

Reviews / Comptes Rendus

Volume 76, Fall 2015

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1034480ar>

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Publisher(s)

Canadian Committee on Labour History

ISSN

0700-3862 (print)

1911-4842 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

Cite this review

(2015). Review of [Reviews / Comptes Rendus]. *Labour / Le Travail*, 76, 213–295.

REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Ian Milligan, *Rebel Youth: 1960s Labour Unrest, Young Workers, and New Leftists in English Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2014)

WHILE THE HISTORIOGRAPHY of the US New Left is rich and varied enough to have already gone through several waves of revision, scholarship on the Canadian New Left has been sparse. With the notable exception of studies of Québécois nationalism and the Quiet Revolution, relatively little has been written about the panoply of movements that erupted and flamed out across English and French Canada over the course of the 1960s and early 1970s. To the extent that such scholarship exists, it has focused largely on the student-led and “new social movement” aspects of the New Left. Here the dominant narrative has been one of “children of privilege” rejecting the values of their parents and the class-based “Old Left” to found movements based on identities and lifestyles.

Fortunately, a new generation of scholarship has developed in recent years to challenge the “children of privilege” narrative. Contributions from Sean Mills, Bryan Palmer, Joan Sangster, Peter McInnis, Benjamin Isitt, two significant edited volumes, and several dissertations have begun to paint a much more nuanced – and interesting – picture of the “long 1960s.” While recognizing the “newness” of the Canadian New Left, this new scholarship has highlighted both its global dimensions, as well as its

links with a decidedly older Left, particularly that based in the labour movement. Although these links were complex and often fraught with conflict, they were an essential part of creating the Canadian New Left.

To this developing body of New Left scholarship we can welcome the addition of Ian Milligan’s *Rebel Youth: 1960s Labour Unrest, Young Workers, and New Leftists in English Canada*. Milligan’s book aims to “demonstrate the salience of labour and how this significantly affected the direction of radical and not-so-radical political and cultural movements through the long sixties.” (11) While campus revolts must be part of any telling of the New Left’s story, and are certainly featured in *Rebel Youth*, Milligan’s focus extends far beyond the universities. He argues that understanding what was happening in the workplace was central to understanding the New Left.

The first two chapters of *Rebel Youth* outline the contours of this broader perspective on youth revolt in the 1960s. We encounter not only the well-known campus radicals, but the young Inco miners in Sudbury gathered at the mine cages, banging their lunch pails in defense of their customary right to have lunch before their shift. We meet the anti-authoritarian, pot-smoking “long-hairs” working the lines at Inglis and Chrysler. They shared with their college-bound contemporaries a common youth culture, characterized by “personal freedom, individual expression, and democracy above all else,” which did not mix well

with the authoritarian structures of the university and workplace alike. (22) But Milligan is careful to note that within this shared culture, there were important differences along race, gender, and class lines. These differences created divisions that would prove difficult to overcome as the movements of the 1960s developed.

The next two chapters focus on youth revolt in the workplace, and how the campus-based left understood and responded to this revolt. Imbued with the anti-authoritarianism of the period, young workers chafed at basic workplace indignities and arbitrary rules that their seniors accepted, such as miners having to heat their lunch using electric wiring from the underground lighting system. (43) They also often rebelled against their official union leadership, engaging in unsanctioned wildcat strikes in the late 1960s on an unprecedented scale. This revolt spilled over into internal union politics, leading to leadership challenges and injecting new militancy into unions in auto, steel, and mining. While some union leaders resisted calls for change others, like United Auto Workers Canadian Director Dennis McDermott, sought to engage younger workers.

Meanwhile, campus New Leftists sought to make sense of this workplace revolt. Many had embraced the idea, popularized by intellectuals such as C. Wright Mills and Herbert Marcuse, that postwar prosperity had placated the working class, which could no longer serve as the central agent of social change. Instead, they argued that change would come from the ranks of "the dispossessed," a looser term encompassing the urban poor, First Nations people, students, and people of colour. As a result, early New Left efforts to expand beyond the campus took the form of organizing in poor and First Nations communities, such as the Kingston Community Project and the Student Neestow Partnership

Project. But, as with similar New Left community organizing initiatives in the US, these Canadian efforts proved fleeting. By the late 1960s, there was a growing realization among student New Leftists that class remained centrally important, and that an alliance of some sort with workers would be necessary.

The question, as Milligan explores, was what shape that alliance might take. Student New Left efforts to engage with working class struggles exposed the cultural, material, and ideological chasms that separated the students from their working class peers. At the same time, the overwhelmingly male student New Left leadership's ossified conception of class left it blind to dynamics of patriarchy and sexism within their own movements. The result was conflict and acrimonious splits within New Left organizations, but also a feminist-led push to expand notions of what the working class was beyond industrial factory workers, and to build organizations that addressed working class women's issues, such as the BC-based Service, Office, and Retail Workers Union of Canada (SORWUC).

The remaining chapters of Milligan's book offer case studies of key struggles, both on campus and on the picket line, that defined the fraught relationship between workers and student New Leftists in this period. The narrative culminates in a retelling of the 1973 Artistic Woodwork strike, which for Milligan encapsulates the strengths and weaknesses of the labour-New Left relationship.

The core strength underpinning *Rebel Youth* is the voices of those involved in the events he recounts. Given the paucity of written records, Milligan collected more than seventy oral histories from key participants. They provide insight into the debates and discussions that animated the New Left. As Milligan is careful to point out, they also provide a particular perspective on the movements

of the period. His interview sample was predominantly male, and skewed more towards former campus radicals and labour leaders than worker activists. Nonetheless, this collection of primary source data and first-person accounts is a remarkable achievement in itself, and will no doubt prove to be a valuable resource for future scholars of the Canadian sixties.

Rebel Youth has other flaws that go deeper than the limited perspectives of its oral histories. Most significant is its lack of analytical focus. Milligan begins *Rebel Youth* by setting out to “demonstrate the salience of labour,” and Chapters 1 and 2 do a good job of incorporating workers’ perspectives into New Left history. But, as the book unfolds, the workers tend to fade into the background and the story becomes much more about campus-based New Leftists and their sometimes more, sometimes less, successful efforts to support working class struggles. Similarly, Milligan’s very conception of the New Left and its constituents shifts over the course of the book. While he notes in Chapter 2 that young workers saw themselves as part of the New Left, (44) for much of the book he counterposes “New Leftists,” by which he means student activists, and workers. To what extent does the author see the two groups as separate, or as different parts of the same movement? Milligan vacillates on the question. His narrative also lacks cohesion and can be difficult to follow at times. The individual cases and stories are engaging, but it remains unclear why Milligan selected these cases, or how they work together to develop a broader argument. Overall, the manuscript could have benefited from more careful research design and more thorough editing.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, *Rebel Youth* is a much-needed addition to the scholarship on labour and the New Left in 1960s Canada. Readers wanting to

know more about this critical period will find much of interest, and Milligan’s work will provide an important base for future research.

BARRY EIDLIN

Rutgers University

Gordon Hak, *The Left in British Columbia: A History of Struggle* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press 2013)

THIS IMPORTANT BOOK examines a vital topic in Canadian working-class history – the political trajectory on the “left coast” of British Columbia from its origins in the 19th century to the present. Hak’s approach is moderate and balanced rather than Marxist, evident in his selection, structuring, and discussion of subject matter and themes. To be sure, Communists, anarchists, and other radical activists and currents receive proper attention, but Hak is careful to reach out to the diversity of left perspectives and working-class viewpoints in crafting this survey work.

He traces the history of BC’s left from the standpoint of the working class, broadly conceived, with the objective of identifying a movement capable of inspiring and mobilizing a majority of people in a project for far-reaching social and economic change. As a result, Hak’s association with familiar protagonists and institutions is necessarily detached, meaning that some readers, particularly those most familiar with aspects of BC’s left history, or those who most strongly identify with particular ideologies or organizations, may feel their pet topic has received short shrift. Hak’s generous and inclusive approach produces a high-quality work that is accessible to general readers, while providing a valuable contribution for specialist scholars and post-secondary educators. The book is readable and inviting, employing plain

language, effective illustrations, and a useful glossary.

A survey work of this scope, given the abundance of prior specialist studies, is a challenging assignment and Hak delivers with competence and finesse. He provides useful original insight on the politics of craft workers and others in the 19th century and traces the trajectory of electoralism from “Lib-Labism” and the pre-World War I Socialist Party, through the various labourist parties of the inter-war period, to the ebbs and flows of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the New Democratic Party, immersed in the broader political, social, and economic context. Actors from Knights of Labor to Single Taxers to Wobblies to New Leftists to the Squamish Five are woven into the tapestry.

Hak also situates the British Columbia left in global context, demonstrating how international events – the Russian Revolution, world wars, economic depressions, Keynesian interventions, oil shocks, trade agreements, climate summits, Occupy protests – as well as national factors such as the Reform Party and Idle No More – influenced developments in BC.

To be sure, there are aspects of the book that could be developed more fully, particularly discussion of the relationship between the Left and women, workers of colour, and indigenous people. Specific themes such as the social gospel, the co-operative movement, and working-class culture are hardly mentioned, reflecting the challenges of telling a complex story in a compact and accessible way.

Hak deftly pursues the connection between left politics and union organization and struggle throughout the book, as well as the interplay of radicalism, reformism, and militancy. Comparing the Industrial Workers of the World to more conventional forms of labour organization, Hak discusses the trade-off between “the loss of democracy” and “the ability

to wield more power on behalf of workers.” (59) Examining how the Communist Party eclipsed other radical left formations, Hak suggests the party “built on a successful revolution, provided a concrete institutional structure, and exuded the promise of a new international order” (66) – before the process of Stalinization “blunted discussion, and hence creativity, and ensured the future ossification of revolutionary Marxism in British Columbia.” (73)

Of social democracy, Hak acknowledges the limitations of the CCF and NDP programs in opposition and in government, while suggesting (in relation to the defeat of the Barrett government in 1975) that “the NDP had sizeable electoral support and it had the ability to scare the business community.” (143) Turning to the neoliberal era and the Solidarity movement’s challenge to Restraint in 1983, Hak posits that “Social Credit had transgressed fundamental values in a modern liberal society ... but the transgression was not sufficient to raise questions about the legitimacy of established state and democratic institutions.” (156)

The book is particularly strong in its closing sections, where Hak provides a thoughtful and timely analysis of the challenges and opportunities confronting the BC left from ascendant ecological consciousness, organization, and electoral support. He explores the tension between working-class economic interests and environmental concerns over the management and conservation of natural resources, examining how “the left and the Greens remained aloof from each other,” (175) both electorally and more broadly in the provincial political landscape. Seeking to bridge class interests and post-materialist ecological values, Hak suggests the need for “a political and union movement that integrates the left and environmentalism or an environmental movement that critically engages

capitalist institutions and ideals.” He posits that the ecological crisis could “serve as a catalyst” for the left to transcend the stultifying conditions of the neoliberalism.

