

HISTORY 202: EUROPEAN LABOUR IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Spring Semester 1992 TuTh 11:00-12:15 2101 Humanities

Professor Zeitlin (5216 Humanities; 5-2523)

Course Description

This course will explore the history of organized labor in Great Britain, France and Germany since 1900. Its central aim will be to compare the industrial and political activities of the labor movement in the three countries, and to account historically for their contrasting trajectories of development. While the main focus will fall on formal organizations such as trade unions and political parties, we will also look closely at the changing relationship of such bodies to their potential constituents on the one hand, and to their adversaries or bargaining partners on the other. Thus particular emphasis will be placed on the role of employers and the state in shaping the options open to labor organizations at different moments, and on the implications of the latter's own strategic choices for their ability to mobilize support from the wider working-class.

Written Requirements

Two eight-ten page papers and a final examination.

Paper I (due at the end of week five): Compare and contrast the development of the labour movement before 1914 in at least two of the three countries.

Paper II (due at the end of week eleven): Compare and contrast the impact on the development of the labor movement in at least two of the three countries of either World War I or the Great Depression.

Reading

The reading for this course will be heavy, and students will need to keep up as we go along to follow the lectures and participate in discussion. All starred items are required reading, and where possible I have indicated the single most important item with a double asterisk (**). Unstarred items are intended as further reading for those who wish to go deeper into particular topics. All starred books and most unstarred books will be held on reserve at the Helen C. White Library.

Required Texts

- D. Geary (ed.), Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914, (New York: St. Martins, 1989).
- S. Salter and J. Stevenson (eds.), The Working Class and Politics in Europe and America, 1929-1945 (London: Longmans, 1990).
- K. Laybourn, The Rise of Labour: The British Labour Party, 1890-1979 (London: Edward Arnold, 1988).
- R. Fletcher (ed.), Bernstein to Brandt: A Short History of German Social Democracy (London: Edward Arnold, 1987).

Recommended Texts

- D. Geary, European Labor Politics from 1900 to the Depression (New York: Humanities, 1991).
- H. Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (4th ed., New York: Viking Penguin, 1987).
- T. Judt, Marxism and the French Left (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986).

Week 1: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives

- **D. Geary, European Labour Politics from 1900 to the Depression (New York: Humanities Press, 1991), pp. 1-72.
- *I. Katznelson and A. Zolberg (eds.), Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), introduction and conclusion, pp. 3-44, 397-456.
- *J. Zeitlin, "From Labour History to the History of Industrial Relations", Economic History Review, 2nd series, 40 (1987): 159-84.
- G. Marks, Unions in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989).
- D. Gallie, Social Inequality and Class Radicalism in France and Britain (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).
- B. Hindess, Politics and Class Analysis (London: Macmillan, 1987).
- S.M. Lipset, "Radicalism or Reformism: The Sources of Working-Class Politics", American Political Science Review 77 (1983):

Week 2: British Labor before 1914

- **G. Philips, "The British Labour Movement before 1914", in D. Geary (ed.), Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914, (New York: St. Martins, 1989), pp. 11-47.
- *H. Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (4th ed., London: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 79-138.
- *K. Laybourn, The Rise of Labour: The British Labour Party, 1890-1979 (London: Edward Arnold, 1988), pp. 9-31.
- *R. McKibbin, "Why Was There No Marxism in Great Britain?", English Historical Review (1984), reprinted in his The Ideologies of Class (Oxford: OUP, 1990), pp. 1-41.
- W.J. Mommsen and H.G. Husung (eds.), The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, 1880-1914, chs. 1-3, 5, 7-10, 14-15, 17-19.
- C.J. Wrigley (ed.), A History of British Industrial Relations, 1875-1914 (Brighton: Harvester, 1982), esp. chs. 2-8.
- M. Pugh, The Making of Modern British Politics, 1867-1939 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), chs. 4-7.
- D. Tanner, Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-1918 (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), esp. pts. I-III.

