

Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung
ITH-TAGUNGSBERICHTE, BAND 15

Herausgegeben von der
Internationalen Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung

Gefördert durch das
Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung

EUROPAVERLAG WIEN
1982

Internationale Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung 16. Linzer Konferenz 1980

Linz, 9. bis 13. September 1980

Die internationale Gewerkschaftsbewegung zwischen den beiden
Weltkriegen

Soziale Prozesse der Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse im
19. Jahrhundert (Bibliographie, Historiographie, Methodologie)

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Jouhaux bemängelte nach Oslo auch öffentlich die Osloer Entscheidungen und versprach, seine Bestrebungen fortzusetzen.

10. Im Zusammenhang mit der Osloer Konferenz möchte ich nicht unerwähnt lassen, inwiefern Citrine in anderen weltpolitischen Fragen einen falschen Weg ging.

11. Schließlich möchte ich noch eine Periode erwähnen, wo die Prüfungen ebenfalls fehlen und es handelt sich hier um das Frühjahr 1939, als nach dem Münchner Schock weitere Anstrengungen gemacht wurden, um die kollektive Sicherheit zu garantieren, als auch die Labour-Party eindeutig sich gegen die politische Praxis der englischen Regierung wandte, und es im Parlament, in der Presse, in vertraulichen Verhandlungen bemängelte. Die Londoner IGB-Vorstandssitzung im März 1939 war die Konsequenz dieser München-feindlichen Politik, wo der IGB zugleich ausdrücklich die Politik der kollektiven Sicherheit im Bund der Sowjetunion urgierte. Die neue Politik war aber auch vom Gesichtspunkt unseres Themas von großer Bedeutung.

12. Dies besteht umso mehr, da - wie es Oberländers Referat auch berührt - am VIII. Züricher Kongreß im Juli die Englische TUC wiederum die Frage des sowjetischen Beitritts darlegte, wobei das Referat hier bloß in einem Satz erwähnt, daß es verworfen wurde. Das Juli-Datum und die Tragweite der Frage mahnen dazu, es wäre wert, auch diese Phase eingehender zu analysieren, teilweise auch aus dem Grunde, weil die "Minderheit" sich bedeutend vervielfachte. Jedenfalls ist es auch klar, daß im IGB und in dessen leitenden Körperschaften sogar in identischen Problemen zahlreiche innere Widersprüche steckten, die zu gegensätzlichen Beschlüssen, zu Zickzacken und Lähmungen führten.

Victoria de Grazia (USA)

The Left Labour Movement in Europe and the Problem of Worker Leisure, 1910 - 1939

This paper addresses the question of how left-wing parties and labour organizations responded to the increase in working class leisure-time in the period between the World Wars. By the closing years of the Great War, the demand for the eight-hour day forty-eight hour week had become the "war cry of the masses", and beginning in 1917, the work-week was reduced by national legislation or by contract negotiations in the leading industrial nations of Europe. (1) Hours of work rose again in the early 1920s as the momentum of the working class offensive waned and European employers, claiming that the lack of a binding international covenant on the eight-hours put them at a competitive disadvantage, found numerous loop-holes in national laws or overturned eight-hour clauses in new contract negotiations. Nevertheless, in the course of the 1920s, the average workday dropped from its pre-war average (1914) of 60 hours weekly to an average of 48 - 50 in industrial undertakings. In the early 1930s, largely as a result of the economic depression, hours of work dropped once more. By the eve of World War II, the work-week in European industrial establishments averaged 46 hours. Not until the late 1950s would there be another such decrease, bringing the work-week in the industrial sectors of European economies to its present average of 42 - 44 hours. (2)

