning of that commemoration. Contested war memories were also at the heart of Belgian commemorative practices in Wallonia and Flanders that are traced from the interwar period to the present day by Laurence van Ypersele.

The politics of commemoration and its usage for diverse political projects are at the centre of the investigations in the third part of this volume.[12] Mark McKenna argues that commemorative practices in Australia and New Zealand surrounding the First World War have not only served to sideline the disempowerment of the indigenous population but also to paste over many other difficult and painful aspects of national history. But the politics of commemoration also had transnational ambitions and repercussions.[13] Thus, Matthew Graves looks at their impact on Franco-Australian relations, whilst Elizabeth Rechniewski problematises the forms of remembering and forgetting of the New Caledonian Kanak soldiers' contribution to the French war effort. In relation to Germany Matthew Stibbe provides a wonderfully lucid panorama of the many public discourses that have shaped the commemoration of the Great War from 1919 to the present day highlighting in particular the eclipsing of that memory by the memory of the Second World War between the 1960s and 2014.

The fourth and final part of the volume concentrates on the sites of commemoration.[14] Sarah Christie uses the example of the troop ship Marquette that was torpedoed resulting in the loss of life, among others, of ten nurses who were subsequently an important part of the highly gendered commemoration of that event. Guy Hansen discusses the treatment of the Anzac narrative by the Australian National Museum which he sees as playing an important role in maintaining the Anzac myths in contemporary Australian society. Christine Cador focusses on the historiographical processes that go into the making of a museum of the history of European integration arguing that we are in Europe far removed from the possibility of displaying a common European memory of the Great War. Romain Fathi examines the Australian National Memorial

12 See also Timothy G. Ashplant/Graham Dawson/Michael Roper (eds.): The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War, New Brunswick 2000.

13 Chiara de Cesari/Ann Rigney (eds.): Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales, Berlin 2014.

14 See also Greg Dickinson/Carole Blair/Brian L. Ott (eds.): Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials, Tuscaloosa 2010.

on the former Western Front at Villers-Bretonneux highlighting the complex interrelationship between the local and international in forms of commemorative practices in which space and time are often collapsed under the weight of alleged eternal Australian "national values:" Finally Shanti Sumartojo analyses the Australian Remembrance Trail on the former Western Front in France and Belgium with a view to demonstrating how the commemorative practices there underline Anzac nationalism.

Overall the comparative framework of the volume highlights a range of interesting parallels and commonalities in the commemoration of the First World War across different nation states. Whilst there is much evidence that such similarities form the basis of what the editors describe as "memorial diplomacy", the volume also underlines a range of specificities of Great War commemoration highlighting the fact that the nation state is still the single most important agent in framing those commemorations. Furthermore, several contributions underline the close proximity of commemorations of the First with commemorations of the Second World War – it has become virtually impossible to memorialise the first war without, at the same time, seeing it through the eyes and memorialisation of the second. This is perhaps particularly marked in the German case, but Germany is by no means unique in that respect. Finally, globalisation and Europeanisation has not even as much as dented the absolute dominance of the national imagination over commemorative practices of the Great War. In light of the continued over-dramatisation of the impact of globalisation, this comes as a timely reminder of the resourcefulness of the nation state which also is one of the biggest problems on the road to any Europeanisation of war memory and of politics as a whole.[15]

Nationalism and cultural practices associated with nationalism belong to the most enduring ideologies in the modern world. This can no longer be said of Communism although Communist social movements were amongst the most important in the twentieth century. Anyone interested in familiarising themselves with the history of that movement can now start from the wonderfully authoritative *Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism*, edited by Stephen A. Smith. Research on Communism has benefitted enormously from the opening of the archives of Communist states after the fall of Communism after 1989/90 and the fruits of the research that has been carried out in the 1990s and 2000s are much in evidence in the articles of this handbook.[16] Communism has always been both, a social movement, consisting of a variety of organisations, from political parties to trade unions, cooperatives and beyond to cultural and sporting associations, and a political regime that had suc-

15 Robert J. Holton: Globalisation and the Nation State, 2nd edn, Basingstoke 2011.

16 It has also led to wonderful projects editing key sources such as Hermann Weber/Jakov Drabkin/Bernhard H. Bayerlein (eds.): Deutschland, Russland, Komintern (1918–1943), 2 vols., Berlin 2015.