Hak is both a realist and a dreamer, acknowledging that “working-class political identities in a liberal capitalist society are indeed complex.” (167) He concludes the book with powerful commentary that people in British Columbia and other lands would be wise to consider: “In the long-term, if the goal is to construct a society based on leftist principles and ideals, and not merely to elect an NDP government, the battle for the hearts and minds of working and lower-middle-class-right populists will be important. To be successful, the left will have to acknowledge the insecurities, hopes and interests of these right populists ... [and] develop solutions that are more persuasive than those coming from the right.” (201)

BENJAMIN ISITT
University of Victoria

Gerald Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013)

GERALD TULCHINSKY’S fascinating biography of Joe Salsberg explores the multifaceted nature of this prominent activist’s complex life. Born in a small town in Poland in 1902, Salsberg immigrated to Canada in 1913 and grew up in an Orthodox Jewish environment. In Toronto, he began a full-time job as a clothing worker at the age of thirteen and became a committed trade unionist. As Tulchinsky demonstrates, Salsberg’s subsequent life of intense activism revolved around two identities: his Jewishness and his working-class culture of solidarity.

Drawn at first to the Left Labour Zionist movement as a response to deep

currents of anti-Semitism in both the Old and New Worlds, Salsberg joined the Communist Party of Canada in 1926 largely because of his growing conviction that the Soviet Union would not only advance the cause of the working class but would also create an environment where anti-Semitism would be completely condemned and Yiddish culture would thrive. As a committed Communist, he became a leading – but by no means orthodox – Party figure, playing an especially prominent role building the Workers’ Unity League (WUL) during the first half of the Great Depression. As Tulchinsky stresses, Salsberg stayed in the Party until 1957 despite the fact that, as early as the 1930s, he began to have serious misgivings about the treatment of Jews in the USSR. Tulchinsky also examines Salsberg’s stint as city councillor (intermittently in the late 1930s and early 1940s) and as an openly Communist member of the Ontario Legislature from 1943 to 1955. The last section of the book then focuses on Salsberg’s later years as a journalist for the *Canadian Jewish News* and as a Jewish activist who strove to confront the influence of the “allrightniks” (those who were upwardly mobile and forgot their working-class roots) within Canada’s Jewish community. In this phase of his life, Salsberg struggled against the narrow religiosity and consumerism that he believed were becoming so influential in the Jewish mainstream.

A highly prominent scholar of Canadian Jewish history, Tulchinsky is perceptive when elucidating Salsberg’s Jewish concerns. One of the important strengths of the book is the way in which the author captures the sounds and the flavour of the *yiddishe gassen*, the neighbourhood along Toronto’s Spadina Avenue where so many immigrant Jews congregated in the early years. Highlighting this neighbourhood culture, Tulchinsky explains why many non-Communist Jews continued

to vote for the charismatic Salsberg well into the Cold War period.

Tulchinsky also grapples with why Salsberg continued to stay in the Party for so long despite his growing awareness of the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union. Salsberg refrained from publicly criticizing the increasing Soviet anti-Semitism until he finally broke with the Party completely in the wake of the Stalin Revelations. Tulchinsky provides a fascinating account of the growing evidence of Soviet anti-Semitism and the searing debates among Jewish Communists and some of their leading non-Jewish counterparts about how to interpret these developments and how to react them. He details Salsberg's determined efforts, in the mid-1950s, to build pressure within the Party to force a change in Soviet policy toward Jews, and he explains how Salsberg finally gave up these efforts when he reluctantly concluded that the policy would not change enough under Khrushchev.

Tulchinsky also provides an important overview of Salsberg's actions in the provincial parliament. While he parried anti-Semitic barbs and red-baiting within the legislature, Salsberg supported such causes as an increased minimum wage, better factory safety standards, improved old age pensions, prison reform, and day nurseries for the children of working mothers. In advance of the rise of left nationalism in this country, he criticized the extension of US power and economic interests in Canada. As Tulchinsky also emphasizes, Salsberg worked intensely to promote anti-discrimination legislation, yet the author might also have highlighted the fact that Salsberg's efforts along these lines were not always welcomed by human rights activists who sometimes feared that his involvement would fuel their opponents' efforts to dismiss rights activism as a "Communist plot."

When focusing on the interwar years, Tulchinsky stresses Salsberg's vital contributions to the Canadian labour movement. Salsberg played a leading role in the rise of industrial unionism, organizing a wide variety of groups, including clothing workers, steelworkers, autoworkers, and merchant seamen. Despite Salsberg's importance to the Communists' WUL during the Party's Third Period (1928–1935), Tulchinsky gives less weight to the impact of Party policy in these contentious years. Less emphasis is also given to explaining why the Party switched to building separate Communist unions in the late 1920s, abandoning its earlier emphasis on "boring from within" the established unions. The author briefly describes Salsberg's standard Third-Period Communist critique of the allegedly corrupt unions – including the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers – but does not stop to assess the validity of such criticism. Tulchinsky also describes Salsberg's calls for labour unity in the midst of the highly sectarian Third Period but does not examine the impact of dual unionism in the clothing sector even though Salsberg was the national organizer of the WUL's Industrial Union of Needle Trades Workers.

When describing how Salsberg re-engaged with the mainstream Jewish community after leaving the Communist Party, Tulchinsky asserts that Salsberg "was coming home": "In this new phase, in reality the second half of his life, Salsberg became what he truly was ... a public Jewish conscience, a secular rabbi pursuing causes that would elevate the minds and spirits of Toronto's Jews caught in what he saw as the downdraft of North American modernity." (121) Whether or not one agrees with the author's assessment that this phase of Salsberg's life most embodied who he truly was, Tulchinsky has provided a valuable and

absorbing account of one of the most important and intriguing Jewish labour leaders in Canadian history.

RUTH A. FRAGER
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Patryk Polec, *Hurrah Revolutionaries: The Polish Canadian Communist Movement, 1918–1948* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press 2015)

HURRAH REVOLUTIONARIES is designed to be a social history of politics – one that consciously seeks to fill rather notable gaps in the historiographies of Polish-Canadian studies and ethnic radicalism in Canada. Even better, it is a work which, as the author puts it, is largely “based on recently discovered Polish consular files.” (xx) As such, the expectations of those who care about social, cultural, ethnic and labour history will be high when they start reading the substantive parts of Polec’s work. Polish-Canadian radicalism has most assuredly been understudied, and has either been dismissed as virtually non-existent or a mere adjunct of Ukrainian-Canadian radicalism. The inherent promise to offer the history of Polish-Canadian radicalism the same level of scholarly attention as has already been accorded to the Finnish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Hungarian, Russian and Croatian “lefts” is heady stuff, especially when compounded by the always intriguing prospect of new insights being provided through the use of a heretofore largely untouched set of source materials. In short, the scholarly bar has been set quite high.

Polec starts his work well. In theoretical and methodological terms, he successfully blends Benedict Anderson’s notion of an imagined community with Ian McKay’s “reconnaissance approach” to the history of the Canadian left. Perhaps even more to the point, in his early

chapters he does a fine job of setting the problem of Polish-Canadian radicalism in the larger context of Polish-Canadian and Polish history. To accomplish this Polec brings together the best scholarship on the Polish diaspora, 19th century Polish history, and the far from pleasant North American experience of most Polish immigrants in the pre-World War II era. He then moves on to his more substantive research on the Polish-Canadian left – its leaders (particularly Dutkiewicz, Polka and Morski), its organizations (the Polish Workers and Farmers Association, the Polish People’s Association, and the Polish Democratic Association), and especially its press (*Głos Pracy* was the most important in this regard). It is of considerable importance that Polec never fails to interweave this story with the history of more mainstream Polonia, especially the religious and secular organizations which helped to inform the attitudes of many Polish Canadians. Polec is at his best when describing the antagonism which existed between the patriotism, conservatism and religiosity of most Poles and the overtly internationalist and atheist Polish Communists, particularly when analyzing the ways in which those antagonisms were partially (and briefly) overcome in the late 1930s, allowing the Polish-Canadian Communist movement to have its moment in the sun.

One of the author’s core contentions is that whereas the leaders of the Polish-Canadian Communist movement had, for the most part, been radicalized before they arrived in Canada, much of the rank and file membership were radicalized by conditions in the new world – by the experience of mistreatment at the hands of the often nativist dominant society and by the economic difficulties associated with life in Canada – particularly the experience of the Great Depression. Still, for all the harsh living and working conditions of Polish immigrants and

despite what Polec describes as the heroic efforts of the small and dedicated band of Polish-Canadian Communists who led the movement prior to the mid-1930s, Communists had only limited success with Polish immigrants. The religious and nationalistic predispositions of most Polish-Canadians made them relatively resistant to the appeal of the Communists. In Polec's analysis, it was the arrival of a new leader in 1935 – Alfred Morski – at the same time that the Comintern was mandating the adoption of the less confrontational tactics and rhetoric of the Popular Front, that changed this, albeit briefly. Between the impact of the Depression, Morski's seemingly less doctrinaire positions on religion and nationalism, and the growing popularity of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), the Polish-Canadian pro-communist movement became a significant force. However, it did not last long. The coming of World War II, the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, the Soviet occupation of parts of Poland, the wartime atrocities committed against Poles by Soviet forces, the creation of a Soviet-dominated "independent" Polish government after the war, and perhaps most importantly, the arrival of a new wave of well-educated and militantly anti-communist Polish emigres brought this newfound popularity to a crashing halt. With the deepening of the Cold War after 1947 the Polish-Canadian Communist movement went into a steep decline – an even more dramatic and profound decline than that experienced by other parts of the Canadian Communist movement.

