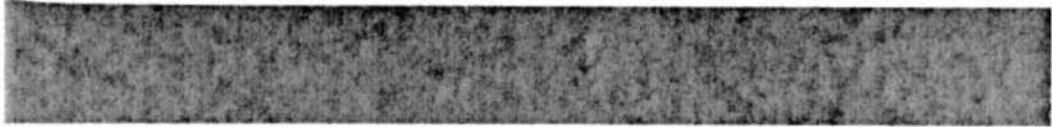

Wretched of the Earth

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depiction of the 'Resistance to Catholic Modernity' which then flowered into a 'popular' revolution of great breadth and depth undermines the credibility of his simultaneous assertion that James came close to transforming the regime. The obstacles he faced cannot be wished away with the extraordinary argument that he failed not because his plans were unrealisable but because opponents realized how serious and plausible they were! It is moreover inconsistent with the further suggestion that, in any event James 'did not depend on public support' and 'in all likelihood' would have survived had it not been for an international crisis.

Pincus's picture of the depth and breadth of opposition also sits extremely uncomfortably with his insistence that the revolution was not in any way the result of a conservative defence of existing or perceived liberties. By ignoring laws which forbade the appointment of Catholics to the much 'feared and loathed' army, collecting taxes without parliamentary approval, misusing prerogative powers to circumvent parliament, prosecuting Bishops who declined to carry out what they perceived to be unlawful instructions and by the utterly miscalculated attack on the autonomy of Magdalene College, the King aroused opposition across the entire religious spectrum. Many were convinced, says Pincus, that James II was 'determined to destroy religious and political liberty in England'.

He may well be right in suggesting that James taught his opponents that more was required than a mere reformation of abuses. But revolutions may grow out of conservative and defensive movements. Pincus does not match his extensive consideration of the economic antecedents of 1688 with an adequate treatment of its deeper political roots, simply throwing in an eleventh-hour assertion that the mid-century changes had been ephemeral. It is not a view with which Yerby would concur. As Pincus himself tells us, James felt it wise on assuming power to reassure his council. 'I have been reported', he said, 'to be a man of arbitrary power but I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government both in church and state as it is now by law established.' James at least began his reign with some appreciation of his subjects' attachment to their liberties and the rule of law.

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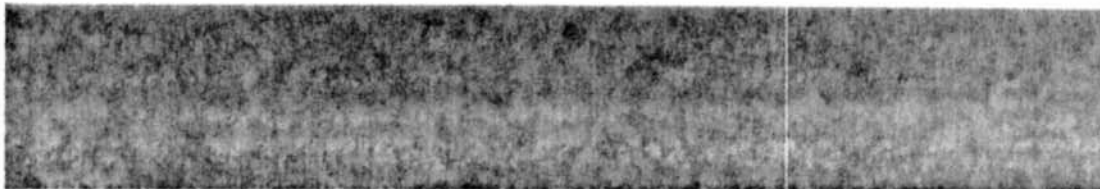
Perry Anderson, *The New Old World* (London: Verso, 2009), ISBN 978-1844673124, 561pp., £24.99 hbk.

'Entailed, if never stated, is only one plausible outcome: that ultimately, the Old World is likely to be compacted into the shapes of the New' (p.98).

Here, in a single sentence, Perry Anderson connects his writings on current events with his macro-historical perspective: by understanding the totality of history, we can better understand the present. Specifically, Anderson claims that the new, emerging Europe will contain elements of its pre-modern predecessors and the United States. Anderson also hopes to encourage a conversation that is not nationally grounded in character, contributing to a 'genuinely European' dialogue (p.xvii).

Anderson's narrative proceeds through ten chapters, compiled from twelve articles originally published in the *London Review of Books* and one from *New Left Review*. These lightly 'reworked' (p.xiv) articles are interwoven with four previously unpublished pieces ('Antecedents', 'Theories', 'Prognoses', and the second half of 'France'). Together, they create an original argument, a book greater than the sum of its individual articles. Part I illustrates the 'past and present' (p.xi) of the European Union, emphasizing its origins and development through today; Part II examines three of the six original members (France, Germany, and Italy); Part III considers two countries from the East (Cyprus and Turkey); and Part IV offers a conclusion.