cessfully captured state power (in the Soviet Union after 1917, Eastern Europe after 1945 and in much of the decolonised world during the Cold War). The handbook provides many illuminating aspects on both. Already the marvellous introduction to the handbook by Steven A. Smith sketches the advances of research on Communism during the last twenty-five years and provides a marvellous opening tableau of the many revolutions that transformed parts of the globe after 1917. Steven A. Smith's attempt to characterise what was specific about Communist politics, economics and culture synthesises an enormous amount of literature on these topics into a lucid and insightful structure. In the 35 articles that follow particular themes of the history of Communism are providing further explorations into the fabric of one of the key ideologies of the last century. The first part explores the ideology of Communism – with separate chapters dedicated to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (Paresh Chattopadhyay), Lenin (Lars T. Lih), Stalin (Kevin McDemott) and Mao (Timothy Cheek). It is a pity that Trotsky does not get his own chapter here,[17] and one could perhaps also question this part's "great intellects" approach to history which struggles to root ideas of "great men" in social practices of social movements and to contextualise these ideas in specific historical situations in which they could become powerful. Nevertheless, no one will read these four chapters without gaining much understanding of the ideas that made Communism tick for eighty years.

The second part of the handbook discusses "global moments" in the history of Communism, and this is one of the most original parts because it takes seriously the impact of time and "layered time"[18] for a deeper understanding of social movements. There have, indeed, been crucial time periods for many social movements which explain a lot about their development and character, especially if those times are considered across wide spaces (ideally globally, but certainly much wider than the nation state). The authors of this section of the handbook rise to the challenge and provide, throughout, insightful chapters on "1919" (Jean-François Fayet), "1936" (Tim Rees), "1956" (Sergey Radchenko), "1968" (Maud Anne Bracke) and "1989" (Matthias Middell). Having dealt with the issue of time and timing, the handbook turns to space and examines the impact of Communism in different parts of the world: Eastern Europe (Pavel Kolár), China (Yang Kuisong and Stephen A. Smith), South East Asia (Anna Belogurova), Latin America (Mike Gonzalez), the Islamic world (Anne Alexander) and Africa (Allison Drew) with a separate chapter reserved for the Comintern (Alexander Vatlin and Stephen A. Smith). It is not clear to me why Western Europe, North America and Australia are excluded from the global survey, and it surely

17 Geoffrey Swain: Trotsky, London 2006.

18 Reinhart Koselleck: The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts, Stanford 2002.

would have made sense to include either one chapter on the "global West" or perhaps one chapter on continental Western Europe and one on the Anglo-world. In any case, the perspective of Communism in the west is missing here.

The fourth part subsequently deals with Communist politics and economics analysing the economic relations between Communist states that always contained large doses of politics (Balázs Szalontai), the politics of economic modernisation (Mark Harrison), and the forms of consumerism in Communist societies (Paul Betts). It also discusses the forms of symbolical politics, in particular the personality cults popular under Communist regimes (Daniel Leese), and the perception of Communism among the population living under it (Sheila Fitzpatrick). In two chapters in this section, issues are linked which give these chapters a somewhat peculiar spin. Julia C. Strauss discusses the practice of revolution and links it to the practice of political terror; whilst the two were in many cases connected, conceptually "terror" and "revolution" mark different phenomena and are better kept apart. The same goes for the interlinking of collectivisation and famine in Felix Wemheuer's chapter. Again, some forms of collectivisation resulted in famine, but conceptually we are talking about different things, and if a normative conflation of revolution and collectivisation with something terrible, such as terror and famine, is to be avoided, then the lumping together of those things cannot help in understanding phenomena such as revolution or collectivisation.[19] Another peculiar chapter in this part is Geoffrey Roberts' chapter on communist peace movements which sadly is limited to the period from 1948 to 1956. Surely, in a handbook, it would have made great sense to look at Communist peace movements in the *longue durée*, and include peace campaigns by the Comintern in the interwar period and peace movements that stretched all the way to the eve of the downfall of communism in 1989.[20]