As the above summary indicates, Polec certainly deepens our understanding of the Polish-Canadian pro-communist left, and for this he is to be congratulated. However, there are some weaknesses. First and foremost, his work is frustratingly vague when dealing with anyone outside of a handful of leaders. All too

often readers are told that sources simply do not exist which would allow the author to go beyond an analysis of the leadership. But even here, key struggles between leaders such as Morski and Dutkiewicz are not plumbed to any great depth. Nor is the relationship between the leadership of the CPC and the Polish leaders examined. And much the same can be said about some of the key battles between the CPC and its ethnic affiliates – which clearly had an impact upon the Polish-Canadian Communists. In effect, all too often the reader is left wanting more.

Unfortunately, the Polish Consular records which are central to this study simply do not allow for an in-depth analysis of the inner workings of the Polish-Canadian Communist movement. They provide an outside and overtly anti-communist view which, while valuable, would benefit by being balanced with sources which provide an internal viewpoint. In this regard it needs to be noted that as valuable as Greg Kealey and Reg Whitaker's edited series of RCMP *Security Bulletins* may be, these do not provide the needed counter-balance. Indeed, one cannot help but feel that Polec is a bit over-reliant upon these volumes for much of his core data on Polish Communists – as witnessed by the incredible number of references drawn from these works. This raises a key question, at least in my mind: why did the author not make use of the readily accessible Comintern records which relate to the Canadian party and its constituent parts. Although the Communist International fonds were cited in the bibliography, not a single footnote was based upon this invaluable source.

It must also be said that Polec was not well served by his editors. Several simple mistakes should have been caught before this book went to press: settlers did not get 150 acres for \$10.00 (37);

unlike the Trades and Labor Congress, the Industrial Workers of the World was not “generally hostile to immigrants” (53); there was no “Thalmud Torah Hall” in Winnipeg (137); Tim Buck was not interned during World War II (159) – and the list goes on and on. Beyond this, awkward constructions, occasionally inappropriate word choices, and a forgotten word here and there – for example a “not” was dropped in a crucial part of the Conclusion – are all a bit irritating. These are small matters, but collectively they mar an otherwise useful work.

Still, having said this, while *Hurrah Revolutionaries* does not fully live up to its promise, it still makes a valuable contribution to the literature and will be the go-to work on Polish-Canadian radicalism for some time to come.

JIM MOCHORUK

University of North Dakota

Alexey Golubev and Irina Takala, *The Search for a Socialist El Dorado: Finnish Immigration to Soviet Karelia from the United States and Canada in the 1930s* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2014)

BETWEEN 1931 AND 1934, more than 6000 Finns from the United States and Canada moved to Soviet Karelia, located in northwest Russia on the border with Finland. Although the immigrants departed with high hopes, they were shocked by conditions when they arrived, and some quickly returned to North America. For those who stayed, the experience often was quite harsh and, in 1937 and 1938, many of the men were caught up in the Stalinist purges; several hundred of them were executed and buried in unmarked graves. In most cases, their fates were unreported and families often did not learn the truth of their deaths until decades later. The North American

Finnish immigration to Karelia was known as “Karelian fever” and has attracted attention in recent decades, especially in the Finnish diaspora in the US and Canada and in Finland itself.

A few people researched the topic prior to the 1980s, beginning with the pioneering work of Finnish historian Reino Kero. But the key development that has made it possible for scholars to study Karelian fever in depth was the opening of previously closed Soviet archives in the late 1980s and 1990s. Irina Takala probably is the leading scholar in this field, publishing widely in Russian on this episode and related topics for more than 25 years. She and Alexey Golubey have worked extensively in Karelian archives and utilized interviews with survivors of Karelian fever and their families. In some respects, *The Search for a Socialist El Dorado* is the culmination of a generation of research conducted in Russia, Finland, Canada, and the US. Though there are some real points of disagreement among those who have worked on this topic, Golubey and Takala have treated the difference perspectives with balance and provide the most substantial treatment of North American Finnish immigration to Karelia to date.

Karelia itself holds a special place in Finnish culture in that it was the land of the *Kalevela*, or the source of the tales and legends that made up the epic poem of Finland. With the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Finland became independent from Russia, and Karelia emerged as a borderland in where the population consisted largely of Karelians, a non-Slavic people who spoke dialects of Finnish, and Russians. For practical political reasons, Lenin agreed to turn over the leadership of Karelia to “Red Finns” who had lost out in the Finnish Civil War of 1918. In addition to their small numbers, there were other Finns who crossed over into Karelia in the 1920s and 1930s

(or “border hoppers”), but the two largest ethnic groups there were native Karelians and Russians, whose numbers would continue to increase as a result of migration from other parts of the Soviet Union. During the period when Red Finns dominated government and economy in Karelia, that is, between 1920 and 1935, Finns were a distinct minority of the overall population, roughly 3 percent at its peak. Led by Edvard Gylling and Kustaa Rovio, the Red Finns sought to build a model socialist society and a base that ultimately might serve to establish a “greater socialist Finland,” incorporating Karelia, the Kola Peninsula and, of course, Finland itself. Such dreams, however, reflected a cruel irony that would be turned on the Red Finns in the mid and late 1930s during the Great Purge, as then they were charged with bourgeois nationalism and plotting to detach Karelia from the Soviet Union to join it to capitalist Finland.

The Red Finns always were concerned with the ethnic balance in Karelia and once the Five Year Plan was implemented in 1928, Karelia was assigned the responsibility of producing raw materials for export so as to attract foreign currency. Timber was the region’s greatest natural resource, and now it was required to produce more of that commodity than before. Meeting this demand called for more timber workers, as even more Russian workers migrated to Karelia. To counter-balance this influx, as well as to attract skilled forest workers, the Red Finns sought to recruit Finns from the US and Canada. After some difficulties, Moscow agreed to allow the immigration of North American Finns, and ultimately more than 6000 of them came to Karelia. Not all sections of the Soviet regime approved, however, as the security forces and foreign ministry always opposed the move. Recruitment from left-wing Finish communities abroad was quite

successful, though neither the American or Canadian Communist parties were enthusiastic about these efforts. Hard times at home combined with the appeal of living in a socialist society, including educational opportunity for their children, played a major role in the recruitment drive.

Unfortunately, the new immigrants did not have a realistic idea about what they were getting into. Living and working conditions were worse – much worse – than imagined, and government inefficiency and lack of infrastructure in Karelia proved quite appalling. Many, if not most, adult men ended up working in the timber industry, regardless of their expectations. Some of the newcomers returned to North America as soon as they could; others stuck it out either because they did not have the means to fund the trip home or, and this is an important point that Golubey and Takala make, they continued to hope to take part in building a socialist society. Such hopes were dashed, if not before, by the Great Purge of 1937–38. While Finns were not the sole target of the repressive measures in Karelia, they were disproportionately represented among the victims. The exact number of victims remains unclear, but Finns paid a higher price than either Karelians or Russians despite the fact they were a very small percentage of the overall population. (Among the repressed Finns, border-hoppers suffered even higher losses than the North Americans.) Golubev and Takala point out that minorities in border regions in other parts of the Soviet Union also were disproportionately repressed in 1937–38.

The Search for a Socialist El Dorado understandably is more concerned with the experiences of the North American Finns after they arrived in Karelia. Perhaps, though, they might have devoted more attention to them before they left the US and Canada. At one point, they referred

to them as “mostly urbanized” (113) and leave it at that. Yet while the Red Finns sought to recruit timber workers and other skilled workers, many of the adults who came were farmers or had been farmers previously. Even some who left for Karelia from cities such as Detroit or Chicago had rural backgrounds as well. But agriculture itself was a low priority for Karelia, and only about 3 per cent of the North Americans ended up farming.

Golubev and Takala discuss the significant material and cultural contributions made by these immigrants. Among them were their expertise and tools for the timber industry, as well as their roles in developing Karelian theatre and music, including the introduction of jazz. They also constructed a thirty-six foot stone monument to Lenin which still stands in Petrozavodsk. In the wake of the Great Purge and World War II, however, their efforts were largely overlooked or forgotten. Not until *glasnost* and the fall of the Soviet Union would that change.

The Search for a Socialist El Dorado provides a masterful account of the North American immigrant experience in Karelia. Its authors show a deep understanding of the topic, skillfully utilizing the findings of many others, while demonstrating their own extensive research. This book deserves a wide reading, especially among students of the Finnish diaspora, Finnish and Soviet history, and the broad field of immigration history itself.

WILLIAM C. PRATT

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Maureen Moynagh and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Documenting First Wave Feminisms, Volume I: Transnational Collaborations and Crosscurrents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2012)

Nancy Forestell and Maureen Moynagh, eds., *Documenting First Wave Feminisms, Volume II: Canada – National and Transnational Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2014)

IN 1860, NAHNEBAHWEQUA – Catherine Sutton, an Ojibwa woman, travelled to England to meet the colonial secretary and Queen Victoria seeking justice against Indian Department policy that did not allow Indigenous women to own land. In 1922, Margaret E. Cumming, Irish nationalist, suffragist, and co-founder of the All-India Women’s Conference, praised Afghanistan’s medical university for women, which had 500 students. Turkish Communist Najiye Hanim addressed the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in 1920 explaining that, contrary to popular belief, the question of the chador was not a priority for the woman movement in her country where women, who were obliged to take on social duties because men were fighting in a war, were fighting for equality in the context of global revolutionary movements. These are a few examples from these fascinating documentary readers that illustrate a key contention of *Documenting First Wave Feminisms*. We still have much to learn from how first wave feminists negotiated unequal political and economic relationships that emerged from imperialism and global capitalist expansion.

Moynagh and Forestell compiled these readers because reading documents is the best way to make sense of why collaboration was possible in certain contexts and how conflicts produced by asymmetrical relationships entrenched inequalities

among activists engaged in local and international struggles for women's rights. The documents in Volume I draw on the vibrant historiography of the first wave that uses transnational approaches to examine collaborations and tensions in international women's organizing. Well-known middle-class feminists are included alongside documents written by working-class socialists and nationalist women engaged in anti-colonial movements. In Volume II, the editors hope to instigate a long overdue reevaluation of first wave feminism in Canada, which is underdeveloped in comparison to the rich international historiography. The editors deliberately chose documents that are not as available to students and scholars as canonical texts. Both volumes include documents that demonstrate how hierarchical relationships among women prioritized the goals of white, middle-class activists. A key strength of the collections is the attention to activists who fostered collaborations that challenged hierarchical race and class relations.