In the first part, Anderson opens his discussion of European integration (ch.1) by describing the federal supranational vision of Jean Monnet (pp.12–17) and the 'four principal forces' that underlay the project (pp.20–3). The narrative takes form as a review of Alan Milward's writings on the subject, to whom the book is also dedicated. Anderson respectfully criticises Milward as developing an argument with a 'historical richness' that exceeds 'its theoretical scheme' (p.20). By releasing a book of empirical articles framed by theoretical chapters, this may be an error Anderson is hoping to avoid. For in the next two chapters, Anderson interrogates conceptions of Europe as the 'light of the world' (ch.2) and the neo-liberal ideology that took over the integration process (ch.3). Moving from Mark Leonard, to Jeremy Rifkin, to Jürgen Habermas and Ulrich Beck, Anderson surveys expressions of 'political vanity' that places twenty-first century Europe as the bastion of civilization, standing up to the United States on issues of diversity, nature, and human rights. He finds that these comments demean the real accomplishments of unification (p.56). 'The truth', Anderson writes, 'is that the light of the world, role-model for humanity at large, cannot even count on the consent of its populations at home' (p.60). The federalist vision of Monnet had, by the 1980s, been replaced by a neo-liberal and Hayekian vision of European business and trade. Touted as a model of standing up to the West, the EU has become more like the United States in rolling back the welfare state 'beyond the most drastic imaginings of classical liberalism: less even than the dream of a night watchman' (p.66). This in part explains



American dominance over European studies: American scholars write about what is familiar to them—‘something like a new ideological affinity between subject and object’ (p.133).

Over the next few hundred pages, Parts II and III, Anderson performs five case studies across Western and Eastern Europe. His review of Western Europe, ‘The Core’, is mostly confined to electoral politics and the writings of public intellectuals since World War II. Anderson highlights different aspects of the French, German, and Italian systems, emphasizing critical decisions for the Left and Right as well as the state of intellectual productivity. The significance of 1968 is a leitmotif throughout this section. Anderson’s coverage of ‘The Eastern Question’ is, admittedly, conducted in a different manner, one that examines ‘a longer time-span’ and concentrates ‘more strictly on the political history’ of Cyprus and Turkey. These are arguably Anderson’s most interesting empirical chapters since they contextualize the present within several hundred years of political events.

Part IV, the conclusion, is new. Through two essays (chs 9 and 10), Anderson takes stock of the union in the *longue durée* (p.518), and assesses possibilities for its future. Here, readers see several aspects of the Old World born anew. One is the Americanization of Europe: deregulation of business, neo-liberal ideologies, and the welfare state in retreat. Another is integration as historical ‘nostalgia’, the completion of a Hegelian triad from two prior eras of unification, under feudal Christianity and during the Enlightenment: if Europe was first unified (without a ‘European’ consciousness) under Christianity as a totality in-itself, and if its second unification was during the Enlightenment (for a ‘narrow layer of society’) as selectivity for-itself, then the current integration (which ‘claims both the conscious allegiance and factual inclusion of all citizens’) is a totality in-itself-for-itself (p.519). Last, a third way in which the Old World has been born anew is in Europe’s increasing inequality. And while we might expect conflict to be between classes, immigration has made for ethno-religious tensions among the poor, effectively turning the lower class on itself (p.537). Integration’s goal-less goal of still further integration remains problematic: visions of supranational federalism have ‘been subject to capsizal’ (p.46) into a weak, loose association of member states for the sake of business. Driven by élites, several decades of integration have transformed early visions into their opposite. Ultimately, this has led to few reactions against the system from below and the emergence of a ‘deputy empire’ (p.547) to the United States.

Overall, the depth of detail and range of topics is impressive and quintessentially Anderson. At times, the prose in his most insightful, theory-building chapters risks being inaccessible. But this may be a necessary

side-effect of coupling nuance with grand trends, which remains Anderson's signature style. In short, the rewards far outweigh the risks. The essays, and the conversation between them, are thoughtfully composed and organized. Readers should devote the attention, if not outright admiration, that *The New Old World* deserves.

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Jane Martin, *Making Socialists: Mary Bridges Adams and the fight for knowledge and power, 1855–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), ISBN 978-0719076909, 256pp., £60.00 hbk.

Mary Bridges Adams was a British socialist campaigner committed to a range of causes such as working-class education, trade unionism, co-operation and peace politics. These bare facts alone, however, tell us nothing of the nature of her activism or the purpose of her involvement in socialism in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Jane Martin's *Making Socialists*, the personal and the political are, in excellent feminist tradition, woven together to reveal the commitments and the complexities present in one woman's life of politics. The details of her life are viewed by opening a window onto her political, socio-economic and cultural environment, introducing the organisations and concepts that she encountered and giving a sense of how she was received by the people she worked alongside. The book is peppered with the names of British and international socialists and these add to the sense of vibrancy and excitement that was clearly present within labour politics in this period.

This book demonstrates that the history of the British Labour movement belongs as much to those people whose activism, whilst not nationally recognised and, as a result, often overlooked in historical accounts, was nevertheless instrumental in defining ideas and shaping policy. Bridges Adams was well known in socialist circles for her forthright views; she was, for example, a vociferous campaigner for every working-class child's right to a free, well-resourced education to be received without hunger and illness. Her work in this field, however, is far less known than the campaigns of Margaret McMillan. Some of the reasons why 'posterity has been kinder' (p.138) to McMillan are examined by Martin, who offers valuable discussion of the construction and influence of biography. Similarly, the story of Bebel House, the college founded by Bridges Adams with the aim of giving working women the chance to develop as political activists, reminds us that the history of political education in the early years of the twentieth century

