

historians for decades. While I am not arguing that Triece's book is flawed because she did not travel to Moscow for her research, I am arguing that the book would have been strengthened by more of an acknowledgement of the works written by recent historians on her topic.

Throughout the book, Triece implies that women in the CP were somehow different from other working-class women activists, but she is never explicit about what constituted that difference. In fact, in the disappointingly brief section of the book devoted to "extra-discursive actions" (pp. 99–109), she does not even attempt to discuss how women's actions varied from men's. Her statement that "[f]rom the workers' standpoint, extra-discursive actions such as walkouts were often the most effective and sometimes the only way for them to 'argue' for fair wages and work conditions" (p. 108) is a fairly bland statement of why workers strike rather than a striking insight into women's activism. Despite a title which suggested an exciting exploration into just these types of "extra-discursive actions", I gained no insights into the particular activities of women during strikes or other types of demonstrations from this book.

While that was my greatest disappointment in reading Triece, it was compounded by numerous historical errors and/or elisions. Triece displays little understanding of the Depression years, assuming that Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal spanned all of them and that "a cornerstone of the New Deal was the National Industrial Recovery Act" (p. 13). For Triece, neither the Depression and its politics nor the CPUSA and its politics ever changed over the course of the 1930s. Accordingly, her examples of "authentic working-class women" come most often from either 1931 or 1938, neither of which year could reflect reactions to the NIRA, since it was not passed until 1933 and was declared unconstitutional in 1937!

I had hoped to find in Triece interesting new ways to examine women's actions "on the picket line". Short of that, I expected to see new examples of women workers' activism during the 1930s. Unfortunately, I found neither in *On the Picket Line*.

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VAN KEMSEKE, PETER. *Towards an Era of Development. The Globalization of Socialism and Christian democracy 1945–1965*. [KADOC Studies on Religion, Culture and Society, vol. 5.] Leuven University Press, Leuven 2006. 324 pp. € 32.00. DOI: 10.1017/S0020859008093462

One of the most interesting aspects of globalization is that the spread of the new international economy has been accompanied by the growth of an international civil society, that is, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which span national boundaries. Most of the important NGOs today are organized around an issue and are not explicitly linked to political parties: Amnesty International, Greenpeace, etc. By contrast, Peter Van Kemseke, in this innovative book, looks at the pre-history of international NGOs which were alliances of political parties: the Socialist International (SI) and its Christian democratic counterpart, the Nouvelles Equipes Internationales (NEI). The interwar Socialist Labour International having collapsed in World War II, the international socialist movement initially was without any formal structure after 1945, although representatives of socialist parties were already holding meetings in 1948. Meanwhile, the NEI was

founded in 1947 by Belgian, French, and Swiss Christian Democrats to help strengthen cooperation between religiously-inspired parties.

The NEI had an unstructured nature that reflected the European Christian Democratic community. The NEI was not a coalition of parties, but a loose movement of groups. Although Belgians played key roles, the Belgian Christian Democratic party itself did not join until 1959. NEI was clearly not to be a confessional group, but one based on Christian principles (p. 41). Since Christian Democratic parties tended to be relatively nationalist, despite the international character of Christianity, the NEI was initially less supportive of European unity, Van Kemseke argues, than the socialists. Only from 1951, with the beginning of Franco-German reconciliation and the fear that socialists would use European institutions to their advantage, did the NEI become resolutely pro-European (p. 46).

The SI was founded in 1951, primarily by the British Labour party, the one large socialist party which had survived the war and controlled a government. The SI's *Newsletter* was published for years by the British Labour Party's International Department (p. 54). The SI was also Europe-centered. Of the thirty-one socialist parties represented at the founding Congress in Frankfurt of 1951, twenty-four were from Europe, three from North America, and only two each from Latin America and Asia. (p. 53). Whereas the NEI flirted for a time in the late 1940s with Europe as a "third way" between the United States and the Soviet Union before become resolutely for a pro-American Europe, the SI, Van Kemseke argues, was early on aligned with anti-communism. It was also much more successful earlier in making connections to parties outside Europe. Some of this success was due to the energetic leadership of its Austrian secretary-general, Julius Braunthal. Asian socialists on their own, led by Indians, also organized a conference in 1953 in Rangoon. This and subsequent meetings brought Asian socialist parties together and later led their being brought into the SI (p. 83).

