

det das Selbstverständnis der Arbeiterbewegung als umfassende proletarische Gemeinschaft sowie ihren Anspruch, eine Gegenkultur aufzubauen, die vom Bürgertum abgegrenzt sei. Alle Versuche, durch eigene Produktion und Mitwirkung an der Produktion diese Medien mitzugestalten und so der Bedürfnismanipulation entgegenzuwirken, scheiterten an der Vermarktung der Freizeit. Hier spielt weniger ein vermeintlicher politischer Wille zur Zurücknahme klassenkämpferischer Ziele mit, als vielmehr die Sachzwänge, die sich aus den neuen gesamtgesellschaftlichen Bedingungen ergeben: Ausdehnung und Wandel der Freizeitbeschäftigung sowie der Bedürfnisse.

Dieser Fragestellung wird der letzte Teil von Langewiesches Arbeit gewidmet, der dem Leser einen Überblick über das subkulturelle sozialistische Vereinsnetz vermittelt und gleichzeitig nach seinem alternativen Wert fragt. Er skizziert die Entwicklung der Vereine »Naturfreunde« und »Kinderfreunde« und untersucht Festkultur und Arbeitersportbewegung im Lichte des ständig drohenden Widerspruchs zwischen Ideologie und Praxis.

Abschließend werden die aus der quantifizierenden Analyse gewonnenen Einsichten zusammenfassend bewertet: Die Kluft zwischen Wirklichkeit und Anspruch auf Gegenkultur, deren Ziel die Überwindung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft sei, wird nachdrücklich betont, die angestrebte Ausdehnung der sozialistischen Massenbildung zur umfassenden Freizeitbetreuung wird auf die Formel »Ideologie und Praxis sozialistischer Kulturarbeit zwischen organisierter Gegenkultur und Freizeitagentur« gebracht. An dieser Bewertung ist nur eine Einzelheit auszusetzen. Im Zusammenhang mit der Kritik aus den eigenen Reihen der SDAPÖ spielt D. Langewiesche auf Max Adlers Forderung nach »marxistischer Massenbildung« und auf die Befürworter einer »proletarischen Kunstpolitik« (S. 374) an. Demgegenüber verteidigt er das »demokratische Selbstverständnis« der Arbeiterpartei, was uns nicht viel weiter bringt als die von anderem politischen Standpunkt aus formulierte Reformismusanlage. Diese Kritik fällt aber nicht ins Gewicht angesichts des großen Erkenntniswertes dieses Buches, das den Stand der Forschung erheblich bereichert.

Marie-Ange Roy

Josef Weidenholzer, Auf dem Weg zum ›Neuen Menschen‹. Bildungs- und Kulturarbeit der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie in der Ersten Republik (= Schriftenreihe des Ludwig Boltzmann Instituts für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Nr. 12), Europa Verlag, Wien 1981, 296 S., kart., 42,50 DM.

»Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit.« This refrain of a popular workers' song of the Austrian First Republic is emblazoned on the catalog cover of the recent highly successful exhibit in Vienna of »Arbeiterkultur in Österreich 1918—1934.« It is also the symbolic rubric for the rich and varied monographs on the workers culture of »Red Vienna«, that are only now beginning to attract the scholarly attention they deserve. Weidenholzer's study of the formal SDAP efforts to produce the »new socialist man« must be evaluated in the light of these recent efforts.

The book begins with a rather lengthy (60 pp.) sociological excursion into the practical meaning of Austromarxism, the quantitative development of the SDAP and its structural and social formation. The latter includes a review of the Verein Zukunft, the Arbeiterschule, and the Zentralstelle für Bildungswesen. Here, Weidenholzer cites the perception by the contemporaries Lazarsfeld and Kanitz that the party's devotion to culture and education gained primacy after the failed revolution of 1919 and became a surrogate for political and econo-

mic action. Before we actually arrive at the promised discussion of work in the cultural realm, we are taken through a small thicket of theories which inspired it. The central figures are Max Adler, Joseph Luitpold Stern, Otto Neurath, and Richard Wagner. Although their views varied on some points, they agreed that education was a means of waging the class struggle which, by creating socialist in distinction to bourgeois man was preparatory to revolution and socialism. The transformation of the working class, as conceived by these party culture ideologues, would have to deal with repressive tendencies within the working class itself, as expressed in the contradictory relations of men and women, old and young, and leaders and masses.

The major sections of the book, devoted to the SDAP's educational and cultural efforts, describe the organizational structure and enumerate the leaders and participants. In the first group are the Zentralstelle für Bildungswesen, the Arbeiterschulen, the Parteischulen, and the Arbeiterhochschule. The leaders are among the same two dozen persons one hears mentioned in association with Austrian social democracy of the interwar years. Weidenholzer provides extensive lists of the lectures, lecture series, and formal courses offered and goes so far as to provide graphs on the number of lectures given, their monthly distribution, and their average attendance. This allows him to conclude that the number of lectures increased in the winter and decreased in the summer (pp. 110—11) and that significantly more white collar workers and civil servants than blue collar workers were enrolled in the party schools (p. 146). On the one apparently interesting aspect of these enumerations — how the party's educational activities strengthened the party bureaucracy — Weidenholzer remains silent. He never really asks himself who attended these lectures and courses, although earlier he mentioned that the number of party and trade union functionaries reached 40,000 for Austria and 18,700 for Vienna alone (p. 35). Had he done so, he would have been forced to pose other questions: What effect did these formal educational and cultural activities have on the party/trade union rank and file? Has the extent of the SDAP cultural program been somewhat romanticized in its purported influence on the working-class base?

What we tend to get from Weidenholzer is the official position of the party. A case in point is his treatment of the lectures and schools for women. These, he claims, were responsive to the real lives of their audiences. A comparison of the trite subjects he lists with the angry letters one can find in *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*, *Die Unzufriedene*, or the daily life of women workers exposed in Käthe Leichter's *So leben wir: 1320 Industriearbeiterinnen berichten über ihr Leben*, clearly leads one to the opposite conclusion. But Weidenholzer does deal quite well with the moralizing quality of the party's cultural activities. He shows how various worker »deviations« from the high standards set by the leaders — alcohol and tobacco consumption, dancing, gambling, cinema attendance, church membership, love of military parades and flags, and all light entertainments without political content — were criticized and ridiculed in the party press. But he does not seem to grasp the significance of these »deviations« and their censure from above for the whole subject of working-class culture. One is forced to ask: Are there not several cultures here, and much in conflict, behind the facade of statistics showing the growth of a culture apparatus? Any photograph of one of the party luminaries addressing a group of workers or any biography of the former put side by side with the daily party press reports of scenes from actual working-class life suggests that there are fundamental differences between the officially celebrated program and the social reality.

But, perhaps, these demands on the author are unfair, considering that the research for this book was done between 1974 and 1975 and accepted as a dissertation in 1977. It is unfortunate that he has refrained from revising his original text for this edition of 1981. For, surely, then he would have had to consider the questions suggested here and posed much more completely and trenchantly in the first class monographs and essays of Alfred Pfoser, Dieter Langewiesche, Peter Kulemann, Edith Rigler, Helene Maimann, Joseph Ehmer, Reinhard Sieder, Hans Hautmann, and others.

Helmuth Gruber