

René Berthier, *Social Democracy and Anarchism in the International Workers' Association, 1864-1877* (London: The Merlin Press, 2015) 233 p. ISBN 978-0850-367-195.

René Berthier's book is the translation – edited by A. W. Zurbrugg – of *La rupture avec le bakouninisme et la fin de la AIT 'anti-autoritaire'* (The Breach with Bakuninism and the end of 'Anti-Authoritarian' IWA), Éditions du Cercle d'études libertaire Gaston-Leval, 2012. In the meantime, a second edition of the original work has been published as *La fin de la première internationale* (The End of the First International), Paris, Les Éditions du Monde libertaire, 2015.

Berthier's subject is the very nature of the First International, and particularly of its two crises: the classic crisis which led to the expulsion of Bakunin and Guillaume during the fifth IWA congress in The Hague (1872), and the following – less known – crisis characterised by the conflict between Bakuninism and Anarchism that led to the end of the International in 1877 and the naissance of an anarchist International. The author's aim is to finally rethink the history of the IWA, contesting biased interpretations of the classic conflict, and formalizing a new insight on the second crisis that had not been thoroughly studied so far. In this way he builds an entirely new perspective on the IWA's history and extends the chronology – which traditionally ends in 1872 or in 1876-1877.

Berthier firmly contests that the first conflict was the result of a secessionist manoeuvre of the anti-authoritarians and argues that it were Marx and Engels, a small minority in the IWA, the splitters, who managed to create a centralistic International with a Social-Democratic strategy (the conquest of political power). However, the majority of the sections remained loyal to the IWA's foundation strategy, federalist or anti-authoritarian, sharing the idea of not having a centralistic organisation and a uniform program for organizing the priority of solidarity among workers. Bakunin was thus not the leader of a political sect, but one of the best known leaders who shared the very purpose of the IWA. In other words, the crisis of 1872 was due to the manoeuvres of Marxists to create a different authoritarian IWA and not a conflict between Marx and Bakunin per se. The separation was not absolute, since contacts, attempts at reconciliation, and oscillations between centralism and federalism (still in the Second International) remained.

Consequently, Berthier also contests the fact that the Saint-Imer congress (1872) was the founding of anarchism, but instead argues that it was the victory of the federalist strategy and the continuation of an anti-authoritarian IWA faithful to its origins. Anarchism developed only later, as a misunderstanding of Bakunin's perspective, and it would lead to a second crisis when it tried to impose a new centralistic International with – this time – an anarchist program. From this conflict emerged another current, anarcho-sindicalism, which, to the author,

seems to be the more coherent with Bakunin's thought and the original, federalist and anti-authoritarian, International.

The book is divided into six chapters (Key questions, After the Commune, The Collapse of the Marxist International, The Anti-Authoritarian International and Attempted Conciliation, Towards the End of the 'Anti-Authoritarian' International, The Birth of Anarchism). The editor also added an appendix with sixteen documents (letters, minutes, resolutions, programs, etc.) and a useful chronology named 'International events and events in particular countries' that pushes backward and forward the chronology from 1862 to 1883.

The author does not hide that he is a long-standing anarcho-syndicalist in the French labour movement, yet declares that he took side in this historical account based on sources, not on political convictions. If there is a weak point in this account, it is not the result of the author being an activist – which helped him, on the contrary, to give vibrancy to the writing – but of the 'current' and 'congress' approach. Even if intelligently put to work, this approach limits the range of sources to the strictly traditional ones. It is significant that there is no bibliography but only a simple note on sources. This leads the author to avoid a desirable discussion with the more recent historiography that tries to investigate labour history and political currents beyond this classical approach.

This book is nevertheless an important contribution to a changing perspective on the First International, which continues to be perceived as the classical founding conflict between Marxism and Anarchism. Berthier proposes a more interesting focus on an altogether different conflict: a long-lasting and fundamental one, between centralist and federalist strategy, which goes beyond rigid political currents. He also develops fascinating insights on Bakunin's thought, stressing the differences with the Anarchist current developed in the Seventies. Finally, there emerges an interesting ante litteram 'anarcho-syndicalist' International, which is too often neglected.

Enrico Zanette

Annelie Ramsbrock, *The Science of Beauty. Culture and Cosmetics in Modern Germany, 1750-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), vertaald [uit het Duits] door David Burnett, 277 p. ISBN 978-1137-489-807.

Feministen als Simone de Beauvoir en Naomi Wolf hebben in respectievelijk *De tweede sekse* (1949) en *The beauty myth* (1990) de disciplinerende werking van (onhaalbare) schoonheidsidealén voor vrouwen aan de kaak gesteld, met name de