

The volume is a satisfyingly complete piece of scholarship. In addition to the thought-provoking introduction, the carefully selected excerpts from Hervé's history (about half the original), and the expertly edited drafts and notes for Alexis's unfinished study, Palmer includes excerpts from the younger Tocqueville's correspondence concerning the writing of the planned book. There is also a helpful glossary of contemporary French terms and an index designed to assist in comparing the two Tocquevilles. One minor quibble. To say, as Palmer does in the context of the calling of the Estates-General in 1789, that "it had been many generations since the nobility and the clergy as organized bodies had functioned as political institutions at the national level" (19), seems an unwarranted neglect of the political role the higher clergy had been able to exercise through the periodic meetings of the Assembly of Clergy.

In summary, this is a book to be read, pondered, and cherished by students of the French Revolution, Tocqueville scholars, and anyone seriously interested in the problems posed by historical method.

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Detlev J.K. Peukert and Frank Bajohr — *Spuren des Widerstands: Die Bergarbeiterbewegung im Dritten Reich und im Exil*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1987. Pp. 223.

The fate of the German miners and their unions in the Third Reich forms the primary subject of this book. Its publication was subsidized by the West German mineworkers' union, and at least some of the problems of *Spuren des Widerstands* (Traces of Resistance) appear to come from an admirable but not entirely successful attempt to bridge the gap between the academic community and a wider readership in the labor movement. The book is compiled from separate contributions by the two authors and from documents of the 1930s. The result is a collection of often very interesting material that never forms a coherent whole.

Detlev J.K. Peukert, a leading scholar of working-class and Communist Party resistance to the Nazis, opens the book with "Perspectives on the Resistance," which outlines clearly (and sometimes too obviously) the problems entailed in writing a history of clandestine and informal activity under a brutally oppressive regime — so little is recorded, and what is recorded comes from problematic sources like Gestapo files, exile publications and oral history. As he notes, these problems are only exacerbated by trying to write about trade union resistance, because unions need legality, and virtually cease to exist without it, while political activity more easily can become conspiratorial. While this is well said, Peukert's insistence on the need to assemble "small stones into a mosaic" (11) may have become a rationale for the loose structure of the book.

Chapters II and III were put together by Frank Bajohr, a doctoral student, and form a biography of Franz Vogt, a leading official of the Social Democratic miners' union (as well as SPD politician) in the Weimar Republic, and a prominent member of socialist exile groups after 1933. The first of these two chapters is actually an autobiographical letter of Vogt to his children from exile in Amsterdam in 1934. It is indeed a moving, even exciting document, but Bajohr's biographical chapter which follows is often repetitive, and includes information on Vogt's life before 1933, and political activity before or during the Third Reich, which is marginal to the announced topic of the book. A lengthy speech of Vogt to the Prussian Parliament in 1932 is included for no clear reason. Any transition to the next part of the book, written by Peukert, is lacking.

For scholars this next part is the most rewarding. In Chapter IV Peukert discusses the problems of trade union resistance under the Nazis. Most underground groups were smashed by the Gestapo by 1936. Only at the leadership level were socialist, Communist and Christian unionists able to

maintain some informal networks, but they were “officers without an army” (101). Here at least Peukert mentions the Christian unionists; otherwise the book tends to have the usual bias of West German labor history — it is a history of socialist labor movement. Chapter V discusses the most important miners’ exile group of the 1930s, the “Arbeitsausschuss freigewerkschaftlicher Bergarbeiter Deutschlands” of 1936-39, a group organized by Franz Vogt which brought together Social Democrats and Communists in the Popular Front era. It had minor success in smuggling periodicals into the Reich and in maintaining networks, but the overall situation was bleak, and after 1939, hopeless. Another long Vogt document, an August 1936 discussion of the situation of German miners, forms Chapter VI, and it plus Peukert’s analysis of miners’ everyday life in the 1931s in the next chapter, are the most significant parts of the book from the scholarly standpoint. As the rearmament-driven boom got underway in the late 1930s, the labor market position of all workers improved considerably, while Nazi economic controls and pressure for greater production meant little or no improvement in living standards while output and hours were forced up. The result was a rising tide of labor turnover, “sick outs” and “goofing off,” slowdowns, even localized strikes and protests. This has led some, notably Tim Mason of Oxford, to conclude that there was a “worker opposition” which was potentially destabilizing for the regime, especially since Hitler and other leading Nazis, believing their own “stab-in-the-back” myth, were afraid of another 1918 Revolution after the war began. While the fears of the elite have been confirmed, and Vogt and Peukert bear out Mason’s analysis of the mandatory German Labor Front as an organization forced to defend worker interests in a limited way, Peukert rightly questions the “worker opposition” thesis as exaggerated. Too much of this “resistance” was normal boom-period behavior to be described as consciously anti-Nazi, and terror, control and propaganda had been successful in atomizing and depoliticizing older workers, while a proportion of the young were won over by the Hitler Youth. The working class remained the most troubling segment of the German population for the Nazis, and class confrontation was not ended by the “national community,” but some historians on the left may have engaged in wishful thinking on this issue. This is at least the conclusion that Peukert’s analysis supports. The chapter ends with four pages on the World War II era, which is unfortunately typical for the social history of the Third Reich so far — half of the Nazis’ twelve years are treated as an afterthought. The book ends with a brief conclusion and a final chapter compiled from interviews of another member of the Social Democratic miners’ union who was active in the resistance and exile. Typically this just seems tacked on. In short this book has some very useful sections, and it includes some interesting documents of worker life in the Third Reich and of activity in the resistance, but its structure is too loose, so that the whole is less than the sum of its parts.

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Janet L. Polasky — *Revolution in Brussels 1787-1793*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1987. Pp. 315.

It is now thirty years since Robert Palmer published the first volume of his *Age of the Democratic Revolution* and called for more study of the political and social revolts in Europe’s smaller states in the years preceding the French Revolution. Janet Polasky’s study of the revolution in Brussels, the administrative capital of the Austrian Netherlands, is the first English-language monograph on the Belgian revolution of the late 1780s and early 1790s, and the first new study of these events in any language since Suzanne Tassier’s works in the 1930s. As such, Polasky’s book is certainly a welcome addition to the literature on the neglected “democratic revolutions” Palmer drew attention to, and it brings out some of the peculiarities that make it difficult to compare the Belgian case with