The fifth part of the handbook looks in detail at social relations under Communism and in the Communist social movements. The chapters here sometimes veer uneasily between imagined and "actually existing" social relations, but overall the reader once more gains many insights from explorations into the experiences of Communist militants (Marco Albeltaro), rural life under Communism (Jeremy Brown), and the working class in Communist ideas and in "really-existing socialism" (Tuong Vu). Women in and under Communism (Donna Harsch) as well as the vexing question of remaining forms of privilege and inequality in Communist societies (Donald Filtzer) are ably dealt with as are issues to do with nation-formation and national conflicts

19 Constantin Iordachi/Arnd Bauerkämper (eds.): The Collectivisation of Agriculture in Communist Eastern Europe: Comparison and Entanglements, Budapest 2014; Jack Goldstone (ed.): Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies, New York 1994.

20 April Carter: Peace Protest in Socialist States, in: April Carter: Peace Movements: International Protest and World Politics since 1945, London 2014, ch. 7.

under Communism (Adrienne Lynn Edgar). Arguably a chapter on women could have usefully been accompanied by a chapter on Communist "manliness", for the gendered world of Communism did not only develop particular ideas about women but it was fundamentally based on male conceptions about virility.[21]

The last part of the book deals with culture – with separate chapters on cultural revolution (Richard King), the artistic intelligentsia and its relationship with Communism (Mark Gamsa), popular culture (Dean Vuletic), religion under Communism (Richard Madsen) and sport under Communism (Robert Edelman, Anke Hilbrenner and Susan Brownell). One would wished, especially with the topic of religion, some discussion of Communism as a political religion and some discussion of the many attempts to merge the worlds of religion and Communism, notably in the form of the Catho-Communism in Italy but also the workers' priests in France and the Nicaraguan revolution, in which Christian Marxism and liberation theology played such a prominent role.[22] But like with the other slight criticisms of this review, they pale into insignificance before the wonderful achievements of this handbook that portrays a multi-facetted and multi-layered picture of a complex social movement that shaped the twentieth-century to a considerable extent.

1968 was one of the time layers with special significance for the history of Communism. "In the West", as Maud Anne Bracke mentions, "the questioning of everyday life – and everything it meant in terms of established moral and sexual norms, social hierarchies, urban alienation, and work routines – was at the heart this politico-cultural revolt" (p. 158). This rethinking of everyday life resulted in the formation of an alternative milieu that is at the heart of Sven Reichardt's outstanding monograph. Focussing on West Germany, where this left-wing alternative milieu gained particular strength during the 1970s and early 1980s, and concentrating in particular on the bulwarks of this alternative culture in some of West Germany's major cities such as West Berlin and Frankfurt or in West Germany's university towns, such as Heidelberg, he examines in great detail the specific habitus of this left-wing protest generation that could be found in several social movements, such as the women's movement, the environmental movement, the anti-nuclear energy movement, the reform education movement, the house occupation movement and it also incorporated sections of the sympathisers of the left-wing terrorist movement in West Germany. This milieu was strongly anti-capitalist in orientation and motivated by a sense of social justice and moral righteousness. It fought for autonomy, self-fulfilment and emancipation and against consumerism and all forms of outside determination of the self. "Wrong life

21 Eric D. Weitz: Creating German Communism 1890–1990: From Popular Protests to Socialist State, Princeton 1997.

22 Gerd-Rainer Horn/Emmanuel Gerard (eds.): Left Catholicism 1943–1955: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation, Leuven 2001.

cannot be lived rightly" (*Es gibt kein richtiges Leben im falschen*) was one of the cardinal sentences of Theodor Adorno,[23] who was so influential among the 1968 generation and yet this is precisely what the alternative milieu tried to do: to find small niches or corners where they could experiment with lifestyles and practices not endorsed by capitalist society and where they could try to live a new life in line with their anti-capitalist convictions.

