

renovated anarcho-syndicalism; doctrinal renewal (revision of the theory of the state, of the conception of the economy, of the idea of revolution).

So whilst not uncritical of the CNT leadership, Lorenzo distances himself from those he regards as unrealistic purists who were critical of the CNT's decisions, from the refusal to campaign for abstention in the February 1936 elections, through militarization, to participation in government; and this applies both to Spanish militants such as José Peirats, to leading anarchists in other countries, such as the Frenchman Pierre Besnard, and to later commentators, such as the English anarchist Vernon Richards (whose 1953 *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* is nevertheless praised as being the best history of the revolution written from a "fundamentalist anarchist" viewpoint).

This is still a contentious area, and Lorenzo criticizes the alleged reductionism of many Marxist analyses and the "liberalism" which he claims characterizes many British and American studies of the Spanish Civil War. When Lorenzo's book first appeared in 1969, his analysis was also attacked by some for being biased (Horacio Prieto was his father). But Lorenzo is unapologetic: "No historian has ever written or will ever write from 'nowhere', *sub specie aeternitatis*, whether consciously or not. [...] What is important is the intellectual probity demonstrated by the historian" (p. 4). And this book is indeed an impressive piece of scholarship, whether one agrees with all aspects of the analysis or not: thoroughly researched, clearly and intelligently argued, and a valuable contribution to the literature.

Lorenzo comments on the limitations of a work of political history, arguing that a more general history of Spanish anarchism would necessitate a much longer study of several volumes and remains to be done. But this history is thoroughly contextualized in terms of economic and social developments, and is also good on the international context and the impact of particular events, such as Spain's colonial wars. There is an interesting examination of the relative influence of the French CGT and the Amiens Congress of 1906 as compared to the FORA or even the IWW. And there are some interesting (if brief) remarks on the ideological consequences of worker migration.

This large-format book has been attractively produced by the Editions Libertaires (<http://perso.orange.fr/libertaire/index-librairie.htm>) and includes thirty-two pages of illustrations, many in colour; five very useful maps; fourteen pages of photographs of leading figures in the movement; and a selection of colour posters from the Civil War period. It includes a list of initials and acronyms and a sixteen-page select bibliography – select, as Lorenzo insists, because so much of what has been published on the subject has been poorly researched and is often superficial and repetitive.

David Berry

SÁNCHEZ PÉREZ, FRANCISCO. *La protesta de un pueblo. Acción colectiva y organización obrera*. Madrid 1901–1923. Ediciones Cinca, Madrid 2005. xxiv, 425 pp. Ill. € 25.00. DOI: 50020859007033263

In what is an important new contribution to the social history of Madrid, this study constitutes a prequel to the excellent studies of the Spanish capital during the Second Republic by Sandra Souto Kustrín, "*Y ¿Madrid? ¿Qué hace Madrid?*" *Movimiento revolucionario y acción colectiva (1933–1936)* (Madrid, 2004), and Santos Juliá Díaz, *Madrid, 1931–1934 de la fiesta popular a la lucha de clases* (Madrid, 1984).

The study begins by analysing what the author terms the “stage of the protest”, providing a much-needed survey of the problems surrounding Madrid’s *capitalness*, the nature of and multiple limits to the local industrialization and urbanization processes, particularly the absence of state leadership. We see, then, how, despite Spanish neutrality during World War I, the tensions generated during these years pushed Madrid into the twentieth century, heralding a new period of transition that ushered in new urban practices along with a new sense of urbanity. Testifying to the centrality of space in the evolution of conflict, the subsequent protest was inflected and shaped by the fracturing of a traditional urban model based on patronage during these years. While this change was only best appreciated during the 1930s when, as an industrial city, Madrid witnessed intense and profound class struggles, Dr. Sánchez Pérez intelligently analyses the eruption of protest cycles in key periods, such as 1917 and 1919–1920.

The core of this book is based on the author’s earlier doctoral thesis that covered 1914–1923. Therein, its focus is the period 1917–1923, which saw the biggest wave of conflict and protest in the history of Madrid until that time, consisting of tram burnings, industrial stoppages, general strikes, food riots, and both peaceful and direct action protest, including assassination. While this protest cycle came to a close with the inauguration of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera in 1923, Madrid’s workers would never live and fight in the city as they did before, and the collective psychology of the working class remained profoundly marked by the experience of this intense period. Indeed, we read: “During this protest cycle an acceleration [of history] takes place that consumes and encapsulates decades of changes and produces a decisive convulsion in popular and working class collective action which announces a new social and political age. We are talking of a huge wave and when it ends nothing remains the same” (p. 379).

