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What is New in the History of Social Movements?

Sidney Tarrow: *War, States and Contention: A Comparative Historical Study*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015, xiv + 314 pp., ISBN: 9780801479625.

Cristina Flesher Fominaya: *Social Movements and Globalisation: How Protests, Occupations and Uprisings are Changing the World*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014, xviii + 230 pp., ISBN: 9780230360877.

David West: *Social Movements in Global Politics*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013, xx + 251 pp., ISBN: 9780745649603.

James M. Jasper: *Protest: a Cultural Introduction to Social Movements*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014, xiii + 200 pp., ISBN: 9780745655161.

Britta Baumgarten: Priska Daphi and Peter Ullrich (eds.): *Conceptualizing Culture in Social Movement Research*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014, xvii + 313 pp., ISBN: 9781137385789.

Tim Wätzold: *Der libertäre Atlantik: Unsere Heimat ist die ganze Welt*, Hamburg: Verlag Barrikade, 2015, 357 pp., ISBN: 9783921404041.

Sebastian Voigt: *Der jüdische Mai 68. Pierre Goldman, Daniel Cohn-Bendit und André Glucksmann im Nachkriegsfrankreich*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, 383 pp., ISBN: 9783525370360.

Matthias Dohmen: *Geraubte Träume, verlorene Illusionen: Westliche und östliche Historiker im deutschen Geschichtskrieg*, Wuppertal: Nordpark Verlag, 2015, 456 pp., ISBN: 9783943940107.

Students of German history of historiography will be aware of a debate that raged in the 1970s between those favouring the primacy of domestic over foreign policy and those who argued the opposite. It was an argument that pitted social historians against international historians, with most of the former being politically on the centre left and

most of the latter adhering to centre right politics.¹ What remains from this debate is the insight that international politics and domestic politics should not be seen as worlds apart but that they are interconnected in manifold and complex ways that deserve to be studied. One of the grand masters of social movement history, Sid Tarrow, has turned his attention precisely to the connectedness between these two spheres and is asking to what extent state-making and war have impacted on forms of national and transnational “contentious politics” whilst also paying attention to the role of social movements in wars and processes of state-making. The outcome is another masterpiece of historical sociology demonstrating how much the disciplines of history and social science have to gain by thinking them together.

In the first part of his book, Sidney Tarrow looks at diverse ways in which social movements have contributed to (nation-)state building—often through, in and after wars. Case studies deal with revolutionary France between 1789 and 1799, with the United States during the Civil War and the following period of Reconstruction and with fascist Italy emerging out of the ashes of the First World War. The second part of the book deals with the changing nature of war in the 20th century. As Sidney Tarrow observes, at the end of that century wars were not waged exclusively by states on other states but were more often waged by states on transnational social movements. The prime example for this is the ongoing war on terror. What can be observed in this new type of conflict is, first, the importance of external actors, meaning actors that play no direct role in the conflict but that act as catalysts for such conflicts. They make these new types of conflict multi-polar and introduce multiple forms of agency into those conflicts. Secondly, the new types of conflict often merge classical scenarios of war with repertoires more familiar from social movements, including the occupation of public spaces, as well as the mobilisation and militarisation of social movement actors. This changing nature of war, Sidney Tarrow argues in the third part of his book, has profound implications on the nature of internationalism and international alliances on the one hand but also on the state of domestic politics, in particular domestic liberties in the United States and other liberal democracies.

Sidney Tarrow ranges widely and masterfully over geographical space, historical time and grand themes, and his conclusions amount to intriguing insights into the profound relationship between war, state-making and the shape of civil society. Building on Charles Tilly’s famous statement that “states make war but war makes states”², Sidney Tarrow concludes that war can contribute to an important push in the direction of granting citizenship rights, but it is not war itself that should be understood as an agent, but rather

- 1 Stefan Berger: *The Search for Normality: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1800*, Oxford 1997, pp. 78.
- 2 Charles Tilly (ed.): *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton 1975, p. 42.

the mobilisation of contentious politics around the issues of citizenship and rights in the context and aftermath of war. As his examples of fascist Italy and Napoleonic France demonstrate, war can also lead to highly illiberal forms of mobilisation. Indeed, as he points out, states in war-time tend to limit citizens' rights and contain contention, often violently. States use their considerable hierarchical powers in order to mobilise support for war and clamp down on dissent. In post-war scenarios, states tend to hang on to their extraordinary powers obtained during war-time and it needs counter-mobilisation by civil society to move that power back to its constitutional limits. State governments have to be reined in by civil society initiatives using repertoires of contentious politics. Defending rights against expanding state powers associated with war and state-building through war is a very difficult and frustrating business, but, thus Sidney Tarrow's conclusion, for those who are keen to maintain liberal democratic frameworks, an absolute necessity. This conclusion has particular relevance for the U.S., engaged for many years now in a war on Terrorism that makes the country look less and less liberal.

