

complexities of the bureaucratic in-fighting and the more or less secretive personal and impersonal inner-sanctum codes that epitomized elite norms of behaviour in ruling communist parties.

Three or four chapters, including Frédéric Zalewski's on 'party pluralism' in Poland, reflect in some detail on the reasons for the collapse of the seemingly impregnable communist regimes in the autumn of 1989. The overall consensus appears to be that the ruling parties were fractured by the late 1980s between 'reformers' and 'conservatives'; local party secretaries and officials were unable to respond to citizens' demands and complaints in the increasingly harsh socio-economic climate; and hence the parties fatally lost their internal sense of cohesion, activism and purpose. By 1989, in short, too many functionaries, not to mention rank-and-file members, simply gave up the ghost. To this extent, the authors confirm that it was more a case of implosion 'from within' than 'people power' or the dissident movements that lay at the heart of the demise of Soviet-style communism. Padraic Kenney concludes the volume by suggesting several crucial avenues of future research, not the least of which are 'the party's moral code', its paternalistic relationship to society and the abiding difficulties of party-state interactions and mutual dependencies (354–6).

There are one or two drawbacks to the volume. The lack of coverage of the Hungarian, Romanian and Bulgarian parties is to be regretted, though it is perhaps explainable by space constraints. Another flaw is the occasionally imprecise and stilted nature of the English – it is not clear if some of the chapters are translated, but in any case, tighter copy-editing is necessary. Regardless, this is an impressive, thought-provoking and innovative anthology that should become compulsory reading for specialists and higher-level students alike.

Xavier Bougarel, Raphaëlle Branche and Cloé Drieu, eds, *Combatants of Muslim Origin in European Armies in the Twentieth Century: Far From Jihad*, Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2017; 256 pp.; 9781474249423, £65.00 (hbk); 9781350085893, £28.99 (pbk); 9781474249430, £70.20 (ebook)

**Reviewed by:** Christian Koller, *Swiss Social Archives/University of Zurich, Switzerland*

The focus of recent military history research on social and cultural aspects of war has raised, inter alia, the question of the combatants' religious belonging and practices. In view of current discussions about jihadist movements, the role of Muslim soldiers in European armies is an extremely interesting topic. During the 20th century and especially in its first half, millions of soldiers of Muslim origin fought in the ranks of European armies. In the First World War, more than 2 million were enrolled in the Russian, British Indian, French, Austro-Hungarian and German armies. In the Second World War, several million Muslims fought in the Red Army, 700,000 in the British Indian Army and half a million in the French forces, with smaller contingents fighting in the Wehrmacht, the Waffen-SS and the Dutch army. Thus, Muslim presence not only reflected the European empires' expansion into North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia and the Indian

Subcontinent, but also the legacy of the Ottoman Empire's former presence in large parts of South Eastern Europe.

This excellent volume, edited by Xavier Bougarel, Raphaëlle Branche and Cloé Drieu, is committed to an approach that convincingly combines structural and micro-historical perspectives. First of all, the incorporation of large numbers of soldiers of Muslim origin into armies of the European empires challenged colonial and imperial orders. Nearly all Muslim soldiers belonged to social groups with inferior status as colonized subjects (or in the case of French recruitment in West Africa in many cases even came from a slave background). The military order being more egalitarian than the colonial one, not only the relationship between colonizers and colonized, but also the order within the colonized societies was shaken. Secondly, European armies incorporating Muslim soldiers were confronted with the question of loyalty and resistance. Whilst the attempt of the Ottoman leaders and their German allies to use Islam as a political weapon against the Entente powers in World War I was of limited success, manifold forms of resistance – or at least distance – to the colonial order on the micro-level existed indeed. However, forms of loyalty to the imperial rulers were quite as diverse and most soldiers of Muslim origin were, as the volume's subtitle states, far from jihad. Another topic covered by several of the volume's contributions is the question of religious practice by Muslims in European armies and the ways, the European rulers institutionalized the presence of different religious groups in their armies. These different points eventually lead to the question about a specific 'Muslim experience' of European warfare.

