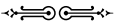


Introduction



From August 2 to 8, 1917 a strike paralyzed production in one of the most important Prague industrial plants—the Ringhoffer railway coach company. Workers refused to work and demanded that their wages and food rations be raised. However, some of them stopped working for other reasons. One of the workers, Josef Plavec, physically collapsed and claimed he could not continue working, not because he wanted to take part in the strike, but simply because of total exhaustion. According to him, the food he was provided was so insufficient that he had depleted his physical strength and could no longer manage his workload. Plavec was apprehended and swiftly brought before a court. There, he repeated his defense, claiming that he could not resume working, not because of his support for the strike, but due to total bodily exhaustion. During his trial, the judge accepted his argument and the court recognized that Plavec could not be prosecuted for taking part in the strike.

However, this did not mean that he was innocent. According to official Austrian regulations, each worker in the militarized industry was guaranteed a scientifically calculated amount of food to provide him with sufficient energy to conduct his or her work. Workloads were measured and used to determine the right amount of calories the workers would receive through food rations. Although the Ringhoffer factory deviated from the established norms and their food rations were slightly lower than those prescribed by the state authorities, the workers were still getting enough calories to conduct their work, albeit with lesser intensity. In the court's opinion, collapsing and being unable to work were thus very unlikely and Plavec's actions were no different from sabotage. His refusal to resume working when his superiors officially demanded it could not be due to bodily exhaustion, but to the intention to harm the Austrian war effort. He was thus sentenced to three years of hard labor and it was only the



fact that he did not stop working in order to strike that saved him from a much harsher punishment. According to the law, organized refusals to work carried sentences of up to twenty-five years of imprisonment or, in the most severe cases, death.¹

The story of Josef Plavec illuminates not just the draconian practices of the wartime Austrian justice system, which stripped many inhabitants of Austria-Hungary of their prewar civil rights and transformed them into mere tools of production for the wartime economy. More importantly, it points to a comprehensive reshaping of the Austrian wartime hinterland driven by pervasive practices of planning and rationing.² The scope of the wartime conflict quickly overcame original expectations and caused the entire population previously inconceivable problems, the solution to which often required trying completely untested forms of internal organization.³ Mobilization for war generated unprecedented pressure for the total and timely reconstruction of the whole economic and social system of the monarchy, allowing little space for the thorough consideration of alternatives.⁴ The organization of wartime production and consumption thus had to make do with a mix of foreign, mostly German experiences and prewar, rather theoretical reflections. Although this planning and rationing took place during wartime, its basic contours did not differ from European Enlightenment principles of social planning. The systematic effort to impose a rational order based on scientific knowledge and unlimited human possibilities that would be able to completely transform the world turned the society of the Habsburg Monarchy into a laboratory, in which it was possible to conduct various social experiments that would fundamentally influence the life of all of its inhabitants.⁵ During peacetime, these experiments remained behind the closed doors of scientific laboratories and university classrooms. But within the context of the maximum war effort, which influenced the whole society without exception, the vast academic knowledge gathered in the decades before the war provided the blueprints for reform that radically changed the whole monarchy.

The concept of rations thus represents the modern specter of an all-powerful science, able to make decisions in all social conflicts and allocate to everyone exactly what they need based on objective methods. The basic argument of this book is that the notion of a "rationed life," i.e., the notion of a fully rationalized and organized modern world, where everything had to be clearly determined and the location and the amount had to be scientifically justified, took over Czech workers' lives and helped to constitute the wartime working class. The following pages are freely based on Max Weber's classic thesis, which saw the processes of rationalization as one of the main building blocks of European modernity.⁶ However, it also



updates the Weberian approach with the recent research on the role of science in modern society, which continues in the mostly Foucauldian philosophical tradition. It sees the development of Western society as a constant acceleration of the disciplining of subjects, which, in a rationalized world, occurs especially through the production of knowledge. Scientific knowledge is therefore not merely an explanation of the world around us. Its discourses also produce power relationships and collective identities that can solidify and reproduce themselves precisely through the authority provided by this knowledge.⁷