Sidney Tarrow's examples from history tell a harrowing tale of the negative impact of war and state-building on liberal democratic frameworks of governance. Examining a wide variety of post-colonial states that were forged in and through war, Sidney Tarrow concludes that most of these states retained a strongly militaristic character after gaining independence. Wars of independence and the militarised nationalist movements that fought them had a profound impact on the undemocratic shape of the independent nation states. Overall then, this is very much a history book for our time. Its penetrating analysis of the interrelationship between war, state-building and contentious politics concludes that states did not extend citizenship rights because of the need to mobilise in war-time but only because they were forced to do so by left-of-centre social movements' intent on claiming those rights.³ This is a warning to historians to draw all-too-comfortable conclusions about the relationship between war and the extension of liberal democratic frameworks and at the same time a rallying cry for contemporary social movements to defend the freedoms contained in these democratic frameworks against war-time states intent on curbing them.

Sidney Tarrow's truly global look at the interrelationship of war, state-building and contentious politics is also a powerful reminder that globalisation is nothing new. In fact, many historians for some time now have pointed to the existence of waves of globalisation going back into early modern times.⁴ And yet we do seem to live through another intense moment of globalisation at the beginning of the 21st century, in which social

3 In that sense Geoff Eley has written the history of the left in modern Europe as a history of forging democracy. See his *Forging Democracy: the History of the Left in Europe 1850–2000*, Oxford 2002.

4 Göran Therborn: *Globalisations: Dimensions, Historical Waves, Regional Effects, Normative Governance*, in: *International Sociology* 15 (2000), pp. 151–179; Ronnie Robertson: *The Three Waves of Globalisation: a History of a Developing Global Consciousness*, London 2003.

movements occupy a prominent place. Hence the book by Cristina Flesher Fominaya on the interrelationship between globalisation and social movements comes at a very opportune moment. She begins with the observation that the years since the financial crisis of 2007/8 have witnessed an outburst of globally interconnected social movements protesting in various ways and with diverse intentions against what they perceive as the negative consequences of globalisation. At the heart of this protest has been a demand for more democracy and transparency and a distrust of entrenched political elites. The protesters have shaped debates about globalisation and are therefore an ideal prism through which to engage with the phenomenon of globalisation.

The protesters have come from the political left and the political right, opposing those neoliberal advocates of globalisation which have hailed it as panacea to the world's problems. Following a brief introduction, Cristina Flesher Fominaya discusses key concepts and debates in the field of social movements and globalisation. She carefully defines social movements distinguishing them from other political forms and institutions and she argues powerfully that social movements have been shaping the modern world that we inhabit. She also looks at globalisation as an old and a new phenomenon, conceptualising it and pondering the emergence of a global civil society based on universal values. The next chapter of the book examines the close interlinkages between globalisation and social movements. The author introduces a range of transnational social movement networks and global social movements and discusses their respective agendas that are directed against the neoliberal theories of economic globalisation. She pays particular attention to social movement diffusion processes distinguishing between different types of diffusion and highlighting the importance of processes of cultural translation.⁵

The next chapter looks in detail at the example of the Global Justice Movement, starting off with the Battle of Seattle and following the protests from there to Prague, Porto Allegre and Genoa between 1999 and 2001. She carefully analyses the precursors to Seattle and highlights the challenge of the diversity of the anti-globalisation alliance. In particular, she focusses on the tensions between the "institutional left" and the "autonomous movements." She convincingly shows how the novelty of the global justice movement should not be overstated. Many of its characteristic features had already been in place in older movements. Hence any novelty was not fundamental but rather one by degree and scope. It had much to do with the increased importance of autonomous movement actors, with the search for more democratic alternative political models, and with diverse

5 See also Cristina Flesher Fominaya/Antonio Montañés Jimenez: Transnational Diffusion Across Time: the Adoption of the Argentinian Dirty War "Escrache" in the Context of Spain's Housing Crisis, in: Donatella della Porta/Alice Mattoni (eds.): Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis, Colchester 2014, pp. 19–42.

attempts to link the local, the national and the global. All of these, in themselves, have a long legacy, but they came together at a particular political conjuncture and influenced the shape of transnational social movements in the 21st century.