The volumes are organized according to parallel themes and document the development of the international woman movement from Seneca Falls in 1848 until the end of World War II when development of rights discourse and the achievement of suffrage in many nations transformed feminism. The documents in both volumes are divided into eight sections that highlight international connections. Volume I begins with feminist writing about the relationship between slavery, abolition, and women's rights. The documents trace the evolution from feminist comparisons between women's subordination and slaves' lives to the emergence of the abolition movement, the first political movement to bring together women from different nationalities and races. *Provincial Freeman* articles written by Mary Ann Shadd Cary in Volume II criticize the hypocrisy in

Toronto abolition societies' apathy towards fugitive slaves living in British North America. Imperialism is a key theme in both volumes. Documents examine the difficult relationships between women from the East and the West in international organizations and include writing by white feminists who cast racialized women as "inferior sisters" who needed to be rescued from backward customs. Anti-colonial feminists talk back to these women, clarifying misperceptions of their cultures held by feminist allies and criticizing men in nationalist movements who did not challenge women's inequality. Imperial connections drew prominent Canadian women dedicated to promoting the British Empire into international organizations. One of the key strengths of the Canadian volume is the inclusion of documents written by women marginalized by race who used imperial ties to promote their rights. In a letter to Lady Aberdeen, Catherine Hay, a Jamaican immigrant who was working as a domestic in Toronto because an earthquake compelled her to leave home, demanded the same treatment as white women in need of protection because she was also a British subject and a Christian. Indigenous women used international organizations as a forum to air grievances about colonial practices introduced by the Canadian government that undermined treaty rights protected by the Crown.

Feminism was the first international movement. Both volumes have a section that examines the tensions between internationalism and nationalisms. Feminists often used the universality of women's inequality in their appeals for a global sisterhood that would transcend national borders. Documents demonstrate how feminists used international connections and the successes of feminist initiatives abroad strategically in national campaigns. The development of the League

of Nations after World War I produced new transnational spaces where women could work together to find solutions for issues, such as the traffic in women, that manifested themselves in particular ways at the local level but required global action. Documents in Volume II reveal that Canadian women from diverse social and economic backgrounds contributed to these debates. Sections on suffrage and citizenship in both volumes explore how the international collaboration of women for the right to vote and to enjoy the same citizenship rights as men bolstered women's conviction to achieve their rights in long and contentious campaigns. At the same time, the decision by international suffrage organizations to support national movements for women's right to vote based on the same criteria as men excluded many women. Both readers include lectures and articles that criticize feminists who endorsed partial suffrage for women. Women's demands for political, economic, and civil rights often failed to challenge other social and economic inequalities. The development of citizenship rights in the context of colonial expansion shaped the dominant arguments about citizenship and women's rights and thus excluded women marginalized by race, ethnicity, class, and religion. The editors include documents on regional movements, such as Pan-Arab feminism, Latin American conferences, and pan-Pacific alliances, that organized women who shared similar experiences of racism rooted in colonialism.

Documents on moral reform, sexuality, and birth control explore both conservative campaigns for moral reform and sex radicals. The international eugenics movement informed thinking on women's sexuality and reproduction and the editors include documents by women who endorsed birth control to protect the race rather than to promote women's rights. Other feminists advocated for

birth control and the right to abortion to protect working-class women from the burden of large families. International socialist and labour organizations drew many women into global politics and both volumes include sections of documents appealing to women to fight for equal rights as workers, social reformers' concerns about poor factory conditions and the morality of working women, and breaking barriers to participation in professions. Both volumes conclude with sections on peace and pacifism. Positioning themselves as mothers of the race and humanity, activists argued that women were naturally pacifists and decried the slaughter of their sons on the battlefields. Socialist women complicated these arguments arguing that their sons were the first to be recruited for military service in wars that would not change class inequality. Not all pacifists agreed with this position, but maternalist discourses were compelling arguments for many women engaged in peace activism.

It is a monumental task to compile readers that capture the complexity of the debates in first wave international feminism and how Canadian feminists were informed by and contributed to these movements. Moynagh and Forestell have chosen the documents judiciously and have produced readers that examine the ideological differences and diversity in the woman movement. The general introduction to *Documenting First Wave Feminism* and introductions to each volume are knowledgeable discussions of the important themes in the international and Canadian historiography. Section introductions set up key debates to provide context for the documents making these books excellent textbooks. These collections of documents demonstrate how first wave feminists understood inequalities produced by the intersection of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and sexuality. These are the issues that maintain

divisions in international and local women's movements today. We still have a lot to learn from these women.

NANCY JANOVICEK
University of Calgary

Dominique Clément, *Equality Deferred: Sex Discrimination and British Columbia's Human Rights State, 1953–1984* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2014)

EQUALITY DEFERRED provides an important and compelling account of the origins of human rights legislation in British Columbia, the first Canadian jurisdiction to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex. Utilizing previously undisclosed records of British Columbia's human rights commission, Clément documents not only egregious acts of discrimination by individuals, but also the courage of women who pioneered claims for human rights and the challenges and limitations of the human rights regime. Ultimately, the book illustrates the entrenched nature of sex-based discrimination and the need to understand inequality beyond its definition in human rights legislation as acts of individual discrimination.

Clément places his study in the context of the limited scholarship on human rights in Canada and asserts that British Columbia provides an ideal test case for the study of human rights, not only because the province was the first to prohibit sex-based discrimination, but also because human rights were highly politicized in the province. British Columbia had the most highly developed women's movement in the country, but human rights developments were deeply contested. The New Democrat Party advocated, and for a time oversaw, the nation's most progressive human rights regime at the time, only to see their work decimated by the Social Credit Party (the Socreds) in

1984. The reforms of 1984 prompted debate throughout Canada, making British Columbia "the epicentre of a conflict on the nature and legitimacy of the human rights state." (21)

To set the stage for his examination of human rights legislation, Clément illustrates the entrenched nature of gender inequality in Canadian law. He documents the failure of labour organizations and Jewish activists – who campaigned relentlessly to ban discrimination on the bases of race, religion, and ethnicity – to understand the problem of sex discrimination. He then explores the 1953 *Equal Pay Act*, the first equality-based legislation in the province to deal with women, and acts banning discrimination in employment and accommodation. These reforms were largely ineffective, as was the symbolic inclusion of sex as a prohibited ground of discrimination in the Socred's *Human Rights Act* of 1969. Thus was the stage set for the NDP's 1973 *Human Rights Code*.

The bulk of *Equality Deferred* explores the origins and implementation of this ground-breaking and progressive *Human Rights Code*. Clément provides unprecedented detail about the development of the Human Rights Branch – a separate agency intended to deal with complaints – and the work performed under the leadership of Kathleen Ruff, who hired the province's first human rights investigators and developed procedures for investigating complaints. Ruff, with a long history of work in the feminist movement, brought an advocacy approach to the Branch and relied upon her connections with progressive social movements in the province to recruit committed investigators and to promote the human rights regime. The Branch received complaints from women who had been fired when pregnant, had been paid unequal wages for work the same as that performed by men, or had been subjected to sexual harassment. Precedents established under

the *Code* “profoundly challenged the entrenched male culture of many workplaces.” (117) As Clément notes, however, human rights laws had limited reach; the women who utilized the *Code* were overwhelmingly white and while a wide range of women “undoubtedly experienced discrimination,” they did not “engage with human rights law.” (7) Nonetheless, the courage and dedication of the women and men who worked in the Branch, and the tenacity of the women who made complaints, make for inspiring reading. The unrepentant vulgarity of discriminators is equally instructive. The Branch flourished, innovated, and expanded across the province under the NDP, but the election of the Socreds in 1975 brought increasing challenges for the human rights regime. Clément describes the government as “dominated by men whose policies demonstrated little understanding of sex discrimination” (185) and details the myriad ways in which government officials worked to undermine the Human Rights Branch through under-funding, failure to replace complaints investigators, and ignoring the reports of the Branch. Ultimately, the Socreds went beyond passive opposition to the Branch and replaced the *Human Rights Code* of 1973 with the *Human Rights Act* of 1984, a measure “almost universally vilified as a regressive step” (186); the *Act* restructured the human rights regime to place the burden of complaint almost entirely on the victims of discrimination and retrenched the progress of the previous decade. The passage of the *Act* coincided with a restraint regime which led to the dismissal of thousands of civil servants, wage cuts, and the elimination of multiple social services. Until 1996, British Columbia’s human rights regime “was the black sheep in Canada.” (196)

Equality Deferred is mandatory reading for all those interested in the human rights state in Canada, its development,

its innovations, and its flaws. The book illustrates not only the important connections between human rights legislation and politics and the vulnerability of progressive reform, but also the challenges of implementation and education and the intransigence of discriminatory beliefs and practices. Clément asserts that the focus of human rights legislation on individual complaints cannot fully address systemic inequality. Further, by defining discrimination through “a catalogue of independently enumerated grounds,” (213) human rights codes and boards of inquiry obliged defendants to define themselves narrowly and ignored socio-economic context and histories of oppression. Clément argues that an updated vision of human rights is required and that “a transformational human rights agenda would go beyond formal legal equality and change institutional structures and practices.” (216) In illustrating why such a renewed vision is necessary, *Equality Deferred* provides not only a useful history of one Canadian human rights regime, but also important lessons for our collective future.

LORI CHAMBERS
Lakehead University

Suzanne Morton, *Wisdom, Justice, and Charity: Canadian Social Welfare Through the Life of Jane B. Wisdom, 1884–1975* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2014)

IN THIS EVOCATIVE, thoughtfully crafted, and engagingly written political biography of social worker Jane Wisdom, Suzanne Morton traces the large historical processes of liberal welfare state expansion and the professionalization of social work through the life and career of one individual woman. Born in 1884 in Saint John, New Brunswick, educated at McGill University, and trained in

casework in New York City, Wisdom's social work career spanned national boundaries and was intricately tied to a number of extraordinary political moments in North American history. At various points in her life, Wisdom participated in the settlement house and charity organization movement, witnessed the impact of both world wars and the Great Depression, and worked within the framework of expanding state responsibility for social welfare. Her death in 1975 came just as the welfare state began to decline in the face of global neoliberalism.