In retrospect, this reduction in hours of work appears a momentous event in the history of labor relations and social organizations under capitalism; as significant in some respects as the transition from "task-time" to "clock-time" in the early industrial revolution. (3) For the reduction in work-time was on the assumption that industrial mechanization and advances in the organization of the labor process would dispense with the sweated labor and long hours of the nineteenth century firm; that the enormous productive gains would be translated into higher wages; and finally that this enhanced spending capacity would support a growing domestic market for a consumer-oriented production. Increased leisure thus assumed that the worker would achieve a new relation to the society and culture, as citizen as well as producer, consumer as well as laborer, a potential participant into newly forming national consumption

patterns and audience for an emerging mass culture. The implications of the "eight-hours" thus extended far beyond the average two-hour weekly gain in nonworking time in the 1920s, touching home and family life, the organization of worker sociability and community, labor-management relations, politics, the national economy, the formation of mass culture, and, not least of all, the forms and strategies of the working class movements. What this paper is specifically concerned to examine is how the left trade unions, and the social-democratic and communist party organizations came to terms with what in Europe and the United States after World War I came to be identified as the "problem" of worker leisure; how they defined it; what organizational solutions they proposed; finally, how these related to changing strategies generally of the labor movement between the wars. (4)

The Reformist Vision

Reformist socialists were the most vocal supporters of the "eight-hours", and, at least initially, they demonstrated the most concern with its impact on worker spare time. For trade union leaders especially, the adoption of eight-hour clauses in collective bargaining or even the sanctioning of the workers' right to leisure in national codes and international conventions were treated as major victories for moderate reform. Not only did these signify recognition of the sacrifices of the workers - who "throughout the war kept to their work in the hope and belief that shorter hours would be made general after the war" (5) - but they also signalled to the trade unions' restive base that employers and government would continue to respond to pressure for democratizing reforms by organized labor. "Utopia become reality", was how the head of the Italian General Confederation of Labor Rigola acclaimed the Metallurgical Workers' pact of February 1919 which in Italy opened the way to the adoption of the eight-hour day/forty-eight hour week in industrial enterprises. (6)

This is not to say that socialist leaders were entirely confident about how workers would employ their greater leisure. As working class protest was radicalized in 1918-1919 and strike leadership slipped out of the hands of reformist labor leaders, there was some second thoughts. More leisure-time, coming at a time of widespread labor unrest was perceived as holding possible dangers as well as potential benefits. During the war years, worker social attitudes appeared to have undergone a sea-change, making them almost unrecognizable to the Second International Socialist leadership. Compared to the abstemious, skilled worker constituency that the old-guard was familiar

with - and perhaps idealized - who at least in theory would be using their hard-won "droit à la paresse" in uplifting civic activity, the recently urbanized, unskilled worker of the war-time mass factory seemed improvident and undisciplined, infected like other classes, with the ethos of "producing less and enjoying and consuming more". (7) Moralizing rhetoric aside, there did indeed appear to have been a "revolution in custom" among workers, much as there was in the middle classes in the course of the war; this, combined with growing militancy of workers' demands, made their behavior unpredictable to an older generation of labor leaders.

Consequently, at the same time as they pressed the campaign for the "eight-hour" day, socialists also surveyed that the Italian socialist party Turati called its "hinterland" (8), that is, the social services and educational and recreational facilities that should ideally support workers in their efforts to advance their education and vocational skills, and to find healthy outlets for rest and relaxation. In anticipation of the greater demand for these services, socialist party and trade union officials in Italy, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium urged that there be founded more "popular" libraries and universities, more reading clubs and recreational halls, more courses and conversations on subjects of vocational and general cultural interest to the working classes. In other words, they confronted in essentially traditional terms, what was beginning to be known in bourgeois reform circles as the "problem" of worker leisure: that is, by multiplying the quantity of local institutions sponsored by the social-democratic movements since the late nineteenth century for "improving" the culture of workers, affording them material assistance, and engaging them in politics or trade union activities.