The following chapter looks at forms of cultural resistance to globalisation. Culture, Cristina Flesher Fominaya argues, has become a central arena of struggle in the contemporary world—a struggle over the hearts and minds of people that involves a range of tactical, symbolical and praxis-based strategies. In her use of examples, she ranges widely from the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina to the British anti-roads movement and further to global slut walks in Toronto (and beyond) and anti-capitalist shoplifting in Spain to chain workers crew in Italy and the *mujeres creando* in Bolivia. All of her examples underline to what extent cultural resistance can be a powerful part of collective resistance, developing self-consciousness, building solidaristic networks and producing a range of new cultural products that intervene in the political sphere. She shows how the realm of cultural resistance is connected to both cognitive and emotional processes. They generate values, ideas and belief systems and shape narratives that give meaning to social movements.

Media, in particular social media, are crucial to forms of cultural resistance which is why Cristina Flesher Fominaya devotes another chapter entirely to the importance of such media to global social movements. She outlines various social movement media strategies that are responses to the dilemmas posed by the modern mass media. The social movement media, in particular modern information and communication technologies, fulfil an important function in disseminating counter-narratives on a global scale, often linking local grassroots initiatives with global forms of dissemination.⁶

The final substantive chapter of this book takes a closer look at the global wave of protest associated with the financial crisis of 2007/8 and moves from Iceland's Sauscepán Revolution to the Arab spring, the Spanish Indignados and the Occupy movement. The author identifies a range of characteristics that these protests share, such as the importance of the space of a central square, the use of social media, the role of repression in producing more solidarity, the transnational dimension of the protest, the animus against corporate interests, the emphasis on freedom, human rights and social justice, and the intense politicisation of civil society that is perhaps the most marked outcome of the global wave of protest in the wake of the financial crisis. Overall the book provides a sustained and convincing argument about the profound reshaping of the modern globalising world through social movements.

6 The literature on social media and social movements is sheer endless and Cristina Flesher Fominaya's chapter does a wonderful job in presenting a lucid survey of what is available. See also Barış Coban: *Social Media and Social Movements: The Transformation of Communication Patterns*, Lanham/Maryland 2016; Victoria Carty: *Social Movements and New Technology*, Boulder/Colorado 2015.

The author herself points out to a limitation in her discussions—she has concentrated largely on progressive social movements. In the contemporary world we are, however, also faced with a range of right-wing popular social movements that are equally a response to globalisation and that command over much support in different parts of the world. Donald Trump's victory in the United States, the success of the Brexit campaign in Britain, the rising fortunes of right-wing social movements in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany and many other countries around the globe testify to the success of right-wing, ethnocentric, xenophobic and nationalist movements. Social movement research needs to pay more attention to those movements that most researchers will probably not feel an emotional attachment to, but that arguably have shaped the modern world perhaps more fundamentally than left-of-centre social movements. Monarchist and imperialist movements in the 19th century, fascist movements in the twentieth century and the rise of contemporary right-wing populist movements testify to a long-term legacy of powerful right-wing social movements that remain understudied as social movements.⁷

As several leading global historians have argued, the latest phase of intense globalisation has contributed to the rise of global history and transnational forms of history writing.⁸ The same is true for social movement studies, which is why we can review a third volume that is truly global in its analysis of the impact of social movements. David West's volume amounts to a powerful argument to move away from a traditional understanding of politics as being rooted in the study of national governments and their interactions. Instead, he argues, scholars would do well to take seriously the impact of social movements and their political actions that have shaped a broader understanding of politics going far beyond the narrow institutional focus of traditional political science approaches.