Given that Wisdom was neither a politician nor a particularly influential policy maker (unlike her more well-known contemporary Charlotte Whitton), the structure of a historical biography raises a number of methodological challenges. Well-known figures with a strong sense of their historical role generally leave voluminous, detailed, and comprehensive archival records. By all accounts, Wisdom was reluctant to write herself into welfare state history, often downplaying her work and deliberately staying under the public radar. Furthermore, Wisdom's life was marked by economic precarity as an unmarried and low-paid working woman from a large and financially struggling family. As a result, she worked and lived at various times in Montréal, Halifax, New York City, Halifax, and Glace Bay. The constantly changing conditions of her employment, her mobility across provincial and national borders, and the way her life was lived in a liminal space between public and private make tracing her life story a difficult endeavour. Morton observes early in the introduction that the process of researching and writing a historical biography, which rests on patiently and painstakingly finding, assessing, and assembling the fragments of a subject's life story into a coherent narrative, closely echoes the casework method itself.

The resulting book is a sensitive and in-depth public biography that eschews speculation about Wisdom's personal life in favour of a nuanced assessment of how her work and professional identity intersected with larger developments in the Canadian welfare state. The strength of this approach rests in the way that Morton successfully pulls out the details of Wisdom's life trajectory while understanding her as part of larger local, national, and international communities, including extended family, friendships, and professional, educational, and religious networks. While biography can never fully capture the subject's motivations, interiority, or historical significance, the genre's structure is an important reminder that the boundaries of both individual life stories and of traditional historical narratives are messy and difficult to contain. Morton's close analysis of Wisdom's work and life demonstrates that the ideological distinctions between social democracy and liberalism were rarely neat or binary, that the transition of social welfare provision from a charity to a rights-based model was not linear, and that welfare state policy could be both frustrating bureaucratic and responsive to local needs. The chapter on Wisdom's time in Glace Bay between 1940 and 1952 nicely captures these complexities, showing how her work as a municipal welfare administrator meant that she worked within imposed and bureaucratic strictures while carefully supporting the 1947 miners' strike and working to eliminate inadequate municipally financed poor relief.

This biography of Wisdom adds nuance to a robust Canadian welfare state historiography. Historians have published widely on welfare policy development, the intersection of policy with class and gender inequality, and organized and grassroots responses to poverty. But there is little historical research on the lives

of the individuals who developed, studied, and administered the programs and policies of the welfare state. As Morton eloquently demonstrates, welfare policies were enacted not solely by large, bureaucratic organizations but also by individuals who were shaped by bureaucratic and hierarchical systems and by cultural, religious, political, and philosophical values. Influenced by Anglo-Protestant values of service, obligation, and religious faith, for example, Wisdom's liberalism was tempered by an ethos of collective responsibility for the well-being of families, communities, and citizens. Morton's analysis of Wisdom's life, her ideological formation, and the system in which she lived and worked is simultaneously a nuanced critique of the limits of the expanded liberal welfare state and an empathetic assessment of the life of one woman who helped to build and administer it.

Wisdom's personal and professional mobility allows Morton to provide a series of case studies in welfare state formation in multiple locations, tracing a process of historical change that is both geographically precise and transnational in scope. Morton carefully tracks the personal and professional connections between Wisdom and her friends, mentors, and colleagues, showing how social workers were influenced by progressive trends in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. Wisdom and her contemporaries travelled back and forth between Canada and the United States for education, training, and work, suggesting that historians of social welfare should pay close attention to transnational connections in the development of social work theory and practice. In particular, Wisdom was deeply influenced by the British and American settlement house movement; she lived for a short time in a settlement house in New York's Lower East Side and was one of the first residents in the Montréal settlement which

opened in 1910. Wisdom also trained with the famous casework specialist Mary Richmond in New York City. In the midst of this larger transnational context, however, Morton never loses the place-based importance of Wisdom's deep professional and familial connections to the Maritimes and Montréal, the places where she spent the majority of her life. The thoughtful analysis of Wisdom's education at McGill University and her ties to the Anglo-Protestant community of Montréal adds an important dimension to the complex history of social service and welfare state development in Québec, a history shaped by linguistic inequalities and institutionalized religious differences. Good welfare state history, as Morton adeptly demonstrates, is the history of women, labour, class formation, urban development, religion, region, and the nation state. *Wisdom, Justice, and Charity* is an invaluable book for historians in these fields and for social work educators and practitioners seeking a nuanced history of the relationship between social workers and clients, communities, policies, and the state.

LARA CAMPBELL
Simon Fraser University

Kenneth C. Dewar, *Frank Underhill and the Politics of Ideas (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2015)*

KENNETH DEWAR, in this study of historian and public intellectual Frank Underhill, offers us a worthy companion to R. Douglas Francis' *Frank H. Underhill: Intellectual Provocateur*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986). Dewar provides a strong contextual examination of Underhill's life, from his boyhood days in industrializing Toronto, his elite studies at Oxford University, his service in the World War I, his varied political

interactions, and his experiences as an intellectual straddling the line between formal and informal academia. Underhill is a complex figure, and to capture his influence, influences, and thoughts in such succinct terms is to be applauded.

Dewar's portrayal of Underhill's role in the university and wider community is especially illuminating. The philosophy of education being torn between generalists and specialists, the higher levels of inter-disciplinarity, the audience of scholarly literature, the relative ease in finding tenure-track work, and perhaps most importantly, the increased profile of the professor as a societal force are all intriguing. If I have one agreement with Dewar above all others, it is that Underhill epitomized the Canadian public intellectual, and still today offers a model to academics that we ignore only at our peril, along with our refusal to change the world, rather than merely theorize about it.

But beyond the masterful chronicling of Underhill's life, Dewar has a broader ideological frame of analysis, and general political purpose. This is the primary value of the book, and where the majority of analysis and constructive criticism should be aimed. In Dewar's view, bolstered by the foreword of NDP premier turned federal Liberal leader Bob Rae, Underhill was always a liberal democrat, who sought to incorporate into the venerable traditions of 19th century liberal radicals the reforms spurred by social democrats disenchanted with the limitations – but not inherent failures – of profit and private property. Dewar feels that liberals like Underhill are who gave Canada its social and economic progress in the postwar period, and who can do so again providing that “progressives” work together against regressive social and economic interests. In Underhill's words, the goal was to combine liberalism and social democracy to create a “real

liberal party” (53) that was neither the business-oriented Liberal Party of post-Confederation Canada, nor the ideological socialist party that Underhill came to see the CCF as. The most “real” liberal party, in his view, came in the inter and postwar period, when Liberals like W.L.M. King, Lester Pearson, and Tom Kent brought social democratic ideas into the mainstream.

Key to Dewar's argument is that, both historically and today, the differences between liberalism and social democracy, or between the Liberal Party and the CCF-NDP, are much smaller than the gulf that separates them from the Tory and neoconservative traditions. Underhill, especially as he grew into an elder statesman, understood this, and so should we as Canada approaches a federal election in which a splitting of the “progressive” vote is still possible, implores Dewar.

In this light, my criticism here is the somewhat rushed discussions of Underhill's relationship with socialism and liberalism, and the meanings of those two ideological systems. One could have included a discussion of Ian McKay's Liberal Order Framework, which asserts that liberalism, including the variety held by those 19th century radicals Underhill admired, was a force *opposed* to liberty, because liberalism's primacy of property creates fundamental inequalities and oppressions. He could have better addressed the theoretical concept of Red Toryism, which questions the assertion that Canadian Liberalism is merely a centrist plot point between socialism and conservatism.

Ultimately, I am unconvinced of the assertion that social democracy is of the same tradition as liberalism. And while Dewar makes a convincing case for Underhill's personal liberalism, his actions and associations during the CCF years were anything but. In my view, the CCF, while a force for liberty many liberals

like Pierre Elliott Trudeau admired, was not liberal because it sought the end of capitalism, the subordination of private property, and the placing of collective interests ahead of individual desires. The CCF's democratic socialist tradition was not relatable to the broader Canadian liberal tradition. This carries forward until at least the early 1980s, where the NDP embraced socialist concepts of justice and freedom, which placed them across the aisle from the Liberals *and* the (Progressive) Conservatives; two parties of a definitively liberal tradition.

More should and could have been said – by Underhill historically, and by Dewar in this otherwise excellent study – about the assumptions of capitalism's supposed recovery and reformation in the postwar Keynesian world, which led many on the left, Underhill key among them, away from questioning the inherent mechanisms of capitalism. While in some ways, the “golden age” of capitalism held true from the end of World War II until the late 1960s, the period since then has been one of a capitalist system in perpetual crisis, the response to which has been an attack on social programs, wages, public ownership, and the organized working class – all elements that prevented governments, from Liberal Trudeau to Conservative Harper, from using the immiseration of the average Canadian as a method of increasing corporate profitability and international competitiveness. Capitalism, in contrast to Underhill's view, has solved neither production nor distribution, and the assertion that liberalism offers a path toward substantive reform is a mistake, not just today, but during the entire course of Underhill's life.

But as I note above, Dewar presents here a book that all those interested in Canadian left, liberal, intellectual, and political history must read. Criticisms of his approach to defining and assessing Canadian liberalism and socialism

should not discourage those interested in such questions from reading. If anything, Dewar offers a welcome contribution to exploring how integral Canadian intellectuals like Underhill have struggled to navigate and convey the ideological corridors of liberalism and socialism, along with what that means for Canadian politics now, and into the future. Being a spark towards such projects might well be this book's crowning achievement.

CHRISTO AIVALIS
Queen's University

Chris Andersen, *“Métis”: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2014)

“MÉTIS” IS BOTH an academic exploration of the meaning of ethnic and/or Aboriginal identity and an impassioned polemic for the recognition of the western Red River Métis as a separate people or nation with the exclusive right to be called “Métis,” from a scholar who identifies himself both as a Métis and Métis nationalist. The usual academic discussions of ethnicity, identity, and aboriginality, whether from a sociological/anthropological or historical viewpoint, usually come from presumably disinterested outsiders – those without a personal stake in the game – and seldom from the viewpoint of an insider. But Andersen's work is an example of an increasing number of Métis scholars who are not only attempting to delineate Métis ethnogenesis and history, but are attempting to define how Métis identity should be regarded in contemporary Canadian society. Despite Andersen's personal stake in defining the Métis Nation, this work is a closely reasoned and academically sound discussion of Aboriginal identity in Canada.