The Bourgeois Counteroffensive

In fact the question of what workers would and should do with their increased spare-time was more complicated than was assumed in the ameliorative proposals of Second International socialists. This very quickly became evident as business employers and bourgeois reformers of various ideological persuasions discovered and began to prescribe solutions to what they diagnosed as the "problem" of worker leisure. Predictably, the first dimension of this problem was economic. Employers might accept the eight-hours at higher pay, but only on the condition that labor productivity was vastly increased. This was of course quite possible with factory rationalization, but only if workers used their free time in creative and restful activities. Otherwise it was

side-stepping traditional class alignments in an effort to broaden their following, developed ideological appeals based on social experiences outside of the workplace - as "consumers", "sport-fans", or "national citizens". Even if such appeals were not sufficiently persuasive to penetrate traditional working class sub-cultures - at least not without physical violence - they attracted at least some sectors of a growing population of salaried employees. In Italy, this attempt to organize around consumption and cultures, rather than around production, had its earliest start; beginning in 1922, the fascist syndicalist movement founded special dopolavoro centers whose purpose was to "attract and entertain" workers, at the same time as "instilling in them the idea that work was a sacred duty to the nation and to themselves." (16)

The Response from the Left

The strategy of the left in response to the encroachments of bourgeois institutions in the domain of worker leisure might best be described as defensive; to protect and extend what already existed. In the most successful of cases, this meant a deepening of the infrastructures of socialist working-class counter-culture. In Red Vienna, to take perhaps the most striking example, the social-democratic labor movement had quickly added a wide variety of educational and cultural initiatives to its array of party and union activities. Together with the party youth and sports auxiliaries, these institutions supported the growth of a veritable "State within a state" which lasted until February 1934 when the Social Democratic organizations were outlawed by the dictator Dollfuss. (17) In Weimar, Germany similarly, the social democratic movement greatly expanded its cultural and recreational activities in the early 1920s. Because of the relative affluence of German workers and the considerable political strength of the SPD in the Weimar Republic, social democratic organizations were unusually attentive to technological advances in cultural organization and especially to the enormous power of the mass media. As early as July 1922, Berlin Trade Committee delegates and representatives from the Federation of Non-Manual Workers, the Free Teachers Union and the Union of Film-Workers joined to found the Volkfilmbühne or People's Cinema Association.

Unable to directly influence movie production, the labor representatives expected that at the very least they could exercise some control over the choice of films to see by establishing an alternate distribution system based on the rental or outright purchase of movie houses. (18) As a government party

during several years of the decade, the SPD was also less suspicious of government intervention than left parties elsewhere, or at least confident enough of the numerical strength of its own following to believe that in any national recreational or cultural agency it would have a major say in policy. In the mid-1920s, when the secretary general of the SPD's Central Commission for Sport and Physical Development urged the Weimar regime to establish a national Department of Physical Training, its own organization claimed more than 600,000 adult members! (19)

Elsewhere in Europe, the strategies of the left lacked even these innovations. In France, for example, in spite of acrimonious national debates over the eight-hour day in 1919-1920, the pace of left organizing subsequently proved slow - partly because of the traditional institutional informality of French municipal socialism which in turn was tied to the slow pace of urban growth and industrial specialization; partly because of low levels of consumption which perpetuated old recreational patterns, and the growth of the mass media; partly because of the fragmentation of the left itself after the split between the SFIO and PCF in 1920. Before the split, the head of the Syndicat de Medicine sociale Hazemann, a reform socialist, had urged the trade unions to support the foundation of a Maison des Syndicats in every town, grouping all of the services and activities for working class leisure use. but in the 1920s the socialist CGT lacked the adequate means to carry out a program which most organizers in any event considered to be of secondary importance. Indeed, the French socialists distinguished themselves in this sphere solely for their support of a true cultural anachronism: the revival of great Parisian fetes, organized by Albert Doyen in cooperation with the League for the Rights of Man in 1919 to commemorate the death of Jaurès, and in subsequent years, to mark the deaths in the Great War and to celebrate Joy and Friendship. (20) The Communist CGTU seemingly took a more aggressive stance toward "giving the work class the intellectual moral and artistic education it lacks", and more than the moderate CGT, it supported a militant youth culture by backing the cabaret Muse rouge, the Théâtre confédéral and many neighborhood sports clubs. But in the 1920s, the PCF was undergoing "bolshevization", and the process, the attention of cadres was intensely focused on organizing in the workplace almost to the exclusion of work in neighborhood sections.