David West's book is divided into three parts. In the first part, he starts off by asking how to define social movements. He goes on to develop his plea to move beyond a focus on narrow institutional politics to a more broadly framed extra-institutional politics that incorporates social movements as a form of social power standing next to and interacting with traditional governance mechanisms. He also highlights the tensions in social movements between a desire for utopianism and the realisation of the need

7 There are, of course, promising exceptions. See, for example, Manuela Caiani/Rossella Borri: *Beyond Party Politics: the Search for a Unified Approach: Research on Radical Right-Wing Movements in Europe*, in: Oliver Fillieule/Guya Accornero (eds.): *Social Movement Studies in Europe: the State of the Art*, Oxford 2016, pp. 69–85; Manuela Caiani/Donatella della Porta/Claudius Wagemann: *Mobilising on the Extreme Right: Germany, Italy and the United States*, Oxford 2012; Rory McVeigh: *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics*, Minneapolis/Minnesota 2009.

8 Arif Dirlik: *Performing the World: Reality and Representation in the Making of World History(ies)*, in: *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute Washington* 37 (2005), pp. 9–27; Michael Geyer/Charles Bright: *World History in a Global Age*, in: *American Historical Review* 100 (1995), pp. 1034–1060; Kenneth Pomeranz: *Histories for a Less National Age*, in: *American Historical Review* 119 (2014), pp. 1–22.

to be realistic. David West goes on to provide an all-too brief survey of the role of social movements in shaping modern politics, looking at the impact of religious and nationalist social movements on the formation of the modern nation state in the 19th and 20th centuries, at bourgeois social movements attempting to liberalise both the early modern state structure and the economic system in the 18th and 19th centuries, and at the labour movements as movements for equal citizenship, social justice and democracy in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The argument that concludes this first part of the book, namely that the deep history of social movements has been largely forgotten, is not entirely convincing in the face of an enormous amount of historical scholarship on all of these movements.⁹ Social movement studies have, of course, been rooted largely in social science departments and, what is more, social science departments increasingly void of historical interest and scholarship. Hence the idea of a forgotten history may be more a case of a forgetful (unhistorical) discipline of the social sciences. In any case, as a historian, I applaud the brief nod in the direction of the deep historical roots of social movements.

The much lengthier second part of the book then deals with social movements in the contemporary world. David West's starting point here is 1968 and the emerging new social movements in the wake of 1968 that also mark a new understanding of politics and of the political championed by the author. The new identity politics concerned a range of diverse movements that all rose to prominence in the 1970s. Two extended case studies spanning an entire chapter respectively concern the environmental movements and the anti-globalisation movements. Whilst experts on the new social movements will find little new in the pages of this section, West provides a competent and lucid guide through the literature and the debates and two case studies make for very interesting reading.

In the third and final part of the book, West surveys theories of social movements.¹⁰ He reviews, first, normative and formal approaches to the study of social movements discussing early attempts to interpret social movements as irrational forms of collective behaviour and contrasting them to explanations seeking to understand social movements as rational collective action. He introduces research that has focussed on the cognitive practice and the framing of social movements and discusses the recent trends to focus on cultures and emotions of social movements. Secondly, he looks at historical and substantive approaches, namely the attempts to see the new social movements as expressions of

9 See the contributions to the most recent, equally global, survey in Stefan Berger/Holger Nehring (eds): *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey*, Basingstoke 2017.

10 See also Jochen Roose/Hella Dietz (eds.): *Social Theory and Social Movements: Mutual Inspirations*, Wiesbaden 2016; Steven M. Buechler: *Understanding Social Movements: Theories from the Classical Era to the Present*, New York 2011; Karl-Dieter Opp: *Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique and Synthesis*, London 2009.

the new, more expansive politics. West discusses the role that social movements play in Jürgen Habermas's theory of modernity, and reviews Alain Touraine's idea of social movements as agents of autonomy in post-industrial societies. He also engages with various postmodernist approaches to social movement theory, including the influential notion of "agonism" by Chantal Mouffe.¹¹ By way of a conclusion David West outlines his own commitment to a critical theory of social movements.