These attempts to lead more "authentic" lives free from established conventions and enforced traditions questioned some of the most basic structures and institutions of Western societies, but at the same time they also created new norms and expectations which guided and in many cases effectively policed this alternative milieu. In other words the norms which were meant to liberate could also become oppressive. Sven Reichardt is able to lay out a richly textured tableau of this alternative culture through a thorough examination of the alternative media of this alternative culture and by re-examining contemporary social science research into these alternative communities such as communal flats (*Wohngemeinschaften*) or alternative companies.[24] These sources allow him to move beyond an examination of the better-known iconic personalities or organisations of this alternative milieu and describe also many of the lesser-known or completely unknown practices and ideas that came from widely forgotten associations and people. The book is structured into three large parts, the first of which analyses the development of this alternative milieu and seeks to describe its main characteristics and belief systems. We encounter student protesters, various Communist sects and the so-called "Spontis", for instance autonomous and often anarchic groups more intent on action than on theory. We also meet women's self-help groups, diverse citizens' initiatives, the peace movement, the environmental movement and the early foundational generation of the Green Party. Sven Reichardt develops certain key concepts with which this milieu operated and which at the same time provide the key to understand the milieu. Notions of "authenticity" and "autonomy" loom large in this conceptual world as do ideas of "community" and "warmth." "Solidarity" was mixed with "individuality" in endless variations producing interesting tensions and synergies.[25]

23 Theodor W. Adorno: Minima Moralia, Reflections on a Damaged Life, London 2005, p. 39. [first published 1951]

24 Re-examining social science studies has become particularly fruitful for social historians, as the social experienced a comprehensive "scientific" treatment in the twentieth century. See Lutz Raphael: Die Verwissenschaftlichung des Sozialen als methodische und konzeptionelle Herausforderung für eine Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 22 (1996), pp. 165–193.

25 All of these concepts are really sets of concepts within complex semantic fields that need to be carefully unpacked. For the concept of "community" see, for example: Andrew Mason: Community, Solidarity and Belonging: Levels of Community and their Normative Significance, Cambridge 2000.

The second major part of the book deals with the lifeworlds of this alternative milieu and here we encounter how members of the milieu lived and worked in rural and in urban communities, in companies and collectives deliberately flouting what was seen as capitalist work ethic, and in communal houses and flats which deliberately challenged the more traditional core family life. Sven Reichardt also takes us on a whirlwind tour of the places where the representatives of this alternative milieu spent their free time, for instance the specific pub culture, the left-wing book shops, the music culture, the children's republics and the women's houses that are associated with the alternative milieu. The final and third part of this book entitled "body and soul" extends this exploration into specific locations by describing the ideas and practices behind those locations. Dress codes, sexual behaviour, educational ideas, psychological theories, drug consumption and forms of spirituality within the alternative milieu are all extensively discussed here. Sven Reichardt not only delivers a rich description of alternative life forms in West Germany, he is also intent on providing us with a typology that gives the reader orientation in the confusingly rich tapestry of the milieu. Sven Reichardt's previous book was a much-celebrated comparison of the Nazi Stormtroopers with the Fascist Squadristi[26] and his training as a comparative historian stands him in good stead when trying to bring some order to the extraordinary diversity of the alternative culture in West Germany during the 1970s and early 1980s. Overall Sven Reichardt has produced a landmark publication with which all subsequent work in this field will have to engage. One can only hope that an English-language edition will soon become available for all those social movement researchers who are interested in this alternative culture, which, after all, was not just a German but a genuinely transnational phenomenon.[27]

Many social movement researchers have emphasised the increasing transnationalisation of social movement activism.[28] Some have argued that such transnationalisation has been a response of social movements to global social challenges. This argument is put into a deeper historical perspective by Robert K. Schaeffer's inspiring and deeply optimistic book. It is self-consciously written from the perspective of a social movement activist who can look back on many decades of activism in a wide variety of old and new social movements. It is worth quoting the opening sentences of the book: "Social movements have changed the world. During the past two hundred years,

26 Sven Reichardt: Faschistische Kampfbünde: Gewalt und Gemeinschaft im italienischen Squadrismo und in der deutschen SA, Cologne 2002.

27 Sven Reichardt/Detlef Siegfried (eds.): Das alternative Milieu: Anti-bürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968–1983, Cologne 2010.