In Italy, the organizations of worker leisure were in a very real sense the last bastion in the workers' defense against fascism. In the relative calm that

followed the widespread squadristi attacks of 1920 - 1921, it was not uncommon for the modest "wine circles" of the rural north to re-open, while in a few of the more tranquil urban neighborhoods, the members of the case del popolo cleaned up the debris left by the fascist squads and quietly undertook new subscriptions to refurbish the devastated premises. Indeed, the number of cultural and recreational associations on the revolutionary left even appears to have increased in 1923 as anti-fascist militants - the communists and maximalist socialists, in particular - responded to workers' desire for sports, while at the same time seeking an apolitical camouflage for their gatherings in group outings and sports circles. In these apparently apolitical forms, workers succeeded in maintaining at least the physical integrity of their associations after the free labor movement was outlawed in 1926. Not until 1927, did the fascist regime succeed in taking a complete national inventory of such associations, and it wasn't until the end of the decade, that fascist functionaries purged them of their original political identities by forcing members of the surviving groups to join the Fascist party dominated National Leisure-Time Organization or Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro. (21)

The difference in national contexts notwithstanding, the response of the left shared some common features. To greater or lesser degree all of the European labor organizations was perhaps understandably more concerned with preserving or regaining the eight-hour day than with its effects on leisure-time; or when the leaders contemplated the problem, they perceived it in an "minimalist" way in terms of more free time for workers. In effect, leftwing strategies toward leisure were a curious blend of old-fashioned municipal socialism and liberal doctrine. At the same time as the left worked to strengthen the networks of neighborhood cultural associations, tightening working class defenses against paternalist intervention, labor leaders a *laissez-faire* position that argued for the workers inalienable right "to live their lives outside the factory or workshop in complete freedom and independence". (22) That this position was employed to safeguard workers against pressure from employers or by dictatorial regimes is unquestionable. Yet it assumed that workers "after work" had a free choice, or total freedom, a notion that was unreal in any capitalist society and was especially so with the erosion of the protective sub-cultures of the early twentieth century working class districts.

The Leisure "Problem" in the Depression

With the onset of the economic crisis in 1930, the question of worker leisure

re-presented itself to the left in dramatically different terms. Whereas the eight-hour reform could be claimed as a sign of social progress in the 1920s, in the 1930s the same measure generally meant an increase in the material and moral hardship of the working class, and was forced on it by short time and widespread lay-offs in industrial enterprises. Working-class movements continued to support the demand for the shorter work-week, pushing for a forty- rather than a forty-eight hour week; but the hope now was that this measure might make manpower a little more scarce, thus making it possible to resist the downward pressure on wages: that it might spread unemployment; and that perhaps, in the long run, as the cost of living fell, more leisure would permanently improve the quality of life. In all of the major industrial nations in the years from 1930-1935, hours of work dropped sharply: in France where short-time was widely practiced in attempt to forestall lay-offs by nearly ten percent, reducing the average work-week in industry to 45 hours in 1935; similarly in Italy, from a monthly average of 182 in 1929 to 159 in 1935; in Germany, in addition to the over 33 percent unemployed in industry in mid-1932, another 22 percent of the industrial workforce was occupied under 40 hours weekly. (23)

The enormous problem of unemployment forced the trade union movement for the first time to concern itself with organizing outside of the workplace. The problem was not just one of reaching an increasingly atomized and disoriented membership to provide them with some form of relief, but also to provide an organizational means of countering the terrible demoralization caused by prolonged lay-offs and by free time and that was both unanticipated and undesired. In addition, the rapidly changing structure of the job-market, increasing the demand for a more versatile worker force, enhanced the need for vocational training that was not adequately satisfied by occasional apprenticeship programs. Finally, the left generally was forced to confront the growing threat from the right. The rapid expansion of the Nazi movement, after 1930 the proliferation of rightist leagues and fascist movements throughout Europe forced many leftists to begin to take stock both of the precariousness of the positions of the left and the strength of those positions consolidated by bourgeois forces over the previous decade.