The book's main subject is the Czech working class. Given the prominence that labor history played in the state socialist historiography before 1989, we can rely on a huge body of literature that has been able to generate a significant amount of empirical knowledge. Many of the relevant works are referenced directly in the text, but Jan Galandauer's and Zdeňek Kárník's books, which remain the most monumental analyses of the development of the Czech working class during World War I, even several decades after their publication, merit special attention.⁸ However, the vast majority of Czech works on the labor question prior to 1989 did not actually concern themselves with workers, but rather with the narrowly partisan history of their primary political representative, the Social Democratic party, or, even more narrowly, with the decisions of its wartime party cadres. For many historians, the implicit equation between the large number of industrial workers and a single political party embodied the factory proletariat's emancipation efforts as well as the vanguard of the Communist Party in interwar Czechoslovakia, which in turn was supposed to make the historical mission to establish a communist utopia come true.⁹

Indeed, during the campaign for universal voting rights between the years 1905 and 1907, the Czech Social Democratic party became the largest party in the Bohemian lands with roughly one hundred thousand registered members. The vast majority of these members were also manual laborers.¹⁰ Although one hundred thousand party members represented an admirable number in the context of the times, even in its prime the Social Democratic party was able to win over only a portion of the industrial working class, which, according to the Austrian authorities, numbered roughly one million people in the Bohemian lands right before World War I.¹¹

At the same time, the year 1907 was also the year in which membership in the Social Democratic party peaked. World War I dealt a definite blow to the party organization. The party was paralyzed by wartime conscription and for most of the war the Social Democratic party was loyal to the Austro-Hungarian war effort. The significant delegitimization of the party among the rank and file was a consequence of wartime politics.¹² Already before World War I, but especially during the war, there was a consid-

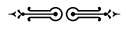


erable gulf between the Social Democratic party and the majority of the working class in the Bohemian lands. If we want to look more closely at the experience of workers, focusing on the Social Democracy Party during the war will not be very helpful.

If older Czech works on the wartime working class provide information on its political representatives while leaving the workers in the background, in the histories of the whole society, however, the situation is quite different.¹³ First and foremost is Ivan Šedivý's synthesis, which is still the most complex work on Czech history in the watershed years of 1914–1918.¹⁴ Its second part in particular provides a complex social historical narrative of Czech history during World War I, and it is a good starting point for cultural analyses of wartime society. The last years have also brought renewed interest in the history of social protest¹⁵ as well as in labor and workers, which had practically disappeared after 1989.¹⁶

Many foreign works focusing not on the Bohemian lands, but rather on the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole or on some of its other parts, provide a broader context for the Czech case.¹⁷ Many are cited in the individual chapters, but two of them deserve to be mentioned here. One is the more than thirty-five years old, but in many respects unsurpassed, work by Richard Georg Plaschka, Horst Hasselsteiner, and Arnold Suppan.¹⁸ Rich in sources, this analysis is primarily devoted to the Habsburg Monarchy's last year of existence and the wave of protests and violence that accompanied its disintegration. Three decades after its publication, this two-volume history remains a monument that cannot be ignored when researching World War I in Central Europe. Out of the more recent works, Maureen Healy's book on the breakdown of the social consensus in wartime Vienna cannot be overlooked. Healy was able to capture the deepening social trenches within the Austrian metropolis that subsequently led to the total collapse of the city, as well as the various wartime experiences of the capital city's inhabitants depending on their social standing, gender, or language.¹⁹ Maureen Healy's work is thus currently the most visible and topical addition to the study of the cultural history of Austrian wartime society.

The retreat of labor history from its formerly prominent place within American and European historiographies has been accompanied by a significant broadening of methodological perspectives.²⁰ Western historiography thus not only never abandoned the study of the working class as a group that provides modern industrial work, but never even renounced the concept of the "working class,"²¹ which for many readers, particularly in post-communist East-Central Europe, evokes a time when the term played a crucial role in the legitimization of socialist dictatorships. The former Marxist-Weberian understanding of the working class as a group

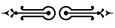


of participants connected by their ability to work, which is their only disposable commodity in the free market and from which their other activities are derived, was questioned from all sides. Research on child labor, or the various stages between gainful work and slavery, refuted, for example, the idea of workers' freedom in the modern labor market.²² The reorientation of historiographical analysis from the individual to the household has shown that work itself was almost never the only disposable article from which workers derived their existence. Home economics, renting modest lodgings or petty theft, embezzlement, as well as hired work all belonged to the workers' arsenal of strategies for subsistence in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century.²³

