

cial and unofficial lodgings in Manchester and he has shown how Engels attempted to disguise the very existence of the unofficial addresses. Mr Whitfield also lists five »conjectural addresses« which may have been occupied by Engels. It is certain that Engels used a false name – Frederick Boardman – when renting lodgings for Mary and Lizzie Burns. It is possible – even probable – that he also used the name »Frederick Mann Burns«. The deception with regard to his unofficial lodgings was only part of a wider deception. It was essential from Engels' point of view that the communist side of his life should be concealed from his employers. Godfrey Ermen would have welcomed the opportunity to dismiss Engels had he known of Engels' clandestine revolutionary activities.

In the second part of his study Mr Whitfield gives brief accounts of some of Engels' friends and acquaintances in Manchester. He has been able to throw new light on some of them, such as Edward Jone, an able young supporter of the First International in whom Engels took a great interest. Mr Whitfield's examination of Engels' double life and of some of his associates provides valuable information concerning Engels' life in Manchester.

*W. O. Henderson, Hemel Hempstead*

Roman Szporluk, *Communism and Nationalism. Karl Marx versus Friedrich List*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1988, pp. ix + 307.

Nationalism and socialism were two of the most important movements in the nineteenth century. Professor Szporluk discusses their origins and development by examining the careers and writings of one representative of each movement. The choice of Karl Marx as representing communism was an obvious one. But there is no equally dominant figure to represent nationalism. In selecting Friedrich List to fill this role, Szporluk is able to examine the rise of industrial societies as a factor in the growth of nationalism in the nineteenth century. But the drawback of choosing List to represent the nationalist movement is that he died in 1846 and so Szporluk is bound to deal mainly with Marx (and Engels) in his discussion of nationalism during the revolutions of 1848 and after. In the second half of the nineteenth century List's doctrines were only one of many factors which influenced the establishment of nation states. Only occasionally is it possible to establish a direct connection between List and events which occurred long after his death. There is, for example, no doubt that Count Witte's efforts to promote economic growth in Russia were strongly influenced by List's doctrines.

Szporluk's book is divided into three parts. The first section deals with the young Marx up to the writing of the Communist Manifesto. The author makes full use of Marx's unfinished essay on List's »Das Nationale System der Politischen Ökonomie« – an essay which was not published until 1972. The second part discusses List's career and the significance of his major work in promoting nationalism in Germany. The third section examines the attitude of Marx and Engels to the problem of nationalism.

Marx and List agreed that the industrial revolution which had begun in England was spreading to parts of the Continent and North America had greatly speeded up the production of consumer goods and had brought about dramatic changes in social conditions. Marx considered that the industrial revolution had led to the domination of society by the middle classes. But this class would soon be replaced by a socialist society dominated by the proletariat. Despite the failure of the revolutions on the Continent in 1848 Marx and Engels continued to expect that the workers would soon triumph over their oppressors. List's views were very different. He discussed the means by which the state should promote industrial growth in countries which were as yet underdeveloped. And he believed that the dominant position of the middle classes in such countries would be a permanent one. While List strongly supported German unification and German nationalism, Marx endeavoured to

spread his doctrines throughout the world. Yet despite their fundamental differences Marx and List were agreed on certain aspects of future political and economic developments. For example both considered that certain people – such as the Czechs and the Serbs – were for ever destined to be ruled by larger and more powerful neighbours. And Marx, Engels and List were agreed in regarding peasants as ignorant barbarians. Szporluk's discussion of these (and many other) topics deserve the closest attention.

*W. O. Henderson, Hemel Hempstead*

James D. Young, *Socialism since 1889. A Biographical History*, Printer Publishers, London 1988, pp. viii, 269, hardback £ 25.00, Pb. £ 8.95.

This is a curious book. The author covers a hundred years of socialist and communist activity by discussing the ideas and achievements of 16 supporters of a movement which has played a vital role in the politics of the twentieth century. Each of eight chapters contains two short biographical essays on socialists who have something in common. Clara Zetkin and Countess Markievicz are linked because they are both women. The author has little new or original to offer when dealing with such well known figures as Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. On the other hand readers will be interested in Young's accounts of some lesser figures. He resurrects certain unknown or little known socialists – such as Gramsci and J. L. R. James – who are regarded by the author as ancestors and precursors of current political tendencies seeking recognition. It may be added that Young's style makes his book laborious reading.

*W. O. Henderson, Hemel Hempstead*

Dieter Fricke, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung 1869 bis 1917 in zwei Bänden*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin [DDR] 1987, 1468 S., Ln., 48 M.

Binnen kürzester Zeit ist Dieter Fricke's 1976 erschienenes Überblicks- und Nachschlagewerk über »Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1869–1914« zu einem hilfreichen Standardwerk geworden. Eine Neubearbeitung, zumal wenn sie thematisch und zeitlich weiter ausgreift, ist also von vornherein zu begrüßen. Daran ändert es auch wenig, daß Fricke auf einer historisch-politischen Interpretation beharrt, deren Wegweiser nach wie vor das »revolutionäre Wesen der Arbeiterbewegung« (S. 5) und die »weltgeschichtliche Mission« der Arbeiterklasse (S. 16) bilden. So will Fricke mit seinem Handbuch vor allem zeigen, »wie die deutsche Sozialdemokratie mit ihren Organisationsprinzipien den objektiven Erfordernissen, die den allgemeinen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der jeweiligen Epochen entsprachen, gerecht wurde und wie sie es verstand, sich eine Organisation zu schaffen, die den spezifischen Bedingungen des Klassenkampfes in Deutschland geschickt angepaßt war. Diese Organisation war vor allem dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß sie sich immer stärker auf das Prinzip des demokratischen Zentralismus gründete.« (S. 9 f.) Von dieser Feststellung führt ein direkter Weg zur These, daß »die großen organisatorischen Leistungen der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung« zu den »besten Traditionen der fast 140jährigen Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung [gehören], die heute von der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei verkörpert und fortgesetzt werden.« (S. 11)

Mit Rücksicht auf diese Grundlinie der Interpretation mochte Fricke sich nicht dazu entschließen, den zeitlichen Beginn des Handbuchs auf das Jahr 1863 (Gründung des ADAV) vorzuverlegen: »Angesichts der Tatsache, daß nicht zu diesem Zeitpunkt, sondern erst mit der Konstituierung der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei 1869 in Eisenach eine revolutionäre, marxistische Massenpartei entstand«, ist er vielmehr bei 1869 als Beginn ge-