This rethinking took place at two levels: one conceptual and international; the other practical and defined in terms of day-to-day struggles at the national level. At the international level the reform labor movement addressed the

problem of leisure through a whole series of ILO initiatives: from the first international conference on leisure held in 1930 in Liège, Belgium and the foundation of the International Committee on Spare Time in 1934, to the publication of a whole series of valuable studies on the provisions for leisure use, worker housing, vacation facilities, and working hours. (24)

Indeed, by the late 1930s, however reprehensible the authoritarian organization of leisure of fascist countries may have appeared, nowhere in the international conferences or in the reports and studies on workers' spare time was their leadership in the field seriously disputed. Assessment of the effectiveness of state intervention focused exclusively on the techniques of providing a service; the political implications were ignored. As if to mark this fact all international conferences on leisure between 1936, in Rome in 1938 and in Tokyo in 1940.

However, at the national level, the political implications of the non-working time of labor were recognized, and in both the liberal democracies and in fascist dictatorships, leisure-time was openly identified by the left as terrain of on-going class struggle.

In France, legislation on the workday and worker holidays was the capstone of the Popular Front's social policy. In the wake of the electoral victory of June, 1936, the Blum government immediately enacted legislation granting two-week paid holidays and setting the work-week at forty hours with no cuts in pay. During the summer, the energetic young deputy from the Nord - denounced by the right as "organisateur de la paresse ouvrière", obtained 40 to 60 percent discounts on railroad tickets for workers. In August, 1936, for the first time, Paris was practically emptied as nearly a half-million workers left the city for the Côte d'Azur and other vacation spots. In the following year, as undersecretary and head of a national Commission des Loisirs founded in February 1937 to coordinate trade union and left party initiatives, Lagrange supported the development of a wide-ranging program. (25) This was partly based on the recovery of arts and crafts traditions, partly on state invention to promote access to low-cost facilities and services, partly on the flourishing of neighborhood working class institutions; partly on the encouragement to artists and intellectuals to support the cultural and recreational activities within the working - and among other classes as well.

In the fascist dictatorships in the 1930s, the left, now outlawed and underground, faced an entirely different problem: how to penetrate an increasingly totalizing fascist organization of worker leisure-time activities. The establishment of the Nazi's Kraft durch Freude in Germany in 1933, like the foundation of the Italian Fascist OND nearly a decade earlier, was supported by the wholesale appropriation of the rich institutional heritage of the social democratic labor movement. (26) In both countries, the organizations appealed to workers and employees outside of the traditional socialist constituencies and quickly established memberships of millions of persons; in both regimes too, the organizations of leisure were at least as active as the trade unions, and with a far greater popularity the more clamorous propaganda organizations because they called for no loyalty oaths.

The possibility of penetrating these organizations had been recognized by the Italian communist party since 1933 when it had been forced to acknowledge the futility of urging workers to "boycott the bestial pastimes of the fascist bourgeoisie". (27) The Communist organizers did not delude themselves that they could in any way seek "worker control" of fascist institutions, something that clearly was not possible so long as the regime was in power. But single groups could be "taken over" under the cover of legitimate activities.

In this way, the workers themselves would gradually develop a stronger sense of group solidarity, in higher level of self-consciousness regarding their relations with fascist supervisors, and a greater autonomy with respect to government and party bureaucracies.