Week 3: French Labor before 1914

- **R. Magraw, "Socialism, Syndicalism and French Labour before 1914", in Geary, Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914, pp. 48-100.
- *G. Noiriel, Workers in French Society during the 19th and 20th Centuries (New York: St. Martins, 1990), pp. 73-107.
- *J. Horne, Labour at War: France and Britain, 1914-18 (Oxford: OUP, 1991), pp. 1-41.
- *G. Friedman, "The Decline of Paternalism and the Making of the Employer Class: France 1870-1914", in S.M. Jacoby (ed.), Masters to Managers (NY: Columbia UP, 1990), pp. 153-72.
- T. Judt, "The French Labor Movement in the Nineteenth Century", in his Marxism and the French Left (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986), pp. 24-114.
- B. Moss, The Origins of the French Labor Movement: The Socialism of Skilled Workers, 1830-1914 (Berkeley: California UP, 1976), chs. 4-5.
- P.N. Stearns, Revolutionary Syndicalism and French Labor (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1971).
- N. Papayanis, Alphonse Merrheim: The Emergence of Reformism in Revolutionary Syndicalism, 1871-1925 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985), pts. I-II.

Week 4: German Labor before 1914

- **D. Geary, "Socialism and the German Labor Movement before 1914", in Geary, Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914, pp. 101-36.
- *R. Fletcher (ed.), Bernstein to Brandt: A Short History of German Social Democracy (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), pp. 11-44.
- *S. Miller and H. Potthoff, A History of German Social Democracy from 1848 to the Present (NY: St. Martins, 1986), pp. 38-54.
- *R.J. Evans, "The Sociological Interpretation of German Labour History", in Evans (ed.), The German Working Class, 1888-1933 (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 15-53; reprinted in his Rethinking German History (London: Routledge, 1987).
- Mommsen and Husung, Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, chs. 6, 11-13, 16, 20, 22.
- W. Guttsman, The German Social Democratic Party, 1871-1933 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981).
- G. Roth, Social Democrats in Imperial Germany (Totowa, NJ, 1963).

J.A. Moses, Trade Unionism in Germany from Bismarck to Hitler, (London: George Prior, 1982), vol. 1, chs. 5-8.

E.G. Spencer, Labor and Management in Imperial Germany (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1984).

Week 5: Britain: War and Reconstruction

**A. Reid, "The Impact of the First World War on British Workers", in R. Wall and J. Winter (eds.), The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918 (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp. 221-33.

*D. Thom, "Women and Work in Wartime Britain", in ibid., pp. 297-326.

*C. Wrigley, "The First World War and State Intervention in Industrial Relations, 1914-18", in Wrigley (ed.), A History of British Industrial Relations, vol. 2: 1914-1939 (Brighton: Harvester, 1986), pp. 23-70.

*Laybourn, Rise of Labour, pp. 32-47.

Pelling, History of British Trade Unions, pp. 139-58

H. Clegg, A History of British Trade Unions since 1889, vol. II: 1911-1933 (Oxford: OUP, 1985), chs. 4-5, 7.

J. Hinton, The First Shop Stewards' Movement (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973).

Tanner, Political Change and the Labour Party, pt. IV.

Pugh, Making of Modern British Politics, pt. 3.

K. Burk (ed.), War and the State: The Transformation of British Government, 1914-1919 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982).

Week 6: War and Reconstruction: France

**P. Fridenson, "The Impact of the War on French Workers", in Wall and Winter, The Upheaval of War, pp. 235-48.

*J.L. Robert, "Women and Work in France during the First World War", in ibid., pp. 251-66.

*P. Fridenson (ed.), The French Home Front, 1914-18, pp. 7-12, 81-144, 189-235 of the French edition (xerox of translation on reserve).

*J. Horne, "'L'impôt du sang': Republican Rhetoric and Industrial Warfare in France, 1914-18", Social History 14 (1989), pp. 201-23.

Horne, Labour at War, chs. 2-5, 7-9.

Papayanis, Alphonse Merrheim, pts. III-IV.

J.J. Becker, The Great War and the French People (NY: St. Martins, 1985).

J.F. Godfrey, Capitalism at War: Industrial Policy and Bureaucracy in France, 1914-1918 (NY: St. Martins, 1987).

Week 7: War and Revolution: Germany

**Fletcher, Bernstein to Brandt, pp. 55-95.

*Miller and Pothoff, A History of German Social Democracy, pp. 55-82.