The core of Andersen's thesis is straightforward, although profoundly counterintuitive to the pervading perception of "Métis" in Canada. He states categorically that the Métis should not be thought of as a "mixed" race – part "Indian" and part "white" – but as a *political construct*, a nation, the group that was recognized in the *Manitoba Act, 1870*, whose rights were recognized in the statutes and orders-in-council from the early 1800s into the 20th century. Andersen makes a convincing case that "mixedness" is an illogical way to differentiate the Métis from other indigenous people. Obviously, *all* Aboriginal people, First Nations and Inuit included, are at least partially "mixed." Concentrating on Métis hybridity, therefore, ignores the real characteristics that set the Métis apart from other Aboriginal peoples – kinship links across wide territories, family histories, separate communities – and most importantly in Andersen's estimation, political mobilization. As he and other Métis scholars have explained, the constant obsession with Métis hybridity waters down Métis aboriginality, making them appear "not as indigenous" as other Aboriginal groups, or not even a people.

Defining the Métis through their mixed heritage may well be illogical, but Andersen concedes that it remains the major factor characterizing the Métis in Canadian society today. He outlines the process by which the idea of Métis hybridity became so entrenched by concentrating not only on its historical origins with the Canadian colonial government, but in the manner in which it continues to be reinforced today through the influence of the Canadian court system and the census. Andersen largely couches his argument in terms of social fields as defined by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in particular explaining how state classifications become unquestioned and unquestionable. Métis are viewed as hybrid because, after

over a century of colonial classification as such, the imposed hierarchical social relations created by the colonial authorities eventually become reified. Perhaps of particular interest to the readers of *Labour/Le Travail*, Andersen downplays the idea of grounding Métis identity in the fur trade, because although it adds roughly a century to the Métis people's history, it "unnecessarily muddies the waters of Métis national origins in social relations of hybridity rather than political consciousness as citizens of the Métis people." (109) He prefers to concentrate on an events-based analysis to explain the emergence of Métis peoplehood (Seven Oaks and so on) which sharpened collective understandings between Métis and non-Métis plains communities.

To illustrate the effect of the court system on Métis identity, Andersen concentrates on the Supreme Court of Canada's 2003 decision *R. v. Powley*, and its concomitant definition of Métis. His concern is not so much that the court recognized the Ontario population in question as Métis, but *how* they did so. Recognition was based on a mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry, historic separateness from adjacent "Indian" communities, and contemporary self-identification as Métis, rather than, as Andersen would have preferred, on political self-consciousness and an attachment to the Métis people whose core was Red River. In an extension of this issue, Andersen examines how ethnohistorians have begun to classify all historic Upper Great Lakes non-tribal communities as "Métis," partly based on the *Powley* decision, and partly based on these communities' contemporary identification of themselves as Métis.

Andersen has particular problems with the concept that any contemporary group which chooses to identify itself as Métis should be recognized as such, whether or not it has a connection to the

historic Métis Nation. This is his major concern with the way “Métis” is treated in Canada’s National Household Survey – an important issue because, like the courts, the census has the power to create and categorize; to reconfirm already-existing perceptions. Canada’s National Household Survey is flawed in his estimation because self-identification is used as the major criterion for delineating a Métis population. Pointing to the skyrocketing and demographically improbably increase in the “Métis” population (over 100 per cent between 1996 and 2006) Andersen says this is likely due to the idea of mistaken self-identification, wherein any individual with a “mixed Aboriginal heritage” may identify as “Métis” whether or not the term has any local historic significance. Making self-identification the major criterion for identification as Métis means that the Canadian census recognizes no cultural, linguistic or territorial boundaries to the Canadian Métis population and that subsequently, the Métis can be found anywhere in Canada.

This raises the issue of the “other Métis” – that is, the communities of “mixed” indigenous peoples in various parts of Canada who, for one reason or another, have taken on the designation of “Métis” despite having no historic or kinship links to Red River. Because the Canadian Constitution offers only three alternatives to identify as Aboriginal – First Nations, Inuit, or Métis – many groups in parts of Canada who do not readily identify as First Nations or Inuit have tended to identify as “Métis” because, particularly in its racialized definition, it seems to be an anomalous, non-cultural-specific concept that can be utilized by any Aboriginal group. In denying these emergent groups (who like the Métis, may be post-contact) the right to identify as Métis, Andersen is careful not to deny that they have the right to define themselves as an indigenous group

within Canada’s colonial definitional system of “Aboriginal.” He is simply saying that they should not be identified as Métis, either by themselves or others.

If much of this sounds familiar to readers, Andersen has made all these arguments before in various published documents. In fact, the book reads more like a series of free-standing papers stitched together than a single structured argument. Because of this, the book is somewhat repetitive. For example, Chapter 4 is subtitled “A Critical Reading of the Supreme Court of Canada and the Census.” But Andersen has already discussed both of these issues in Chapter 2, which is subtitled “The Supreme Court and the Census.” But to be fair, the chapters are all mustered to make the main point, that Métis should be defined in national rather than race-defined terms, and Andersen makes a convincing argument. This book is a welcome addition to the literature on the Métis, not least because it deals not only with the historical situation, but brings the argument up and into the 20th and 21st centuries.

JOE SAWCHUK
Brandon University

Jody Perrun, *The Patriotic Consensus: Unity, Morale and the Second World War in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2014)

JODY PERRUN has produced a comprehensive and welcome addition to the growing number of recent publications examining the impact of the World Wars within the confines of a particular Canadian community. Based in part upon the premise that national studies of Canada’s homefront – which surprisingly remain sparse – flatten out diverse experiences, this analysis emphasizes that the Second World War both united and fractured Winnipeg where, for instance, patriotism

manifested from both heartfelt loyalty and the application of coercion.

Perrun shows Winnipeg as a compelling place upon which to focus analysis. Then the second largest community in Western Canada, it was also among the country's most ethnically diverse cities. More than a third of its 300,000 residents were born outside of Britain and the United States, a group mainly comprised of Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Scandinavians and Poles, people who mostly congregated in the city's North End. More than most places, Winnipeg possessed a powerful and politically robust labour movement that had demonstrated a propensity to radicalism, most obviously with the 1919 General Strike.

Winnipeg entered the war with a strong, but still limited, consensus. Recruitment proceeded well but, by the end of 1941, there came notable pressure, particularly from the city's Anglo-Saxon majority, for conscription for overseas service to force so-called slackers into the military. Such was a sentiment focused not only upon Quebec, namely its French-Canadian majority, but also on local groups, such as Mennonites. While some were castigated for their reluctance to volunteer, Perrun shows others as discouraged, and even precluded, from military service, namely those of African, Asian and Aboriginal background.

Popular opinion, as expressed in the press and from societal leaders, enthusiastically backed the war effort. But Perrun argues that unity of purpose was also pursued through coercion and repression, such as intolerance of dissenting views. Reminiscent of World War I Canada, many Winnipeggers expressed concern over fifth columnists, assuming their presence among those of Central and Eastern European descent. He writes of dissatisfaction expressed towards the federal government for supposedly not

doing enough to protect Canadians from potential enemy saboteurs, something that prompted Manitoba's Attorney General to organize a home defence force among those deemed ineligible for military service. Internment operations saw notable attention placed on Winnipeg's Germans and Ukrainians. Moreover, twenty Winnipeg Communists were interned out of some 100 Communists nationwide. The significant influence the political left once enjoyed in local government disintegrated, something from which there was no recovery even after the Soviet Union switched to the Allied side and Canadian Communists championed the war effort. Most Communists who had been interned were released over the course of 1942. Still Winnipeggers remained wary of accepting them as allies, claiming they had no attachment to defending freedom, and only backed Canada's war effort as a means of supporting Moscow.

Perrun's study provides valuable detail on the ways in which the war worsened internal fractures within certain groups, one example being between the Ukrainian left, which ultimately promoted a maximum war effort, including conscription, and Ukrainian nationalists who despised the Soviets for the brutal occupation of their homeland. Perrun also presents Winnipeg as divided by the April 1942 plebiscite in which the federal government sought a mandate to release it from its pledge not to conscript for overseas service. Most supported a "yes" vote, but in the city's north end, large numbers of Ukrainians, Poles and Germans registered their opposition, as did French-Canadians congregated in St. Boniface. Vitriolic condemnations of opposing views were also evident in the press, as the *Winnipeg Tribune*, a conservative newspaper, viciously denounced its main competitor, the *Winnipeg Free*

Press, a long-time Liberal supporter, for advocating an approach of “studious moderation” (52) on conscription. Perrun presents the tyranny of the majority as also evident when it came to the treatment of Japanese Canadians. Several hundred forcibly evacuated from Canada’s West Coast worked for a pittance under unusually harsh conditions on Manitoba’s sugar beet farms.

The Patriotic Consensus covers the myriad ways in which Winnipeggers rallied to support the war effort. Besides nationally orchestrated propaganda, namely for Victory Bond campaigns, Perrun shows how grassroots efforts mobilized thousands of volunteers and produced remarkable results, as Winnipeg consistently, and significantly, exceeded average *per capita* funds raised across Canada. He presents innovative local initiatives, namely *If Day*, where, to spark Victory Bond purchases, the military “invaded” Winnipeg to create the atmosphere of a Nazi occupation, a strategy publicized across North America and that spawned similar activities elsewhere.

Perrun explains how women volunteers led efforts to raise the morale of servicemen in Canada and overseas, namely by packing and sending comfort packages and running canteens. Efforts to salvage items was also shown as engaging multitudes, and making people feel they were providing essential contributions to the war effort. Many others took it upon themselves to try and lessen the financial and emotional strains experienced by those left at home by servicemen, namely wives, often with children; but Perrun explains this was an activity also designed to monitor behaviour, namely by reporting on women whose moral conduct was deemed unworthy of government support through the Dependents Allowance program. Considerable space is also devoted to covering the challenges the war

posed to family stability as a result of lengthy separations, the perception of ill-governed youth and rising delinquency, the difficulty of veterans reintegrating into civilian society, and acute housing shortages that far outlasted the conflict.

Like other recent local studies of Canada during the World Wars, Perrun’s demonstrates commonalities with other parts of Canada. However, he also cites unique characteristics and experiences reflecting, for example, Winnipeg’s particular demographic qualities. Some parts of the book would have benefitted from more detail, such as on how World War II affected Winnipeg’s economy. Little information is provided on the impact of the *Veterans Charter* on those who returned to Winnipeg. Although Perrun rightfully compares Winnipeg’s wartime patterns to regional and national trends, in some areas he provides few local examples, instead citing those from different communities culled from previously published works. Still, *The Patriotic Consensus* is a skilfully executed study that provides an important contribution to the growing number of works demonstrating the diversity and complexity of Canada’s war experience.