However, the strategy of legal infiltrations proved far less effective than anticipated, and only partly because of heightened police vigilance. Optimistic appraisals of the fascist recreational organizations as potential domains for communist agitation were in fact based on the memory of the worker circles of the post-war red districts, with which the communists, from past experience, were most familiar - organizations that had once subsumed the totality of workers pastimes from political activism to economic defense. By contrast, the fascist clubs were innately parochial structures, far removed from the groups they had supplanted: the very separation of leisure associations from job-related concerns inevitably limited the issues which could be effectively exploited to gain worker sympathies or raise their political awareness. Within the clubs, demands for the ouster of a particular

invidious administrator, for more sports or free sports, and more generally for greater responsiveness to worker preferences, could be raised and even satisfied to a degree without undermining the legitimacy of the fascist dictatorship. While the communists were quite correct in not dismissing the fascist recreational clubs as mere class expressions of the bourgeoisie, neither could they accept them as empty or autonomous structures of power potentially turned to the purposes of whoever happened to be participating or organizing within them.

Although Popular Frontism in both France and Italy called forth important innovations in the tactics of organizing worker leisure-time, in both cases, the question was still being dealt with in a limited way: either as a question of organizing services which improved the worker standard of living; or as a problem of developing a counter-organization to institutions that were filling social needs although in a reactionary and authoritarian way. Missing in both instances was an analysis of the broader meaning of increased leisure-time: how it was related to new and more persuasive techniques of labor management, the provision of social services, new patterns of mass consumption, the organization of the worker household, and, finally the penetration of worker community and customs by in increasingly articulated dominant mass culture.

How significant these changes in leisure-use were for devising new left strategies can be seen from a glance at typical economic, cultural and social transformations in a working class district during the interwar decades. (20) First of all, the urban context itself had changed as the locus of economic activity shifted to the suburbs, increasing the commuting distance and, in any case, breaking the close between factory-based economic organizations of the working class and neighborhood sociability. Second, the amount of time occupied within individual households had probably increased, with women especially spending more time managing the household budget, fuel-gathering, mending and repairing as well as completing bureaucratic paper work in order to gain access to new state social services. Third, community activities and recreational pastimes had become more specialized, divided by gender and age; moreover, at least some of the pastimes - spectator sports, movies, travel - were now located outside of the neighborhood.

All of these trends tended to curb the spontaneity of informal neighborhood

gatherings, as well as breaking the natural solidarity of working people of different genders, occupational backgrounds and generations who nonetheless shared the same door-stoops, side-walks, neighborhood clubs, and district hang-outs. How far-reaching the impact of these trends must have been for sustaining, much less building, the strength of the left labor movement cannot fully be understood unless we remember too how very important the family-institutional network of relations had been in supporting the working-class offensive of the immediate post-World-War I. red years.

It seems fair to ask in conclusion, whether a more activist left "politics of leisure" would have significantly altered any of these trends. A definitive answer would require much further study, for in addition to the usual questions that must be asked in studying the effectiveness of any party or trade union organizing effort - about the character of the economic sector, the gender, age, and experience of the constituency, the attitudes of employers, the role of the public authorities, etc. - one would also have to consider family attitudes, especially when women and youth were involved; the character of previous leisure habits, and the degree to which these might have been shaken by economic crisis or political upheavals; and, finally, the amount of disposable income. Not even a fascist regime, with all of its powers of intervention could involve workers in leisure-time activities if they lacked the income to buy a movie ticket, or take a holiday, or purchase a radio.

The most important point is not in any case adequately framed by asking whether the European labor movement failed or succeeded to come to terms with the "problem" of worker leisure. The difficulties that it faced were both an extension of and mirrored the problems the left faces generally in Europe between the wars, as a deeply divided movement was forced to confront new modes of making politics in the workplace, in the culture sphere and in the society generally. Nothing would have been gained by positing leisure itself as an autonomous area of class struggle, but the beginnings of analysis of the enormous changes European labor was undergoing, demanded that the left take account of the sphere of recreation and consumption, together with the sphere of production in analyzing class positions and the articulation of class attitudes.

