

activity down, although other forms of resistance remained. The final two chapters of *Worker Resistance Under Stalin* detail the two most violent strikes in the Ivanovo region that took place in 1932 which broke out after the March cut in workers' rations.

Rossman provides a detailed portrait of the textile workers who are the focus of his study and has a comprehensive sense of the factors affecting identity and unity such as age, gender, literacy, ties to the land, the type of job held, party membership, and family ties. He emphasizes the importance of work traditions and culture as well as family to create a nuanced portrait of a complex group of workers. The book would be even richer if Rossman could have provided more insight into those workers who opposed unrest and those local officials who took measures to end it. What was the impact on officials of having to be the ones to implement the First Five Year Plan on the local level? Some workers remained loyal to the Party and the state; who were they? One can glean a portrait of these workers and local officials from the book but more on them explicitly would be beneficial.

Overall the book is an important contribution to labour studies and to studies of the period of Stalin's First Five Year Plan. Rossman's focus on Ivanovo allows the reader to draw closer to the reactions on the shop floor to Stalin's industrial revolution and seriously challenges any notion that textile workers, at least, took these changes lying down.

These two books add much to the literature on workers in Soviet Russia after the October Revolution. Together the two works illustrate the challenges of regarding the working class as a single entity and the value of close regional or micro-study to further develop and nuance general historical understanding of the Soviet Union.

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Carl R. Weinberg, *Labour, Loyalty, Rebellion: Southwestern Illinois Coal Miners and World War I* (Carbondale, Il.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005).

On 5 April 1918 a German-born coal miner, Robert Prager, was lynched just outside the mining community of Collinsville, Illinois. An active member of the vibrant German-American communities of the Midwest and a staunch unionist, Prager fell victim to the wave of anti-German sentiment and hypernationalism that swept through the United States following its declaration of war against Germany in the spring of 1917.

Weinberg utilizes this rather isolated event as a lens to explore the important issue of the US working-class response to the First World War and the subsequent labour revolt that rocked the US from 1917 to 1919. Beginning with a comprehensive survey of the history of the coalfields of Southwestern Illinois, Weinberg

then examines the wave of strikes that followed the declaration of war, an important episode that vividly illustrated the dramatic tensions between radicals who sought to wage war against ‘capitalist militarism’, and the state and the United Mine Workers of America, which opposed the strike action.

The lynching of Robert Prager occurred not just at a time of heightened class tensions in the United States, but during a period of global working-class unrest. But at the root of the Prager incident is a paradox. While the Prager incident is usually interpreted as an example of working-class patriotism and intolerance of things German during wartime, it occurred during a period of intense strike activity and working-class solidarity. Weinberg’s goal is to resolve the apparent contradiction between the miners’ patriotism and their propensity to strike and fight for their interests.

Of course, this paradox was by no means restricted to the United States. It was evident in most belligerent nations, Germany in particular. But while many have seen this as an example of how the labour movement and the socialist parties betrayed their class interests, Weinberg’s analysis of the miners’ patriotism and the labour rebellion that shook the Illinois coalfields from 1917 to 1919, which builds on both the local and the global experience of workers, offers an important reassessment of this issue. Inspired by the work of US social historians such as Gary Gerstle, Herbert Gutman, Sean Wilentz, and David Corbin, all of who offer critiques of traditional Marxism, Weinberg examines the language of protest and ideology, arguing that radical working-class demands during a time of international conflict and revolution fell within the distinctive matrix of working-class Americanism. Accordingly, class interests did not need to conflict with the workers’ patriotic imperative for a number of reasons. First, because demands for workers’ rights were cloaked in the language of liberty, equality, dignity and citizenship, ideas that were associated with the long tradition of patriotic US heroes, such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln. Second, because the state held out the promise of reforms and rewards for loyal workers.

However, if the miners believed that their patriotism would lead to marked improvements in their work conditions and living standards, they were mistaken. The promised rewards never materialized after the war, and rather than uniting the workers, patriotism and support for the government’s war effort led to nothing less than the fragmentation and weakening of the labour movement. As Weinberg concludes, the notion that workers could have it both ways—that as patriotic Americans, they were part of the same “national family as their class opponents” fighting for the cause of bourgeois “democracy”, while at the same time fighting for their collective needs as a class—was a myth, an “impossible dream”. According to the author, “Working people paid, and continue to pay today, for the fundamental illusion that such a ‘family’ meaningfully exists” (199).

In fact, Prager was not just a victim of the “false fetish of patriotism” that ran through working-class communities during the war years (33). The Prager

lynching was a by-product of deep-rooted tensions and class conflict. From 1917, the Wilson administration was determined not just to wage war on Germany; it was also committed to a “war for the hearts and minds of Americans” (29). In order to “line up the people with the government,” the administration whipped up pro-war sentiment and curbed the anti-war movement. Through the Committee of Public Information, a wide range of propaganda was employed to generate the “white-hot mass instinct” of the masses against external enemies as well as internal enemies, whether pro-German, pro-labour, or pro-socialist (112). This was followed by the passing of the Sedition Act in 1918, partly in response to the spy hysteria that swept through the US at this time, which not only generated further fear, but may have actually encouraged the formation of bands of vigilantes, such as the one that hanged Prager.

Weinberg’s book is informative and persuasive. But it is also disturbing. The explicit parallels he draws between events of the First World War and the post-9-11 Orwellian ‘war on terror’ are more than just hints of the power of the state to manipulate the masses in the name of the ruling classes’ economic and political interests. The stigmatization of aliens as internal enemies, government propaganda and the “pro-war righteous path,” the Sedition Act and the struggle to maintain civil liberties in a climate of conflict and alleged threat to national security, reveal a deep-seated pattern of violence and repression. It is no wonder that Weinberg, in this new climate of fear, is concerned about how “new generations of working people living in a declining empire [will] struggle with how much they can continue to sacrifice for the powers that be” (201).

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Ruth Frager and Carmela Patrias, *Discounted Labour Women Workers in Canada, 1870-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Nancy MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 2006).

Although these books look at different countries, Canada and the USA, and different time periods, 1870-1939 and the 1950s-2000s, both examine systemic discriminations in the workplace and the struggles both of those fighting to win equality and of their opposition. They offer detailed analyses of the complex interactions of the shifting politics of class, gender, and race, as they have played out in structural changes in the labour market, in political organising by both capitalists and workers and supporters of both, and in the subsistence strategies of working people.

Frager and Patrias note that in 2002, “the earnings of women employed full time, year round were just 71 per cent of those of their male counterparts” (3). They ask three questions: “How and why did women become confined to low-