JEFF KESHEN

Mount Royal University

Marcel Martel, *Canada the Good: A Short History of Vice since 1500* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2014)

IN *CANADA THE GOOD*, Marcel Martel offers an engaging and comprehensive account of how Canadian society has “dealt with vice over the last five hundred years.” (2) The focus here concerns the “constraints put in place by collectivities, institutions, and the state on how individuals must behave in society, and what is expected from them.” (3) Martel’s

vices of choice include forms of sexuality, alcohol consumption, drug use, and gambling.

Canada the Good begins with a descriptive account from above of the French state and the Roman Catholic Church as forces of European morality in the New World in the years 1500 to 1700. He relates a familiar story. The growing mutual dependence of First Nations and French colonizers curbed the drive of the Church and state to reform the perceived vices – sexual promiscuity, alcohol consumption and gambling – of First Nations. Commerce, Martel tells us, trumped morality.

In his account of the colonial era, 1700 to 1850, Martel explores the mechanisms available to the Roman Catholic Church to impose moral discipline on its adherents. There were limitations on the Church's power: too few priests, uncooperative habitants, and state toleration of prostitution. The state did crack down on prostitutes periodically under vagrancy laws; the prosecution of mostly non-Francophone women, Martel argues, reflected how "class, gender, and ethnicity shaped law enforcement." (32) Martel notes that same-sex prosecutions were rare. He surmises that there were "other mechanisms" to deal with what were termed "crimes against nature." (33)

Outside Catholic regions of British North America after the conquest "Protestant officials" from various denominations sought to shape a moral order. Here no distinction is made between the established Anglican Church and evangelical denominations in their ability to exercise influence within the state or over larger or smaller sections of the colonial population. He draws our attention to the role of denominational "tribunals" that heard cases dealing with horse racing, drinking, and adultery. Here Martel explains moral discipline was applied in a gendered fashion – men

controlled the disciplinary process and more women than men faced investigation. He provides accounts from above of the state's handling of abortion, infanticide, and divorce. He explores how social control – mostly through the charivaris – was also exercised within communities in an era when "the boundaries of privacy were porous." (38)

Canada the Good characterizes the years 1850 to 1920 as an era in which vice was in retreat, driven to ground by triumphant reformers. The Industrial Revolution "radically transformed society in last half of 19th century," and led Christians "from various denominations to launch a massive sustained campaign targeting a series of vices that caused according to them social upheaval and decay." (152) Success of moral reformers depended upon their ability to reach out to other groups and build coalitions. Relying on Alan Hunt, Martel argues that moral regulation movements succeeded to the degree that they could build coalitions of groups with "different ideological, political and social agendas." Their campaigns were rooted in "normative narratives" that targeted behavior defined as "intrinsically bad, wrong or immoral." (51)

Martel makes general reference to an undifferentiated Social Gospel movement and to those committed to the wisdom of eugenics. He draws our attention to campaigns against polygamy, prostitution, abortion, and homosexuality and to the growing role of physicians as "new moral entrepreneurs." (154) The decades-long campaign against the consumption of alcohol and the response of the alcohol lobby and the state federally and provincially is canvassed. Campaigns against narcotics and tobacco are reviewed. The growing role of the state in the regulation and criminalization of vice is explored. Politicians "came to agree that the state could have a role in implementing a

morally based order as means to being social peace.” (153) The state deployed legislation to strength the Christian moral order by imposing criminal penalties for those abortionists, homosexuals, and drug users but it did so as a secondary locus of moral regulation drawn into the fray only by forces in civil society.

In his review of moral regulation in late 20th century Canada, Martel describes the development of the birth control and feminist movements, and the sexual revolution of the 1960s that triggered new debates, legislative action, and court struggles over abortion, prostitution, and homosexuality. Martel reviews state control of alcohol in the post-prohibition era and the state’s role in the evolution of gambling. Finally the story of the criminalization of marijuana and the subsequent debates over its legalization, and the tobacco question – health threat or annoying habit – are canvassed.

Canada the Good is not a work of theoretical or empirical originality. The descriptive content of the book is drawn from the secondary literature on social control and moral regulation in Canada including Martel’s own work on drug policy. The account offered here is mostly from above, though Martel makes effective use of published work that brings readers closer to circadian forms of moral regulation.

Martel offers no account of moral regulation as a feature of state formation. Opportunities for such analysis abound in *Canada the Good*: the Catholic Church in the colonial period was a feature of the state, and the Anglican Church had for a time at least the status of established church. In his account of the attempts by the state and its surrogates to reshape the moral world of Aboriginal people in Canada, Martel might have taken the opportunity to explore the connection between the construction of particular forms of citizenship as a feature of state

formation and Canada’s troubled historic relationship with First Nations.

Because *Canada the Good* appears to be intended as an introduction to the subject of moral regulation in Canadian history, some introductory conceptual commentary beyond the brief and quite general comments offered in the book’s introduction would have been very appropriate. Martel acknowledges theoretical debts to Alan Hunt’s *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and he invokes Foucault as an analytical fulcrum, but he offers readers little sustained commentary of a theoretical nature concerning social control and moral regulation. Indeed he deploys these analytical terms without definition or commentary. He employs “moral panic” as an interpretive category only in his conclusion and without comment on its heuristic value. Hunt’s *Governing Morals* – a study that appears to have inspired the writing of *Canada the Good* – begins with a finely textured account of theory informing studies of social control and moral regulation. Such an introductory road map here might have provided a framework in which to build more interpretive commentary on the wide ranging historical data contained in *Canada the Good*.

TOM MITCHELL

Brandon University

Andrew Smith and Dimitry Anastakis, eds., *Smart Globalization: The Canadian Business and Economic History Experience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2014)

THIS EDITED COLLECTION examines Canadian business and economic history through the theme of globalization. Drawing upon the work of economists Ha-Joon Chang and Dani Rodrik, editors

Andrew Smith and Dimitry Anastakis present Canada as an ideal historical example of “selective globalization” in their sweeping and thought-provoking introduction. By this they mean that Canada’s economic development has been characterized by the state’s selective and democratically mediated embrace of globalization. The book’s eight essays, in various ways and to various degrees, examine the nature and test the success of this development strategy. With contributions from historians and economists, the volume represents an effort to bridge the disciplinary boundaries between history and economics. It also represents an effort by historians to insert themselves and their work more directly in present-day debates about globalization and economic policy. These are laudable initiatives.

The first five essays centre upon the era of globalization before World War I. Andrew Dilley examines Ontario’s hydroelectric policy in relation to the Canadian businessmen and British bondholders interested in private development. Dilley finds the City of London’s campaign against public power in Ontario rather more powerful than previously believed. He concludes that Ontario’s ability to back public hydroelectric power, in defiance of the City, demonstrates the capacity for flexible accommodation of popular economic policies within the British Empire during the pre-1914 phase of globalization. Mark Kuhlberg demonstrates persuasively that the Ontario government’s commitment to establishing the “manufacturing condition” on pulpwood during the period from 1890 to 1930 was a politically strategic gesture that lacked substance. The real purpose and outcome of the policy was to facilitate the flow of pulpwood across the border to American mills. In this case, the program of selective globalization appears less significant than depicted in earlier

studies. Daryl White offers a tidy investigation of Canadian efforts to restrict the export of nickel from Inco’s Sudbury mine to the Central Powers during the period of American neutrality in the First World War, a chapter that underlines the transnational entanglements associated with the operation of the modern corporation. Livio Di Matteo, J.C. Herbery Emery, and Martin Shanahan compare wealth formation in the Lakehead region with that of South Australia between 1905 and 1915. Though both were settler economies dependent on wheat exports, the authors find that South Australia had developed a greater ability to accumulate wealth because of its command of more linkages associated with grain production. In other words, Thunder Bay and Port Arthur did not perform the metropolitan function of Adelaide within South Australia. Finally, Michael N.A. Hinton presents calculations that suggest that – contrary to the assumptions of historian Michael Bliss and others – the protective tariff did not render the Canadian cotton industry inefficient. The author’s depiction of efficiency as the constitutive force in economic life, however, underplays the importance of access to capital and markets in determining the shape of the cotton industry during the late 19th century.

The last three essays focus mainly on the post-1945 era. Greig Mordue’s essay on the Canadian auto industry surveys the shifting balance between imperialism, multilateralism, and continentalism in structuring the Canadian state’s efforts to grow the industry. In particular, Mordue offers a detailed explanation of the forces associated with globalization that enabled foreign imports to gain greater market share in Canada by the late 1950s, and in so doing highlights the significance of international developments in hastening the Auto Pact in 1965. Graham D. Taylor looks at the

rise and fall of the Seagram empire. The Bronfman family expanded their liquor business by supplying the US market after the Volstead Act shut down the (legal) industry there. They chose to locate in Montréal because prohibition within Canada was most unlikely in Quebec. After the repeal of the Volstead Act, Sam Bronfman established production in the US and moved Seagram's headquarters to New York before pursuing international opportunities in the postwar period. Seagram catered to a new generation of consumers with a taste for blended whisky, expanded into rum and high-end whisky, and formed partnerships with established distillers abroad. Bronfman was a leading driver in globalizing the liquor business, but the industry would catch up with Seagram and mismanagement by his son and grandson would eventually bring the business crashing down. Matthew J. Bellamy contributes the final essay. He seeks to explain why Canadian brewers failed to establish international markets for their beers. Bellamy emphasizes industrial concentration and inter-provincial trade restrictions in creating a highly cartelized and regionalized market dominated by three companies, which discouraged price competition. Furthermore, Canadian brewers were lured by the shortsighted gains to be made through licensing agreements with larger American brewers: Labatt brewed Budweiser; Carling-O'Keefe, Miller; and Molson, Coors. American brands were thus imported and Canadian ones did not capture a significant international market. Canada's largest beer companies are today assets of foreign companies.

In general, the essays do a better job of asking and answering their own specific questions than addressing the central *problématique* of the book, which is to be expected in an edited collection. The volume nonetheless succeeds in presenting ample evidence of the disjuncture

between the doctrinaire neoliberal theory of globalization and the historical experience of globalization as evidenced through Canada's business and economic history. The inherently political nature of production and exchange in the marketplace is an implicit theme that runs throughout many of the essays. It is also a theme that underlines the importance of business and economic history to the mainstream of historical scholarship. The essays demonstrate the capacity of business historians and economists to formulate important research questions with clarity and precision. It is an approach that can and should be expanded and elaborated upon to incorporate more regions (outside Ontario), more historical actors (such as workers), and more searching questions (about the nature of capital accumulation). As is, this collection will be of interest to anyone interested in better understanding the historical complexities and contingencies of economic life in a globalizing world. The essays are, on the whole, of a high quality and address challenging questions that may help generate more research and intellectual exchange in the future. Many scholars will find this book to be well worth a read.