Anmerkungen:

- (1) For a brief history of the "eight hours" movement from 1889 to 1919, see S. Bauer, "The Road to the Eight Hour Day", Monthly Labor Review 2 (August, 1919), pp. 41 - 65.
- (2) A. A. Evans, "Work and Leisure, 1919 - 1969", International Labor Review, 99:1, (January, 1969), pp. 35 - 69.
- (3) Cf. E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism", Past and Present, 38, (December, 1967), pp. 56 - 97.
- (4) This problematic expands on my study of the Italian fascist organizations for worker spare-time: The Culture of Consent (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- (5) As cited from the general report drawn up by the British Minister of Labour, George Barnes, at the inaugural meeting of the International Labor Organization, Washington, D. C. October, 1919 (ILO, International Labor Conference, Proceedings, First Annual Meeting, Washington, provisional records, Washington, D. C. p. 41).
- (6) R. Rigola, Storia del movimento operaio italiano (Milan, 1947), p. 436.
- (7) See the Italian Socialist party leader Filippo Turati's parliamentary report, L'orario di lavoro delle otto ore (Milan, 1920), esp. p. 111 ff.; also L. Einaudi, La condotta economica e gli effetti sociali della guerra (Bari, 1933), pp. 178 ff.; the same phenomenon is noted in the other volumes on other European countries written under the auspices of the Carnegie Peace Foundation in the 1920s. Compare the moralistic utilitarianism of these socialist leaders to the libertarian philosophy of P. Lafargue in Le Droit à la paresse (1880) (Paris, 1972).
- (8) Turati, p. 131.
- (9) On the effects of rationalization on labor management and worker leisure, see Paul Devinat, Scientific Management in Europe (ILO, Studies and Reports, Series B. 17) (Geneva, 1927), and especially his Les Conséquences sociales de la rationalisation économique (Vienna, 1927).
- (10) G. Méquet, "The programme of the International Committee on Workers' Spare Time", in ILO, Studies and Reports, Series G. (Housing and Welfare) 4, Recreation and Education (Geneva, 1936), p. 131.
- (11) For employer attitudes, see for a beginning: F. Bloch Lainé, L'Emploi des

loisirs ouvrières et l'éducation populaire (Paris, 1936); P. Riva, La corvée de joie (Paris, 1924); R. Pinot, Les oeuvres sociales des industries métallurgiques (Paris, 1924); Y. Becquet, L'Organisation des loisirs des travailleurs (Paris, 1939).

- (12) For a fine analysis, with complete bibliography of the relevant national studies, see James E. Cronin, "Labor Insurgency and Class Formation: Comparative Perspectives on the Crisis of 1917 - 1920 in Europe", Social Science History 4:1 (February, 1980), pp. 125 - 152.
- (13) An inquiry into this aspect of the "great transformation" is still in its component parts. On individual countries, see for Germany, G. Mosse, The Nationalization of the Masses (New York, 1975); on England, Imperialism and Social Reform (New York, 1968) and especially G. Stedman Jones, "Working Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London: Notes on the Remaking of the Working Class", Journal of Social History VIII:4 (Summer, 1974), pp. 460 - 508; For a history of the re-definition of bourgeois notions of culture under industrial capitalism, see R. Williams, Culture and Society, 1780 - 1950 (New York and London, 1957), which focuses mainly on Great Britain. The significance of the development of a new mass political culture has naturally been subject to very diverse interpretations, from United States political Scientists and sociologists (Verba, Kerr et al.) who presents it as the basis of a positive, integrative national culture to critical theorists who argue that it completely obliterated all meaningful expressions of working-class subcultures.
- (14) Report, World Committee, YMCA, "The Leisure of the Younger Worker", International Labour Review, IX, 6 (June, 1924), pp. 829 - 835.
- (15) See A. Depasse and R. André, Les loisirs des travailleurs en Belgique (Brussels, 1930); also Liège, Belgium L'organisation judicieuse des loisirs nouveaux de la classe ouvrière (Liège, 1920).
- (16) de Grazia, pp. 46 ff.
- (17) F. Rager, "Das Problem der Freizeit der Arbeiter in Österreich", Arbeit und Wirtschaft, 2 (January 1-15, 1924), pp. 23, 24, 58 - 62; also "The Utilization of Leisure in Austria", International Labour Review 9 (February, 1924), pp. 227 - 241. In addition, see the work of Anson Rabinbach, "Politics and Pedagogy, the Austrian Social Democratic Youth Movement, 1931 - 1932", Journal of Contemporary History 13:2 (1978), pp. 337 - 356, and his forthcoming book Crisis of Austrian Socialism: Otto Bauer and the Left Opposition, 1827 - 1934, (1981).
- (18) "Germany: Institution of a People's Cinema Association in Berlin", Industrial and Labour Information 2 (September 22, 1922), p. 575; also "Germany and Workers' Spare Time: Review of the Situation", 19 (ILI) (September 27, 1926), pp. 446 - 449.