The cultural turn in the human and social sciences¹² has also been influential in social movement studies, as is evident in the popularity of framing approaches, collective identity approaches and New Social Movement theories in studies of social movements. James Jasper's book on the impact of culture, and in particular of emotions, on protest is a powerful reminder that many social movements, from the women's movement to the Occupy movement are difficult to understand without analysing the layers of cultural meanings and feelings that are associated with protest actions. James Jasper associates culture with meaning-making in a broad sense of sharing thoughts, feelings and morals. Cognition, emotion and morality are the three components of culture that underpin social action. James Jasper usefully distinguishes culture from what is not culture, namely resources, places, structures and individual psychology, but he argues at the same time that culture impacts on all of them, whilst they in turn impact on culture, so that, ultimately, culture weaves itself through everything.

Ranging widely across very different social movements, James Jasper organises his discussions systematically according to different aspects of social movements. Following a discussion what social movements are (chapter 1), he looks at meaning-making through social movements (chapter 2), the impact of a variety of infrastructures on social movements (chapter 3), recruitment to social movements (chapter 4), ways of sustaining social movements (chapter 5), decision-making processes in social movements (chapter 6), engagement with a range of other players (chapter 7) and questions of success and failure of social movements (chapter 8). In all of these chapters, James Jasper shows how culture and emotions are crucial explanatory factors to understand the actions and thoughts of social movement actors. James Jasper has produced a very readable book that breathes many decades of teaching experience and a close familiarity with a wealth of social movement research. It is most thought-provoking in the sections dealing with emotions and their impact on social movement activism indicating that here lies a rich vein of largely untapped source material for future studies on social movements.¹³

11 Chantal Mouffe: *The Return of the Political*, London 2005.

12 Doris Bachmann-Medick: *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture*, Berlin 2016; Sasha Roseneil/Stephen Frosh (eds.): *Social Research after the Cultural Turn*, Basingstoke 2012.

13 See also Jan Plamper: *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, Oxford 2015; William M. Reddy: *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge 2001.

The volume edited by Britta Baumgarten, Priska Daphi and Peter Ullrich is a wonderful introduction to the manifold ways in which concepts of culture have impacted on analyses of the ways in which social movements have been shaped by culture, what cultures have been developing inside social movements, how social movements have been changed by culture and have been an agent of change in culture. A range of cultural theories and theoretical frameworks are introduced by the chapters in the collection, and it is particularly impressive how the editors have drawn on different disciplines, including sociology, anthropology and geography. Discourse analysis, the spatial turn in the human sciences and the sociology of emotions feature prominently in this extremely valuable collection that anyone studying social movements will read with great benefit. The editors argue that in the past cognitive approaches to culture have often eclipsed attention to emotional, habitual and ritual approaches leading to a deplorable one-dimensionality of existing cultural approaches to social movement studies. Furthermore, the editors point out that culture underpins all forms of social action and should not be restricted to a societal sub-system or forms of high culture. Finally, they argue against a binary divide between culture on the one hand and structure on the other. Instead, they find that culture is structural and has a “structuring character.” Culture produces structures of meaning that impact on all social relations.¹⁴

Following a theoretical and methodological introduction to the topic by the editors, the book is divided into four parts. The first part introduces various attempts to theorize culture. James Jasper looks at the sociology of emotions and how attention to emotions has reconceptualised culture in major ways. His contribution also underlines how emotions have influenced the internal dynamics of social movement culture. Laurence Cox surveys diverse Western Marxist approaches to culture and argues that they can be made more productive in social movement research, as they would allow more attention to the everyday of social movements, as well as to the processes and conflicts that shape them. June Nash investigates anthropological ways of looking at culture and how they have been and can be made fruitful in social movement studies.

Part two of the volume then turns to culture as a framework for movement activity. Britta Baumgarten analyses how culture has impacted on transnational forms of activism. She highlights the relevance of national cultures arguing that the difference between them can form obstacles to cooperation but that they can equally produce creative tensions that lead to new ideas and practices. The idea of nationally distinct cultures has, of course, been heavily attacked in recent years by transnational scholarship that has pointed to the constructed nature of such “national cultures” and the fact that they often share many

14 See also David Rubinstein: *Culture, Structure and Agency: Towards a Truly Multidimensional Society*, London 2001.

characteristics that have been developed in a constant process of diffusion and exchange.¹⁵ Whilst national cultures should not be reified, the assumptions of such national differences nevertheless have very real consequences for social movement interactions across borders. Peter Ullrich and Reiner Keller introduce Foucauldian discourse analysis as an important tool for examining and comparing social movements in different national settings. Like with Britta Baumgarten, the assumption of national discursive specificities needs to be problematized in the light of ideas of “methodological nationalism”¹⁶, but the fruitfulness of the comparative method that is aware of transcultural influences is beyond doubt. Jochen Roose finally looks at quantitative approaches to the topic of social movements and culture developing a theory that measures the mobilisation effect of value patterns in any given society.