28 Sidney Tarrow: The New Transnational Activism, Cambridge 2005; Donatella della Porta/Sidney Tarrow (eds.): Transnational Protest and Global Activism: People, Passion and Power, Lanham 2005.

social movements overthrew monarchies, won independence from colonial empires, and founded republics in postcolonial states." This sets the tone for a very linear and progressive-oriented view of history that is arranged over the next 221 pages of text. The author does stress time and again that progress has been partial and incomplete but despite "persistent inequality" the trend is towards "growing liberty" (p. 2), as manifested in the growth of republics complete with constitutional government. The model of such constitutional republicanism is located in the United States of America, from where, since around 1800, it spread to all parts of the globe. The main reason for this extension of republicanism and democracy is located in the activities of social movements who developed a concept of active citizenship in pursuit of their egalitarian and progressive aims. As a historian one might be tempted to criticise this view as a little mono-causal, as the development of republicanism in different parts of the world had a wide range of reasons, only one of which was the activity of social movements.

Robert K. Schaeffer divides social movements into three types: "aspiring", "altruistic" and "restrictionist". The first two types are distinct mainly because they are formed by different social carriers. "Aspiring" movements are formed by subordinate people, divided into rightless "subjects" and "denizens" who have some limited rights. They "aspire" for social change in the direction of republicanism and the extension of citizenship. "Altruistic movements" have the same aim, but they are made up of members of the elite who act sometimes out of self-interest but often also out of moral concern on behalf of the subordinate classes. The "restrictionist movements" are opposed to republicanism and democratisation and fight the other two types of movement. Interestingly fascism is not included in the many examples the author gives for "restrictionist" movements.[29] Having set up a very binary normative construction of "good" and "bad" movements, he follows their ensuing struggle over two centuries in the rest of the book. A chapter that examines the constitution of the United States as the first modern republic is followed by a chapter about the global rise of republicanism throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The next chapter highlights two key problems that the new republics faced – first dictatorship and secondly, division. The next chapter recalls subsequent waves of democratisation that Robert K. Schaeffer sees as characteristic of the post-Second World War world and that, in his view, is currently continuing in Northern Africa and the Middle East. Subsequently he moves back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century analysing the expansion of citizenship that was particularly marked in this period.[30] The next chapter is devoted

29 Still extremely inspiring for an understanding of fascism as a social movement is Wolfgang Schieder: Faschismus als soziale Bewegung: Deutschland und Italien im Vergleich, Stuttgart 1976.

30 Michael Hanagan/Charles Tilly (eds.): Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States, Lanham 1999.

to those groups who did not make it into the exclusive circle of citizens in that period, and the following chapter is dedicated in particular to the struggle of black people, young people, women and homosexuals to extend their rights after 1945. It also analyses claims of migrants to be included in the group of citizens. The subsequent chapter concentrates on explaining the nexus between social movements and global social change and the last three chapters in the book are dedicated to discussing the three types of movements explained early on in the book – "aspiring", "altruistic" and "restrictionist". At the very end Robert K. Schaeffer provides a critical discussion of social movement theories and restates his conviction that the progressive and optimistic framework of his book could function as a benchmark for future research and future activism and thereby contribute to more social change. Whilst I can certainly recommend Robert K. Schaeffer's book as an inspiring and at times fascinating read, I still am left with some reservations as to this framework. For a start I found that the chapters do not hang together well. They veer uneasily between a chronological and a thematic treatment of the subject matter. I am also not convinced about the basic premise of social movements being the sole cause of the expansion of an active and increasingly equal citizenry. A more complex model of social change is surely needed, in which social movements will undoubtedly have a prominent place but in which they will not be the only and perhaps not even the most important players.[31] And finally the book suffers from what could be described as an overload of normativity in which the rich ambiguities of particular political regimes and social movement actors tend to evaporate in simple dichotomies and binaries. Social movement activists will not learn from the pages of this book to problematise their own practice, rather the reverse: they will be encouraged to do more of the same. Hence the book does not encourage reflexiveness but calls for more progressive action. And scholars of social movements will feel somewhat restricted by the dichotomous typologies and the linear view of history that seems strangely out of place at a time when such progressive linearity has been severely questioned by a wide variety of philosophers of history. Overall then, the impact of social movements on social change in global perspective still awaits its historian.

31 The importance of often highly contingent historical factors for social change has been stressed a long time ago now by Anthony D. Smith: The Concept of Social Change: A Critique of the Functionalist Theory of Social Change, London 1973.