- (19) See Robert F. Wheeler, "Organized Sport and Organized Labour: The Workers' Sports Movement", Journal of Contemporary History 13:2 (1978), pp. 191 - 210.
- (20) Rives, pp. 11 ff.; L'Atelier April, 1924; Information sociale, May 22, 1924.
- (21) de Grazia, pp. 75 ff.
- (22) I.L.O., Report of the Director, "Development of facilities for the utilization of spare-time", 1925 (Geneva, 1925, pp. 238 - 241); also Report of the Director, "Utilization of Workers' Spare Time (Summary of Reports from the Various Governments)", (Geneva, 1926), pp. 256 - 264.
- (23) See, I.L.O., Report to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. Upon the Working of the Convention Regarding Hours of Work ... (Geneva, 1931); also V. Woytinsky, The Social Consequences of the Great Depression, I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Series C (Employment and Unemployment) 21 (Geneva, 1936) appendix 13 -14; for Italy, see C. Vannutelli, "Les Conditions de vie des travailleurs italiens au cours de la période 1929 - 1939", Mouvements ouvriers et dépression économique (Aasen, 1966), p. 314, table 3.
- (24) I.L.O., Hours of Work and Unemployment, Report To the Preparatory Conference, January 1933 (Geneva, 1933); Report of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. Upon the Working of the Convention Concerning the Application of the Weekly Rest in Season, Geneva, 1934, Reduction of Hours of Work, First Item on the Agenda (Geneva, 1934); Studies and Reports, Series G, N. 4, Studies on Housing and Welfare, "Recreation and Education"; reports presented to the International Conference on Workers' Spare Time, Brussels, June 15 - 17, 1935 (Geneva, 1936); Studies and Reports, Series G, N. 5, Studies on Housing and Welfare, "Facilities for the Use of Workers Leisure During Holidays" (Geneva, 1939).
- (25) M. Dominaget, Introduction to Lefargue Le Droit ..., pp. 76 - 81. Also G. Lefranc, Histoire du mouvement syndicaliste en France (Paris, 19..).
- (26) On the KdF, see especially T. W. Mason, Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich: Arbeiterklasse und Volksgemeinschaft (Opfaden, 1977).
- (27) Archivio Partito Comunista, 1933, 1123/80-Q1, Ufficio politico, May 25, 1933, signed R. die Marcucci. More generally on the PC d'I's strategy, see P. Tagliatti, Lezioni sul fascismo, ed. E. Ragioneri, (Rome, 1970) a series of lessons delivered in Moscow in 1935.

- (28) In this case, Turin's Borgo San Paolo; see Torino tra le due guerre (Turin, 1978), esp. pp. 15 ff.