The third part of the volume looks at internal movement culture. Priska Daphi examines the role of space for movements, concentrating in particular on the diverse ways in which space is given meaning within social movements.¹⁷ Cristina Flesher Fominaya looks at how Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus can be applied in the study of movement culture. She shows how habitual understanding of culture can lead to significant barriers inhibiting cooperation between different social movement sub-cultures not sharing the same habitual understandings of culture. Nicole Doerr examines ways in which ideas of culture from memory studies can be productively applied to social movement studies. Her multi-dimensional approach to memory highlights multiple and conflicting forms of remembering as basis of a continuously contested memory culture of social movements.¹⁸ Jeffrey S. Juris looks at the performative turn and argues that the study of performance in social movements adds considerably to the cultural understanding of social movements.¹⁹

The fourth and final part of the book then investigates the impact of social movements on culture. Olga Malets and Sabrina Zajak look at ways in which transnational social movements also move cultures in an attempt to translate practices and ideas from one culture to another. Erik Neveu finally looks at memory battles over the events of May

15 The most famous texts among the vast constructivist literature in nationalism studies remain Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn, Cambridge 1991; Eric Hobsbawm/Terence Ranger (eds.): *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983.

16 Anna Amelina et al. (eds.): *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies*, London 2012.

17 On the spatial turn see Barney Warf/Santa Arias (eds.): *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, London 2009; Jörg Döring/Tristan Thielmann (eds.): *Spatial Turn: das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, Bielefeld 2015; Moritz Csáky/Christoph Leitgeb (eds.): *Kommunikation—Gedächtnis—Raum. Kulturwissenschaften nach dem spatial turn*, Bielefeld 2009.

18 See also Stefan Berger/Sean Scalmer (eds.): *Memory and Social Movements*, Basingstoke 2018, forthcoming.

19 See also Jeffrey C. Alexander/Bernhard Giesen/Jason L. Mast (eds.): *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual*, Cambridge 2006.

1968 and argues that these “interpretative struggles” should be interpreted as a “cultural re-play of social movements.” Overall the contributions to this volume provide intriguing facets of what could indeed be termed the cultural turn in social movement studies and the volume provides a richer and more multi-dimensional introduction to this cultural turn than the book by James Jasper.

Culture also figures prominently in Tim Wätzold’s book that looks at the formation of a strongly internationalist anarcho-syndicalist labour movement culture in Latin America between the 1870s and 1920, focussing on Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Mass migration, urbanisation and industrialisation are the broad social contexts that shaped the outlook of the Latin American labour movement in those decades. The strength of his analysis lies in his careful consideration of discourses and practices, of ideas and institutions and of national, as well as transnational, dimensions of the anarcho-syndicalist labour movements under investigation here. He accounts for the formation of political parties and trade unions but is equally interested in the ways in which labour movement shaped the lives of workers through associationalism, working-class theatres and libraries and other cultural institutions. Tim Wätzold’s book is therefore an important contribution to overcoming the well-entrenched dualism between an everyday history of work and workers and labour movement history.²⁰ He shows how the anarcho-syndicalist subculture in several Latin American countries was intensely political and at the same time informed the everyday lives of their members. The values of anarcho-syndicalism, such as solidarity, equality, freedom, internationalism, justice and federalism informed a repertoire of contentious politics that was able to forge strong class identities in highly diverse immigrant societies. In Tim Wätzold’s view they became part of a secular political religion that set free strong emotional affections for the movement amongst converts who often arrived in those countries with their former ideological and emotional attachments having undergone processes of dissolution.²¹ Hence the book is also a study of the formation of a particular anarcho-syndicalist cultural milieu in Latin America that was ultimately destroyed by the authoritarian-corporatist turn of the countries under examination here in the interwar period.