Due to the transformation of the basic unit of historiographical analysis, in which the individual worker was replaced by the household, there was a fundamental redefinition of the very concept of work, which was freed from direct monetary payment. Work is thus widely understood as "... any human activity that increases the value of goods or services"²⁴ and, as such, encompasses not only productive work, which increasingly moved into specially designed workplaces during European industrialization, but also unproductive work, which generally remained limited to the sphere of the household.²⁵

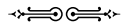
Within the debates on the "role of the working class in history" that started during the 1980s, the previous primacy of socio-economic determinants was abandoned in favor of multi-causal interpretations, taking into account not only the "social," but also the various cultural variables with a potential to influence the behavior and organization of historical agents²⁶ and shape the working class's subjectivity.²⁷ Contemporary historiography does not understand the working class as a product of the objectively measured processes of modernization, but as a very unstable, changing collective that is influenced by many symbolic factors that, depending on the social context, are able to turn part of an amorphous mass of physically working people into a collective historical agent. Revealing and analyzing these symbols in relation to the wartime working class of the Bohemian lands is also the aim of the following pages, which strive to illuminate Czech workers' experience during the "seminal catastrophe of the 20th century," as World War I is often labeled.²⁸

Along with the current scholarship, I do not perceive the working class as an already given, closed and objectively existing collective created from suprapersonal structures of economic production and defined by its position within these structures, its salaries and the standard of living, consumption, etc. provided by these salaries. Instead, this book conceives of the Czech working class during World War I as a project that has never been finished—a phenomenon that is constantly forming and transform-



ing at the intersection between cultural and symbolic practices on the one hand and lived experiences on the other.²⁹ The effort to describe workers' experiences during wartime is therefore meaningful in this context. The aim is not only to describe the banality of people's lives in a given time period, but to identify the places in space and time where the lived experience intersect with the discourses and symbols of the state. Precisely at these intersections collective identities and demands emerge and can be captured. The main questions of this book are thus on the war's influence on the transformation of an organized working class—its culture and the way active workers understood themselves and their surroundings during the rapid wartime changes.

If we understand politics as a sphere where the collective identities and demands of individual social groups are formulated and articulated, and where these groups subsequently clash with the state or each other, we can see that society in wartime Austria-Hungary was politicized at every level, even though, for most of the war, it had neither parliamentary politics nor liberal rights.³⁰ Under conditions of acute material shortage, the enormous strain on wartime production, and rising social tensions, the dynamic regrouping of social hierarchies occurred more often than ever. New social collectives were created that formulated new demands on each other or on the state. The inhabitants of malnourished towns felt cheated by the agricultural countryside; German-speaking citizens of the monarchy accused their Czech counterparts of insufficient wartime loyalty; Czechs and other non-German ethnic groups felt oppressed in every way; many women accused the male-dominated political system of the monarchy of using them for hard wartime labor but denying them basic civil rights. The majority of the increasingly impoverished inhabitants of the whole country observed with growing bitterness the enormous profits of a narrow number of businessmen who were able to get enormously rich off the wartime economy. All of these groups then turned to the state to acknowledge their demands and solve their problems. In the end, the inability to satisfy these demands brought about the total collapse of the basic social solidarity of wartime Austrian society and, with it, the disintegration of the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus Austro-Hungarian society was actually more political than ever, and its workers were one of the central building blocks of the Austrian wartime effort, playing a central part in "depoliticized politics." The basic perspective of this book hinges precisely on the initially chaotic fields of mutually intersecting group identities and their demands and collective actions. In the following pages, I understand the "politics of the working class" as those spheres of the Czech workers' experience in which collective identities and collective demands were created, defining the organized workers'



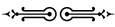
collective inwardly and outwardly. My observations of the “politics of the working class” thus led me to divide the book into four main chapters.

The first chapter is devoted to the “politics of food.” The question of the distribution and consumption of food was one of the most visible blows to the prewar workers’ collective and represented the most serious challenge to the basic survival of all workers. Access to food and its consumption during wartime scarcity was a prominent stage upon which social dividing lines were created and manifested. At the same time, however, the food question became the most important issue of the all-encompassing rationing system that was implemented by the state. Demands for various foods and their acceptance or rejection to a great extent stemmed from the primacy of modern science as a universal source of advice on the organization of life and science, then played a significant role in the wartime “politics of food.” Therefore, the chapter analyzes the development of this science as well as its influence on the transformations of workers’ lives.

