

- ondanks hun afkeer van zijn persoon - het enthousiasme en de dynamiek wel waarderen, zij lieten Schmidt toe in het PB en namen er later Banning en Vorrink in op, en bovenal: de meesten van hen hebben nog meegewerkt aan de vernieuwing van de grondslagen in 1937. Tenslotte is de SDAP de enige grote partij in Nederland geweest, die zichzelf vóór 1940 grondig vernieuwd heeft.

Verder: aan algemene beschouwingen over het marxisme geeft Cohen zich zelden over. Gelukkig maar, want de enkele keren, dat hij dat doet, begeeft hij zich kennelijk op glad ijs. Eén voorbeeld: het is onjuist om te stellen, dat Lenins opvatting, dat de arbeidersklasse door een bewuste socialistische voorhoede geleid moet worden (een voorhoede, die volgens Lenin niet per se uit intellectuelen moest bestaan, zoals Cohen suggereert), 'met het Marxisme niet te verenigen is' (9). In het denken van Marx zitten zowel deterministische als voluntaristische elementen en men kan alleen zeggen, dat Lenin de voluntaristische eenzijdig beklemtoond heeft, zoals vele reformisten het de deterministische deden.

Een te oppervlakkige kennis van wat buiten zijn eigenlijke onderwerp ligt blijkt ook uit wat Cohen op pagina 11 schrijft over de vooroorlogse Duitse sociaal-democratie: deze moest volgens Cohen wel revolutionair zijn, omdat ze 'nooit verder (kon) komen dan tot een zekere 'negatieve integratie', d.w.z. dat ze zich wel op legale wijze kon organiseren, maar dat ze van alle leidende posities in de maatschappij uitgesloten bleef'. De half-autoritaire structuur van het Wilhelmijnische Duitsland leidde inderdaad tot een opvallende discrepantie tussen de grote numerieke kracht van de Duitse sociaal-democratie en haar geringe politieke invloed. Maar Cohens bewering gaat veel te ver. Er zaten in 1912 in Duitsland reeds 104 socialistische stedelijke en 204 in landelijke gemeentebesturen. Bij alle verbale revolutionaire gezindheid was de Duitse sociaal-democratie dan ook al lang voor 1914 reformistisch tot in het merg!

Deze paar kritische opmerkingen mogen wat lang uitgevallen zijn, zij moeten niettemin gezien worden als kanttekeningen op een boek, dat ik als geheel zeer geslaagd en zeer belangrijk acht.

A. A. de Jonge

Imke Klaver, *Herinneringen van een friese landarbeider. Enkele opgetekende zaken uit het jongste verleden tot 1925. Oantinkens fan in fryske lânarbeider. Inkele oanteikene dingen út de jonge tiid oan 1925*. Ingeleid door Ger Harmsen Aantekeningen van Johan Frieswijk (Sunschrift LXXI; Nijmegen: Socialistiese Uitgeverij Nijmegen, 1974, 245 blz., f 10,-); *It libben fan Gerrit Roorda. Opskreaun troch Kerst Huisman* (s.l.: Alternatyf/De Tille [1973], vii + 291 blz., f 13,90).

In de crisisonstandigheden van de jaren 1880 heeft het socialisme ingang gevonden bij brede lagen van de arbeidersbevolking in het zuidoosten van Friesland. In deze contreien vond men het befaamde kiesdistrikt Schoterland, dat in 1888 Domela Nieuwenhuis naar de Tweede Kamer afvaardigde en dat van 1897 tot 1909 in het parlement was vertegenwoordigd door Van der Zwaag, een 'vrije socialist' (noch sociaal-democraat, noch anarchist).

Rond de eeuwwisseling bestond hier volgens Ger Harmsen een bloeiende 'vrije socialistische cultuur', die werd gedragen door een wijdvertakt socialistisch verenigingsleven. Harmsen stelt vast dat deze cultuur nog nauwelijks de aandacht van de geschiedschrijvers heeft getrokken. Misschien kunnen die nu toch op smaak gebracht worden door de onlangs verschenen herinneringen van de landarbeider Imke Klaver (1880-1967), een verte-

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