The libertarianism of anarcho-syndicalism was hugely attractive to the 1968 movement which is why they also recovered and rediscovered that tradition and juxtaposed it to the hated orthodoxies of Social Democracy and Communism. 1968 has been a favourite topic

20 Marcel van der Linden: *Keeping Distance: Alf Lüttke’s “Decentred” Labour History*, in: *International Review of Social History* 40 (1995), pp. 285–294.

21 The “political religion” paradigm has so far been used most widely in the research on 20th-century totalitarianism, which is why I am sceptical about Tim Wätzold’s use of the concept here. He surely would not want to identify the movements that he studies with totalitarianism. See, for example, Roger Griffin (ed.): *Fascism, Totalitarianism and Political Religion*, London 2005.

of social movement research.²² Sebastian Voigt looks at Jewish activists of 1968 in France and argues that their familial memory of the holocaust shaped to a significant extent their social movement activism and its underlying world view in the 1960s and 1970s. Examining in three consecutive chapters the social activism of Pierre Goldman, Daniel Cohn-Bendit and André Glucksmann, he comes to the conclusion that the histories of the left, of post-war France and of Jewish 20th-century history were closely intertwined in those three lives. The different experiences that the families of these three 1968ers made under National Socialist occupation, in the holocaust and thereafter had an important impact on their perception of Vichy France, the Algerian war, 1968 and its aftermath. It made them suspect of French and every form of nationalism and instead it led them to identify with forms of cosmopolitanism that was not spatially rooted. It was also their identification with the Jewish victims of the holocaust that made them receptive to the ideas of Communist dissidence that had opposed both Fascism and Stalinism. Sebastian Voigt not only brings to life three fascinating biographies of left-wing Jewish intellectuals rooted in France's 1968, he also shows how their Jewish heritage played an important role in their politicisation and their political choices. It is difficult in a brief review article to do justice to the richly textured argument and the fascinating insights into the thoughts and actions of three key intellectuals of the Paris revolt of 1968. The author has to be congratulated also on the brilliant style of writing that characterises this volume. Overall, Sebastian Voigt presents a hitherto completely neglected facet of 1968.

This review started with a reference to the history of historiography and it will end with reviewing a book that examines in great detail the ways in which, during the Cold War, East and West German historians interpreted German history very differently. This battle of the historians is exemplified with reference to one of the *annus mirabilis* of German history—1923.²³ It was the year of the occupation of the Ruhr, of hyperinflation, of a renewed rapprochement of Social Democrats and Communists in some of the federal states making up the Weimar Republic. Matthias Dohmen examines to what extent history writing was politicised in both German states in order to underwrite the particular rationale for the East and West German state respectively. His chronological march through five decades of Cold War history leaves no doubt that history was an important

22 Robert Gildea/James Mark/Anette Warring (eds.): *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt*, Oxford 2013; Gerd-Rainer Horn: *The Spirit of 1968: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America 1956–1976*, Oxford 2007.

23 A book that sadly does not feature in Matthias Dohmen's volume is Conan Fischer: *The Ruhr Crisis 1923/24*, Oxford 2003. He is dealing exclusively with East and West German literature and takes into account contrasting accounts from Finland, but not elsewhere. However, the history of historiography has long been a transnational affair, with books on German history writing by non-German historians outside of Germany also influencing the debate in Germany. Such a transnational facet to the history of historiography would add considerably to the already rich texture provided by Matthias Dohmen's volume.

resource for both German states to underwrite particular historical master narratives. One would have wished, however, that Matthias Dohmen had also considered even more the contestation of these master narratives by rival and alternative historical cultures, many of which were rooted in social movements. Dissident voices in the German Democratic Republic existed but found it difficult to be heard in the Communist dictatorship. The liberal democratic framework of the capitalist state in West Germany allowed for more contention and especially from the 1960s onwards, a more pluralist historical profession provided a whole range of different narratives surrounding both the specific history of 1923 and the wider historiographical picture surrounding it.²⁴ Nevertheless, the author is to be congratulated on analysing an extensive and impressive amount of original documents. His book is a reminder of the huge importance of the political context of history-writing. That, after all, is also true for the history-writing on social movements.

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24 Very inspiring also on the interrelationship of German-German historiographies during the Cold War is Franka Maubach/Christina Morina (eds.): *Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert erzählen: Zeiterfahrung und Zeiterforschung im geteilten Deutschland*, Göttingen 2016.