The second chapter is devoted to the transformation of industrial labor as another central factor in the collective self-identification of the working class. Physical labor was one of the basic defining components of an organized working class in the prewar years, and the drastic changes that it went through between the years 1914 and 1918 also significantly influenced the workers’ collective. Here, too, several scientific fields held a dominant position, claiming to know universal truths about what constitutes human labor and how, when and where it should be conducted. The chapter focuses not only on these scientific fields, but also on the blending of this knowledge with Austro-Hungarian political power and with the world of hundreds of thousands of workers in the wartime industry.

The third chapter switches perspective to the significantly changed gender composition of the working class. It focuses on the disruption of the prewar male hegemony in the public space of the Habsburg Monarchy as well as within families and at the workplace. Although gender is a sphere in which modern scientific knowledge did not play such a defining role during wartime, even here we can detect its influence on several significant developments in the gender make-up of the working class. The massive influx of women into the wartime industry and the disintegration of the construct of male public authority are also addressed.

The last chapter focuses on the forms of the workers’ protests. The mutual interconnection of all the previous “politics” is most obviously revealed precisely in the phenomenon of the wartime workers’ protest, because it almost always arose when problems with food distribution, the massive reorganization of industrial labor and radical changes in the gender composition of the organized workers’ collective were combined. The changes in the shape of the wartime protests and the composition of the



protest groups offer an insight into the collective actions of the newly created working class and its limits. Such limits manifested themselves every time the working-class protest was not able to integrate a greater number of industrial workers.

Although the names of the four chapters may lend the impression that each one is reserved solely for one sphere of wartime “politics,” this is not the case. The questions of wartime consumption cannot be separated from the problems connected with industrial labor. The wartime gender diversification of the working class also took place in close connection with the sphere of labor as well as that of consumption, and the wartime workers’ protest is connected to the questions of gender as well as those of labor and food. The individual topics run through all of the chapters, but one topic dominates each of them. All of the chapters together attempt to paint a portrait not only of workers’ lives in the Bohemian lands during wartime, but also of their contacts with scientific and state authorities and with the other citizens of wartime Austria-Hungary. The central question, however, remains—how did these contacts influence the working class’s self-identification and how did they contribute to the creation of the wartime working class as a collective historical agent, or, on the contrary, how did they prevent this from happening?

Notes

1. *Kovodělník. Orgán svazu dělnictva zaměstnaného výrobou a zpracováním kovů a drahokovů v Rakousku* 35 (August 8, 1917): 140–41.
2. I. Šedivý, *Češi, české země a velká válka 1914–1918* (Prague, 2001), 217–18. For the concept of planning and possible methods of its historicization, see H. Klages, “Planung—Entwicklung- Entscheidung: Wird die Geschichte herstellbar?,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 226 (1978): 529–46. Thomas Etzemüller, “Social Engineering als Verhaltenslehre des kühlen Kopfes. Eine einleitende Skizze,” in *Die Ordnung der Moderne. Social Engineering im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Thomas Etzemüller (Bielefeld, 2009), 11–40.
3. For the very outbreak of the war and the debates on what caused it, see C. Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York, 2012). The most recent synthetic works on World War I include J. Leonhard, *Die Büchse der Pandora. Geschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges* (München, 2014); H. Münkler, *Der Große Krieg. Die Welt 1914–1918* (Berlin, 2013); A. Kramer, *The Dynamics of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford, 2008). For a recent research overview, see A. Kramer, “Recent Historiography of the First World War (Part I),” *The Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 1 (2014): 5–27; A. Kramer, “Recent Historiography of the First World War (Part II),” *The Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 155–74.