Van Kemseke documents well the contradictions and tensions within the SI over colonialism and the Cold War: "When the Western European social democrats were talking of 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' in Stockholm [in 1953], they weren't so much talking about capitalist imperialism in the non-European territories. What they really meant was Soviet communist expansion" (p. 103). It is remarkable that socialist solidarity survived as well as it did. When the Dutch launched police actions to stop Indonesian nationalists in the late 1940s, their prime minister was a socialist, Willem Drees. The support of French socialists for French struggles to hang on to Indochina and Algeria alienated many Asian, African, and Latin American socialists, as well as European socialists (pp. 88, 128, 156). The détente which emerged after the Geneva summit of 1955 and the growing displacement of British influence by that of the German SPD and neutral parties in Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland gradually made the SI less of a creature of the Cold War and more open to the concerns of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans (pp. 107–123). The SI gained influence in Asia by 1960, ironically because the once vibrant Asia Socialist Conference effectively collapsed as socialists were repressed or lost the influence that they had had earlier (p. 151).

In contrast to the SI, the NEI initially paid little attention to non-European areas. This was despite Christian Democracy having a large following in Latin America where, already in 1949, a regional association of parties existed (p. 178). On the other hand, while the socialists split over European unity for much of the 1950s, the NEI united to ensure its success (p. 184). With the NEI preoccupied with European issues, the initiative for inter-

global Christian democratic unity came from a small, but powerful group of exiles from communist-controlled Europe, the Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe (CDUCE) based in New York, which received generous funding from outside sources in the US (pp. 195–198, 284). (In the opinion of this reviewer, the natural assumption is that the CDUCE was financed by the CIA, but apparently more work needs to be done in US archives to prove this.) By 1960, however, the NEI had created commissions to work on Third-World development, created a permanent Secretary-General position, and established ongoing contacts with African and Latin American leaders. Its most important achievement may have been the creation of a study and documentation center, known for its director, the Dutchman K.J. Hahn, as the “Hahn Center”, which helped build contacts with parties outside Europe.

After 1960, both the SI and the NEI embraced the concept of the “Third World”, and became genuinely committed to close connections with Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The SI held its world congress in 1960 for the first time outside Europe, in Haifa, Israel, and Indian socialists hosted a seminar for Austrian, German, Israeli, Swedish, and Swiss leaders in 1961. On the other hand, Van Kemseke argues, both socialists and Christian Democrats were slow to see that the undeveloped world’s poverty had complex causes and that economic development, including, perhaps, the growth of capitalism, might be necessary to relieve poverty. Van Kemseke connects a new openness to economic development to socialist revisionism in the 1960s. Only once socialists, and to a certain extent, Christian Democrats, accepted economic growth as a good thing, could they become strong advocates for pro-development policies in the Third World (pp. 262–277).

Van Kemseke draws out a number of insightful parallels and contrasts between the internationalism of socialists and Christian Democrats. Socialists were always more skeptical of European unity, in part because of the great influence of the Labour Party. After an initial hesitation in the late 1940s, Christian Democrats became almost too enamored of the cause: Europeanism substituted for internationalism, even when Latin American and African Christians would have welcomed closer ties with Europe. The socialists, by contrast, were more genuinely internationalist in their viewpoint, especially as colonial and Cold War preoccupations finally dropped away in the 1960s. Because they saw the United Nations early on as a forum for Soviet and neutralist rhetoric, Christian Democrats came very slowly to see the UN as an important arena. As a result, the small and unrepresentative CDUCE had unusual influence for decades in tying Christian Democracy’s international influence closely to anti-communism. Even when the two movements “discovered the Third World”, they both assumed that the obstacles to development lay in the underdeveloped countries themselves. Only in the 1960s, under the influence of economists such as Jan Tinbergen, who advised the socialists in particular, did proposals such as lowering tariff barriers in the developed world and lessening First-World control over undeveloped economies begin to be considered.

The strengths of Van Kemseke’s work are many. He brings in the whole range of Christian Democratic and socialist parties across Europe, has consulted archives throughout western Europe, and moves easily between political and intellectual history. On the other hand, the book focuses rather narrowly on the activities of the international secretariats of the NEI and SI. It does not closely connect these offices’ work to what Christian Democratic or socialist parties were doing at the same time in European politics, nor to the growth of similar parties outside of Europe. This would have been a stronger book if we could see more clearly how the international secretariats’ rising or declining

fortunes corresponded with those of the movements themselves. Nonetheless, this book is a valuable contribution to the literature on globalization and international NGOs, as well as a contribution to the comparative study of international socialism and Christian Democracy.

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