The overriding objective of this study is to analyse the interstices of the transition from older forms of mobilization, specifically consumption protests aimed at establishing a “fair” price for foodstuffs, to a newer mode of struggle based around class and trade-union organization, and more concerned with regulating the remuneration of labour rather than food prices. This is a very ambitious task, but on the whole it is achieved through a subtle grasp of the shifting nuances in the modes of protest in the city, which results in a complex map of the growing institutionalization of protest. Interesting here is the changing stance of the authorities towards conflict: while there was a degree of ambivalence and/or paternalism in official circles towards bread protests, we see an abrupt shift in 1917, when, faced by a new revolutionary political challenge to authority structures at home and abroad, for the first time protestors are machine-gunned by state forces. This constitutes something of a watershed within local protest culture and practices, and accelerates the implantation of new forms of industrial conflict, as the strike increasingly emerges to replace the riot as the central vehicle of urban conflict.

Yet it would be wrong to think of an absolute rupture between two distinct worlds of protest. As Sánchez Pérez is at pains to stress, if 1919–1920 saw the eclipse of the traditional food riot, this earlier mode of popular mobilization continued to coexist with strikes within the protest repertoire of a working class for which issues of consumption and prices loomed large. Indeed, the riots of the 1930s are eloquent testimony of this. This commingling of protest forms was doubtless encouraged by the importance given by the labour unions to consumption issues. Indeed, Spain’s first ever

nationwide general strike, in 1916, saw the the anarcho-syndicalist CNT and the socialist UGT overcome their differences in order to pursue a united action against uncontrolled food prices, part of the popular *abaratamiento* protest against wartime inflation.

Sánchez Pérez's consideration and treatment of workers' protest is dexterous and deft; he looks for the motivations for protest within "the specific experience of the workers in the city" (p. 379), rather than through recourse to overarching theories. This analysis dovetails with an appraisal of the wider mobilizing strategies of the labour movement. Thus, we see how the leadership of the socialist movement was challenged in its fiefdom in the postwar years by a new current, the pro-communist *terceristas*, who were inspired by Russian developments and represented a distinct path to the traditional polarities of socialism and anarchism. During the crisis years of 1919–1920, the high-point of militancy after the war, we see how large numbers of workers were organizing and mobilizing outside the structures of the UGT, in what was a preface to the more sustained and serious challenge to socialist hegemony in Madrid by a revitalized CNT in the period immediately prior to the Spanish Civil War.

Meanwhile, this study offers a clear sense of how Madrid fits within a wider European picture: the growing number of strikes that drew in larger numbers of workers, the new tensions between supporters of rival union models (skilled versus industrial unions), the escalating activism of new groups of workers, including white-collar sectors, such as bank employees. This is combined with an analysis of the most important occupational groupings in the city, such construction, metal and transport workers, bakers, printers and shoemakers, several of which were outside of a socialist movement whose leaders deemed them either unorganisable or unmobilisable.

The political dimension of protest is covered well. At key moments the articulation and evolution of local political power is brought into the foreground, and due credit is given to the role of the local state in the mediation of conflict, and the flows of power from the street into council chambers and, in what is the capital of the Spanish state, its echo in the palaces of government.

On a critical note, while this study is strong on the myriad social, economic, cultural, and political factors that condition protest, it seems to me a shame that the spatial dimension was not developed further to include themes such as residential patterns and neighbourhood conflicts. Certainly, the city is always more than a "stage" or "container" for social protest; rather, locale and the built environment condition protest profoundly: space is not only a historically specific mediation of the prevailing patterns of economic and political power, it is also a constitutive component of broader social processes; it articulates social relations and responds to them in a dynamic and historically contingent manner.

Nevertheless, overall this volume is hearty and eloquent proof of the good health, sophistication and flourishing of social history in Spain today. It provides a complex image of Madrid as the traditional centre of reformist Spanish socialism and also as a city in which a myriad range of modes of contestation and protest forms coexisted, along with an important and enduring direct action tradition.

Chris Ealham