4. On mobilization during World War I, see H. Perry, *Recycling the Disabled: Army, Medicine and Modernity in WWI Germany* (Manchester, 2014); R. Chickering and S. Förster, eds., *Great War, Total War, Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, 2006); J. Horne, ed., *State, Society, and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge, 1997); Michael Geyer, “The Militarization of Europe, 1914–1945,” in *The Militarization of the Western World*, ed. J. Gillis (New Brunswick, 1989), 74–79.
5. On the concept of planning, see, for example, D. van Laak, “Planung. Geschichte und Gegenwart des Vorgriffs auf die Zukunft,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34, Heft 3 (2008): 305–26.
6. M. Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (Tübingen, 1934); P. Wagner, *A Sociology of Modernity: Liberty and Discipline* (London and New York, 1994). From the recent writings, see, for example, K. Brückweh, D. Schumann, R. F. Wetzell and B. Ziemann, eds., *Engineering Society: The Role of the Human and Social Sciences in Modern Societies, 1880–1980* (Basingstoke, 2012); T. Mergel and C. Reinecke, eds., *Das Soziale ordnen. Sozialwissenschaften und gesellschaftliche Ungleichheit im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 2012).
7. Out of Foucault’s large oeuvre, see, for example, M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York, 1980).
8. J. Galandauer, *Bohumír Šmeral 1914–1941* (Prague, 1986); Z. Kárník, *Habsburk, Masaryk či Šmeral. Socialisté na rozcestí* (Prague, 1996).
9. For an overview of the Czech historiography of the workers’ movement before 1989, see Jana Englová, “Dělnictvo jako subjekt a objekt historického bádání,” in *Problematika dělnictva v 19. a 20. století. Bilance a výhledy studia*, eds. S. Knob and T. Rucki (Ostrava, 2011), 34–39; J. Matějček, “Dělnické hnutí v Českých zemích do roku 1914. Emancipace dělnictva, nebo hegemonie proletariátu? Pokus o objektivní hodnocení vývoje hnutí i stavu výzkumu,” *Studie k sociálním dějinám* 2 (1998): 153–95.
10. O. Urban, *Česká společnost 1848–1918* (Prague, 1982), 557. For the broader Austrian context, see further Wolfgang Maderthaler, “Die Entstehung einer demokratischen Massenpartei: Sozialdemokratische Organisation von 1889 bis 1918,” in *Die Organisation der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie 1889–1995*, eds. W. Maderthaler and W. C. Müller (Vienna, 1996), 21–92.
11. *Bericht der k.k. Gewerbeinspektoren über Ihre Amtstätigkeit im Jahre 1914* (Vienna, 1915), XXXIX–XLVII. On prewar Social Democracy in the Bohemian lands, see, substantially, L. Fasora, *Dělník a měšťan. Vývoj jejich vzájemných vztahů na příkladu šesti moravských měst 1870–1914* (Brno, 2010).
12. For the latest work on the socialist movement in the southern part of the Habsburg Monarchy, see M. Cattaruzza, *Sozialisten an der Adria. Plurinationale Arbeiterbewegung in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Berlin, 2011).
13. For Czech interwar historiography of World War I, see Martin Zückert, “Der erste Weltkrieg in der tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung 1918–1938,” in *Geschichtsschreibung zu den böhmischen Ländern im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. C. Brenner, K. E. Franzen, P. Haslinger and R. Luft (München, 2006), 61–75.
14. Šedivý, *Češi*. For older Czech works, see Z. Jindra, *První světová válka* (Prague, 1984).