The volume covers the deployment of Muslim soldiers both in Europe and in extra-European theatres of war. Several contributions focus on the African troops in the French armies of the two World Wars. Gilbert Meynier, drawing from his ground-breaking study from 1981, discusses the role, motivation and aftermath of Algerian soldiers in the First World War. Emmanuelle Cronier's contribution provides a comparative analysis of food arrangements for Muslim soldiers in the French and British armies during World War I on both European and Middle Eastern theatres of war. Claire Miot concentrates on the role of 'Officers for Muslim Military Affairs' in de Lattre de Tassigny's forces in 1944–45. And Julie Le Gac shows how French psychiatrists dealt with war neuroses among Muslim soldiers during World War II.

Two more contributions cover Muslim soldiers in the Russian armies of the World Wars: Salavat M. Iskhakov concentrates on Turkic Muslims during World War I, who accounted for about 10 per cent of the Russian army's total strength, discussing both their overall situation and the impact of the two 1917 revolutions on the questions of 'Muslimification' and 'nationalization' of the armed forces. Kiril Feferman analyzes perceptions and self-perceptions of soviet Central Asian soldiers in the Red Army during the Second World War. Contributions on Muslim soldiers fighting for Germany include Tanja Bühner's study of the German colonial troops in East Africa and their Muslim *Askaris* from 1889 till the end of World War I and Xavier Bougarel's analysis of the 13th SS Division *Handschar*, which was created in 1943 to recruit Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The book

is concluded by the only chapter covering parts of the second half of the 20th century, Daniel Owen Spence's contribution on Muslim sailors in the British colonial navies from the Second World War to the end of the British Empire.

On balance, this volume is a significant contribution of scholarship that treats the topic with impressive breadth and depth and strikingly demonstrates the complex social and cultural interconnections between religion, imperial orders and warfare.

Matthew Broad, *Harold Wilson, Denmark and the Making of Labour European Policy, 1958–72*, Liverpool University Press: Liverpool, 2017; 304 pp.; 9781786940483, £80.00 (hbk); 9781786948298, £80.00 (ebook)

**Reviewed by:** David Redvaldsen, *University College London, UK*

In May 1967, the Labour government under Harold Wilson applied for British membership of the European Economic Community. Back in opposition in October 1971, Wilson ordered Labour MPs on a three-line whip to vote against membership. How can this turnaround be explained? Broad sees merit in the accepted explanation that the party had tilted against membership in the intervening years. He also thinks that trade union threats to withdraw funding and a possible leadership challenge by James Callaghan were influential in Wilson's decision. To the general student of British history, this is perhaps the most interesting question answered in the book. For the student of accession to the European Union, Broad's contribution is a feast, as it gives very precise archival-based information relating to Britain's and Denmark's membership bids. While it is well-known that Denmark (and, incidentally, Norway) followed the British lead on this issue, tabling its own applications in 1961 and 1967, Broad shows how anxious the Danish Social Democrats were to persuade their British counterparts about the merits of joining. Their traditional base, however, was divided on the wisdom of joining what was perceived as a capitalist club, with the result that the Social Democrats were swept from power in 1973.

Broad's offering is a real achievement on intra-party and inter-party relations concerning Labour and *Socialdemokratiet*. It is a thorough account of how minds were made up in response to the most salient issue of the 1960s for Britain and Denmark, namely whether to abandon the European Free Trade Association for the Community, despite the latter putting greater strains on their sovereignty. Denmark, whose biggest market for its agricultural products was Britain but which also exported substantially to West Germany, preferred an arrangement whereby all three countries belonged to the same trade block. To what extent its leaders' views carried weight will be touched on below, but the author documents that talks were held and other interactions took place. The Europhile former Foreign Secretary George Brown intervened in the Danish referendum campaign just before Danes went to the polls in October 1972 by stating that a future Labour government would not withdraw Britain from the EEC.