*G. Feldman, "German Business Between War and Revolution: The Origins of the Stinnes-Legien Agreement", in G.A. Ritter (ed.), Entstehung und Wandel der modernen Gesellschaft (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970): pp. 312-41; xerox on reserve.

*W.J. Mommsen, "The German Revolution, 1918-20: Political Revolution and Social Protest Movement", in R. Bessel and E.J. Feuchtwanger (eds.), Social Change and Political Development in Weimar Germany (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1981), pp. 21-54.

G. Feldman, Army, Industry and Labour in Germany, 1914-18 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1966; repr. NY: St. Martins, 1991).

J. Kocka, Facing Total War: German Society, 1914-18 (NY: St. Martins, 1984).

Moses, Trade Unionism in Germany, vol. 1, chs. 9-11; vol. 2, ch. 12.

D. Geary, "Radicalism and the Worker: Metalworkers and Revolution, 1914-23", in R.J. Evans (ed.), Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 267-87.

U. Daniel, "Women's Work in Industry and Family: Germany, 1914-18", in Wall and Winter, The Upheaval of War, pp. 267-96.

Week 8: Interwar Britain

**J. Stevenson, "The United Kingdom", in S. Salter and J. Stevenson, eds., The Working Class in Europe and America, 1929-45 (London: Longmans, 1990), pp. 125-43.

*C. Wrigley, "The Trade Unions between the Wars", in Wrigley, History of Industrial Relations, pp. 71-129.

*Laybourn, Rise of Labour, pp. 47-99.

*J. Cronin, Labour and Society in Britain, 1918-1979 (London: Batsford, 1984), pp. 51-110.

Pelling, History of British Trade Unionism, pp. 158-99.

Wrigley, History of Industrial Relations, chs. 3-6, 9.

Clegg, History of British Trade Unions, chs. 8-12.

G.A. Phillips, The General Strike (London, 1976).

Pugh, Making of Modern British Politics, pt. 4.

Week 9: Weimar Germany

**D. Geary, "Workers, Employers and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic", in I. Kershaw (ed.), Weimar: Why Did German Democracy Fail? (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1990), pp. 92-119.

*Fletcher, Bernstein to Brandt, pp. 103-67.

*S. Salter, "Germany", in Salter and Stevenson, The Working Class and Politics in Europe and America, pp. 99-105.

*Miller and Potthoff, History of German Social Democracy, chs. 7-8, pp. 82-120.

Moses, Trade Unionism in Germany, vol. 2, chs. 13-17.

B. Fowkes, Communism in Germany under the Weimar Republic (London: Macmillan, 1981).

R. Breitman, German Socialism and Weimar Democracy (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

R.J. Evans and D. Geary (eds.), The German Unemployed (London: Routledge, 1986).

Week 10: Interwar France

**R. Magraw, "France", in Salter and Stevenson, The Working Class and Politics in Europe and America, pp. 62-88.

*Noiriel, Workers in French Society, pp. 109-80.

*T. Judt, "The French Socialist Party 1920-1936", in his Marxism and the French Left (Oxford: OUP, 1986), pp. 115-68.

*D.A.L. Levy, "The French Popular Front, 1936-37", in H. Graham and P. Preston (eds.), The Popular Front in Europe (NY: St. Martins, 1987), pp. 58-84.

R. Wohl, French Communism in the Making, 1914-24 (Palo Alto: Stanford UP, 1966).

H. Chapman, State Capitalism and Worker Radicalism in the French Aircraft Industry (Berkeley: California UP, 1990), chs. 1-7.

- J. Jackson, The Politics of Depression in France, 1932-1936 (Cambridge: CUP, 1985).
- J. Jackson, The Popular Front in France: Defending Democracy, 1934-38 (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).
- R. Vinen, The Politics of French Business, 1936-45 (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), chs. 1-6.

Week 11: Labour under Authoritarian Rule

Nazi Germany

- **Salter and Stevenson, The Working Class and Politics in Europe and America, pp. 106-119.
- *T.W. Mason, "Labour in the Third Reich, 1933-39", Past and Present 33 (1966): 112-41.
- *T.W. Mason, "The Workers' Opposition in Nazi Germany", History Workshop Journal 11 (1981): 120-37.
- D.J.K. Peukert, Inside Nazi Germany (New Haven: Yale UP, 1987), pp. 101-44.
- T.W. Mason, Social Policy in the Third Reich: The Working Class and the National Community, 1933-39 (NY: St. Martins, 1990).
- A. Glee, "The SPD in Emigration and Resistance, 1933-1945", in Fletcher, Bernstein to Brandt, pp. 183-92.
- Miller and Postoff, History of German Social Democracy, chs. 9-10.