15. P. Heumos, "Kartoffeln her oder es gibt eine Revolution. Hungerkrawalle, Streiks und Massenproteste in den böhmischen Ländern 1914–1918," *Slezský sborník* 97, no. 2 (1999): 81–104.
16. Pavel Kolář and Michal Kopeček, "A Difficult Quest for New Paradigms: Czech Historiography After 1989," in *Narratives Unbound: Historical Studies in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, eds. S. Antohi, B. Trencsényi and P. Apor (Budapest and New York 2006), 198. Out of the newer works, see especially L. Fasora, *Dělník a měšťan. Vývoj jejich vzájemných vztahů na příkladu šesti moravských měst 1870–1914* (Brno, 2010); S. Holubec, *Lidé periferie. Sociální postavení a každodennost pražského dělnictva v meziválečné době* (Plzeň, 2009); J. Gelnarová, "Matka Praha a dcery její. Diskuse o ženském volebním právu do obce pražské v občanském a dělnickém ženském hnutí mezi lety 1906 a 1909," *Střed/Centre* 2 (2011): 34–58; M. Jemelka, *Na Šalomouně: společnost a každodenní život v největší moravskostravské hornické kolonii (1870–1950)* (Ostrava, 2008).
17. For a comprehensive overview of the historiography on the late Habsburg Monarchy, see most recently J. Deak, "The Great War and the Forgotten Realm: The Habsburg Monarchy and the First World War," *Journal of Modern History* 86, no. 2 (June 2014): 336–80. For a broader insight into the recent scholarship on World War I, see, for example, J. Bürgschwentner, M. Egger and G. Barth-Scalmani, eds., *Other Fronts, Other Wars? First World War Studies on the Eve of the Centennial* (Leiden and Boston, 2014); E. Krivanec, *Kriegsbühnen: Theater im Ersten Weltkrieg. Berlin, Lissabon, Paris und Wien* (Bielefeld, 2012); S. Goebel and D. Keene, eds., *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War* (Farnham, 2011); F. Altenhöner, *Kommunikation und Kontrolle: Gerüchte und städtische Öffentlichkeiten in Berlin und London 1914/1918* (München, 2008); C. Acton, *Grief in Wartime: Private Pain, Public Discourse* (London, 2007).
18. R. G. Plaschka, H. Hasselsteiner, and A. Suppan, *Innere Front. Militärassistentz, Widerstand und Umsturz in der Donaumonarchie 1918*, Band I.–II. (München, 1974).
19. Healy, *Vienna*. On the German case, see B. J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, NC and London, 2000).
20. For the Western European historiography of labor and the working class, see, for example, S. Berger, "Die europäische Arbeiterbewegung und ihre Historiker. Wandlungen und Ausblicke," *Jahrbuch für europäische Geschichte* 6 (2005): 151–82; T. Welskopp, "Von der Verhinderten Heldengeschichte des Proletariats zur Vergleichenden Sozialgeschichte der Arbeiterschaft—Perspektiven der Arbeitergeschichtsschreibung in den 1990er Jahren," *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 3 (1993): 34–53. Further, for example: M. van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays Towards a Global Labor History* (Leiden–Boston, 2008); L. Heerma van Voss and M. van der Linden, eds., *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labor History* (New York, 2002).
21. G. Eley and K. Nield, "Farewell to the Working Class?" *International Labor and*



- Working Class History* 5 (Spring 2000): 1–30; J. W. Scott, “The Class We Lost?” *International Labor and Working Class History* 5 (Spring 2000): 69–75.
22. M. Rahikainen, *Centuries of Child Labor: European Experiences from Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (Adlershot, 2004); T. Brass and M. van der Linden, eds. *Free and Unfree Labor: The Debate Continues* (Bern and Frankfurt am Main, 1997).
 23. Van der Linden, *Workers*, 26–27.
 24. C. Tilly and C. Tilly, *Work under Capitalism* (Oxford, 1997), 22.
 25. M. Burawoy, “The Anthropology of Work,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 8 (1979): 231–66.
 26. For a good introduction to the “cultural wars,” as the discussions on the roles of the material and cultural determinants of the actions of historical participants are sometimes called, and for a basic bibliography, see G. Eley and K. Nield, *The Future of Class in History: What’s Left of the Social?* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2007); L. Heerma van Voss and M. van der Linden, eds., *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labor History* (New York, 2002); L. Frader, “Dissent Over Discourse: Labor History, Gender and the Linguistic Turn,” *History and Theory* 34 (1995): 213–30.
 27. For the latest, see, for example, L. Bluma and K. Uhl, Hg., *Kontrollierte Arbeit—Disziplinierte Körper? Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Industriearbeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld, 2012); P. A. Custer, “Refiguring Jemima: Gender, Work and Politics in Lancashire 1770–1820,” *Past & Present*, no. 195 (May 2007): 126–58.
 28. G. F. Kennan, *The Decline of Bismarck’s European Order: Franco-Russian Relations 1875–1890* (Princeton, NJ, 1979), 6. Further, see: W. J. Mommsen, *Die Urkatastrophe Deutschlands. Der Erste Weltkrieg 1914–1918* (Stuttgart, 2002); Hans Joas, “Kontingenzbewusstsein: der Erste Weltkrieg und der Bruch im Zeitbewusstsein der Moderne,” in *Aggression und Katharsis: der Erste Weltkrieg im Diskurs der Moderne*, eds. P. Ernst, S. Haring, and W. Suppanz (Vienna, 2004), 43–56.
 29. Eley and Nield, *The Future*, 171.
 30. For this understanding of politics, see, for example, the seminal works L. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley and London, 1984); J. Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture c. 1815–1867* (Cambridge, 1993).