Vichy France

- **Salter and Stevenson, The Working Class and Politics in Europe and America, pp. 88-92.
- *Vinen, Politics of French Business, chs. 8-9, pp. 116-37.
- *L. Taylor, "The Parti Communiste Français and the French Resistance in the Second World War", in T. Judt (ed.), Resistance and Revolution in Mediterranean Europe, 1939-1948 (New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 53-79.
- Chapman, State Capitalism and Working-Class Radicalism, ch. 8.
- R.O. Paxton, Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order (NY: Columbia UP, 1972).

Week 12: British Labor and the Second World War

- *M. Gowing, 'The Organisation of Manpower in Britain during the Second World War', Journal of Contemporary History 7 (1972), pp. 147-67.

- *D. Barnes and E. Reid, 'A New Relationship: Trade Unions in the Second World War', in B. Pimlott and C. Cook (eds.), Trade Unions in British Politics (2nd edition, 1991), pp. 137-55.
- *R. Lowe, 'The Second World War, Consensus, and the Foundation of the Welfare State', Twentieth-Century British History 1 (1990), pp. 152-82.
- *Laybourn, Rise of Labour, pp. 99-105.
- P. Addison, The Road to 1945 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977).
- A. Bullock, The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin, vol. II (London: Heinemann, 1967).
- A. Calder, The People's War: Britain, 1939-45 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971).
- H.L. Smith (ed.), War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1986).

Week 13: Postwar Britain

- *Pelling, History of British Trade Unionism, pp. 200-293.
- *Laybourn, Rise of Labour, pp. 107-71.
- *Cronin, Labour and Society in Britain, pp. 134-208.
- Crouch, C., 1982: The Politics of Industrial Relations (2nd ed., London: Fontana), pt. I.
- Pimlott and Cook, Trade Unions in British Politics, pt. II.
- S. Bornstein and P. Gourevitch, "Unions in a Declining Economy: The Case of the British TUC", in: P. Gourevitch et al., Unions and Economic Crisis: Britain, West Germany, and Sweden (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), pp. 13-88.
- K.O. Morgan, Labour in Power, 1945-51 (Oxford: OUP, 1984).
- D. Kavanagh (ed.), The Politics of the Labour Party (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982).

Week 14: Postwar France

- **P. Lange et al., Unions, Crisis and Change: French and Italian Union Strategy and the Political Economy, 1945-1980 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982), pp. 15-93.
- *Noiriel, Workers in French Society, pp. 181-244.
- *Judt, "The Elections of 1981 in Historical Perspective", in Marxism and the French Left, pp. 239-301.

- G. Ross, Workers and Communists in France (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).
- V. Lorwin, The French Labor Movement (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1954), chs. 7-15.
- Chapman, State Capitalism and Working-Class Radicalism, chs. 9-10.
- D. Bell and B. Criddle, The French Socialist Party (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984).
- Gallie, Social Inequality and Worker Radicalism in France and Britain, pts. I-II.

Week 15: Postwar Germany

- **A.S. Markovits and C.S. Allen, "Trade Unions and the Economic Crisis: The West German Case", in Gourevitch et al., Unions and Economic Crisis, pp. 89-188.
- *Miller and Potthoff, History of German Social Democracy, 139-235.
- A.S. Markovits, The Politics of the West German Trade Unions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- V. R. Berghahn and D. Karsten, Industrial Relations in West Germany (New York: St. Martins Press, 1988).
- V.R. Berghahn, The Americanization of West German Industry, 1945-73 (New York: St. Martins Press, 1986).
- W.D. Graf, The German Left Since 1945 (Cambridge, MA: Oleander Press, 1986).
- W. Streeck, "Co-Determination: The Fourth Decade", in B. Wilpert and A. Sorge, eds., International Perspectives on Organizational Democracy, International Yearbook of Organizational Democracy, vol. II, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1984), pp. 393-422.