DON NERBAS

Cape Breton University

Francis Peddie, *Young, Well-Educated, and Adaptable: Chilean Exiles in Ontario and Quebec, 1973–2010* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2014)

FRANCIS PEDDIE examines the lives of Chilean exiles in Canada following their departure from Chile after the 1973 military *coup d'état*. The book focuses on the years immediately following the takeover to 2010. Peddie utilizes interviews with twenty-one Chilean Canadians and two

other individuals actively involved within their community.

Peddie argues that “the everyday reality of exile – the physical distance from Chile and the unavoidable connections to Canadian society – caused a re-evaluation of beliefs, values, and practices among the exiles.” (1) This re-evaluation, according to Peddie, led to further separation from their identity as Chileans. Over time, he concludes, Canada became home to these exiles and the place where they had jobs, children, and the reoccurring day-to-day experiences of their lives.

While Peddie acknowledges that this argument could be made for several other immigrant or refugee groups in Canada, he urges readers to reserve judgement. He argues that what makes the first wave of Chilean exiles remarkable is the success many of them had in professions and trades, as well as the levels of prosperity they achieved in Canada. Moreover Peddie argues that the links they established in their new communities, “provided the impetus for gradual social integration,” which ultimately impacted the way these exiles defined their identity with themselves and others. (2)

In the first chapter Peddie examines Canada and Chile within the greater context of the Cold War. Peddie also explores several of the contributing factors that led to the *coup d'état*. He describes the difficulty of exile and asserts that “the Cold War provided the historical backdrop for understanding how the twenty-one people at the core of this research transformed from active members of Chilean society to exiles in a country that was physically distant, largely unknown, and only grudgingly welcome.” (24) The admission of the exiles into Canada forced the government to balance its perceived security concerns with humanitarian policy. In the second chapter Peddie explores the circumstances surrounding the exiles departure from Chile and their arrival in

Canada. The stories vary from immediate departures after the coup to accounts of those who left in the years that followed. Peddie also explores the role of the Canadian solidarity movement and argues that “the pressure this lobby brought to bear on the federal government was vital in ensuring that humanitarian considerations were not sacrificed to World War fears about admitting leftists.” (21)

Chapter 3 focuses on the exiles themselves, and their impressions of life in Canada. Peddie argues that when they first settled in Canada, the exiles established a culture of exile through the building of community associations. These associations served multiple purposes such as social support and networking, as well as a forum for asserting a national and political identity opposed to the Chilean military regime. There was, however, a shift away from these mechanisms of cultural identity. Eventually, these exiles developed a complex set of identities within a wider Canadian community. In the fourth chapter, Peddie examines how the characteristic of being an exile was only a small part of a more complex identity that developed into the “realms of work, family and gender.” (21) He argues that eventually these realms integrated them deeper into Canadian life. This integration caused a transformation “from temporary visitors to long-term inhabitants of their places of refuge.” (99) Moreover, Peddie says that this also resulted in a shift of Chilean Canadian culture, from a culture of exile to one of immigration. The military government’s relinquishing of power, as well as the reasons behind so many Chilean exiles deciding to remain in Canada, are the subjects of the Chapter 5. Peddie argues that, after so many years in exile and having successfully established new homes in Canada, it was impractical to return to Chile when the opportunity to do so arose in the 1990s. All the years spent

building a life in Canada created ties that bound them here. Of course, not all exiles stayed in Canada, but Peddie explains that those who went back to Chile often encountered new problems.

Peddie relies primarily on the interviews conducted in Toronto, Ottawa, and Santiago, Chile, with the majority of the interviews having been conducted in Peddie's hometown of Toronto. The study is also supplemented with pamphlets, Canadian government reports, expulsion orders issued by the Chilean military government, as well as studies produced by non-governmental organizations regarding the effects of exile on peoples, families, and on the broader social order. While Peddie's use of oral history will generate questions from some historians, the method is a fundamentally important approach to examining ethnocultural history. Moreover Peddie is careful to supplement these interviews with archival sources. His study is a welcome contribution to an evolving field of ethnocultural history that examines the rise of a more intricate multicultural Canadian identity and the reverberations felt in a complex society and economy.

By his own admission, Peddie's argument could be adapted to other ethnocultural groups, either immigrants or refugees. While there is a definite underlying simplicity to some of the arguments and conclusions Peddie draws, they are no less imperative. Peddie's study of Chilean exiles in Canada is a welcome contribution to a historiography thirsting for additional studies that provide insights into the settling, development, as well as the social and economic mobility of various ethnocultural groups in Canada during the postwar period. The author succinctly builds on the narrative of exile by establishing and crafting the complex secondary factors of work, family and gender that ultimately rose to the surface and defined Chilean-Canadian

lives as the decades passed. Peddie addresses the fundamental shift from exile to immigrant, and traces the all-important impacts of family, work, and gender in their entrenchment within Canadian society.

THIRSTAN FALCONER
University of Victoria

Ryan O'Connor, *The First Green Wave: Pollution Probe and the Origins of Environmental Activism in Ontario* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2015)

WHILE THE CANADIAN environmental movement is often popularly conceived as an offshoot of its US counterpart that emerged in the 1970s, Ryan O'Connor argues that it actually emerged in the 1960s as a domestic response to industrial pollution. Focusing on the environmental non-governmental organization (ENGO) Pollution Probe, *The First Green Wave* follows the development of the early environmental movement in Toronto. O'Connor's book provides an important corrective to both public and academic historical perspectives of the Canadian environmental movement and provides a valuable set of historical case studies for the modern environmental movement.

O'Connor differentiates between the origins of the Canadian and American environmental movements. Whereas the US environmental movement evolved from a confluence of existing conservation groups in the 1950s with ecological values to form national activist groups like the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society, O'Connor shows that in Canada ENGOS were regional and spontaneous, differentiated from conservation groups, and without the substantial funding enjoyed by their US counterparts. The Ontario environmental movement did not begin with Rachel Carson's *Silent*

Spring (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962) nor with Earth Day, writes O'Connor, but rather as a response to industrial air pollution exposed in the 1967 CBC documentary *The Air of Death*. The shock of this documentary and the ensuing controversy inspired the creation of Group Action to Stop Pollution (GASP) in 1967 and Pollution Probe in 1969.

Although GASP was formed first, after an initial spike of interest it languished and ceased to operate in 1970. Pollution Probe, however, had the institutional support of the Department of Zoology at the University of Toronto, which gave it the space and resources to thrive. O'Connor argues that through 1970 and 1971 Pollution Probe formed the leadership foundation of the Toronto environmental community, most notably fostering the creation of the Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA). Between 1972 and 1974 Pollution Probe reached its zenith. They centralized, adopted a hierarchical team model, and branched out into urban development and energy issues. However, the onset of the OPEC energy crisis in 1973 hamstrung Probe's ambitions as funding rapidly collapsed and staff had to be let go. This was an especially tough time for the environmental movement, writes O'Connor, as austerity and energy issues came to dominate the ENGO agenda, and Pollution Probe was surpassed by and split from its subsidiary, Energy Probe, and was challenged by the increasing influence of other ENGOS like Greenpeace and the Is Five Foundation (IFF). Though in the 1980s Pollution Probe had a resurgence with its work on the Love Canal case, waste, and public health issues, the emergence of bigger national organizations such as Greenpeace, the Sierra Club of Canada, and the Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain, which O'Connor identifies as the second wave of environmentalism, forced Pollution Probe to limit itself to smaller,

more manageable domestic issues from the 1980s forward.

Perhaps the most important theme in *The First Green Wave* is that ENGOS have a significant effect on society, business, and government, although success relative to a group's ambitions is rarely immediate or complete. For instance, many of Pollution Probe's early efforts to get the Toronto and Ontario governments to fund a mechanized solid waste recycling plant were rejected, mechanized recycling plants were approved in the late 1970s, recycling eventually became standard practice nation wide, and their motto "reduce, reuse, recycle" has become synonymous with recycling. (112) In 1972, CELA brought legal challenges against the Ontario Government and the Lake Ontario Cement Company over extraction of sand from Sandbanks Provincial Park in Prince Edward County, Ontario. The two sets of charges were both thrown out and CELA was held liable for court costs. However, the attraction of public attention, O'Connor argues, impelled the provincial government to halt extraction and cancel the lease in 1973. CELA was widely perceived to have established itself as a legitimate organization and began to collaborate with the provincial government. O'Connor argues that the increasing participation and perceived legitimacy of ENGOS during the *First Green Wave* eroded the bipartite bargaining model. Up to this point environmental policy in Canada had largely been produced through private bipartisan negotiations between business and government in which government was understood to be a just representative of the environment and the public good. While many scholars have situated the collapse of bipartite bargaining in the 1980s, O'Connor effectively argues that it occurred in the early 1970s with the emergence of Pollution Probe and CELA.

O'Connor succeeds in making the history of early environmentalism in Canada valuable to contemporary environmental organizations. *The First Green Wave* shows how some groups can fail and some can succeed. The experience of Pollution Probe exemplifies the difficulties of harmonizing the visions and intentions of various members of a group, the difficulties of assessing what environmentalism really is, and what practical actions can be taken to achieve some sort of measurable result. However, many of Pollution Probe's early successes were achieved by a privileged group of mostly Caucasian young people with elite connections and institutional backing at a time of relative economic prosperity, and perhaps one of greater political hospitality. Further, O'Connor points out, there was little engagement with the working class, and environmental justice issues were not yet on the table. Thus, as factors such as gender, ethnicity, class, indigeneity, and political orientation are now increasingly and inextricably connected with environmental politics, the issues facing contemporary ENGOS are exponentially more complicated than those facing Pollution Probe and its contemporaries.

The First Green Wave is meticulously researched and superbly written. O'Connor consulted several major collections of archival records and conducted 67 interviews. The book showcases the influence of Pollution Probe on an astonishing number of significant events in Canadian history, however, while the book does an excellent job of situating the influence of the ENGO, some episodes, such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry are passed over with too much haste. While in some ways this is a strength, as this book is a very clear and fast read, some of the examples could be more thoroughly fleshed out. *The First Green Wave* paints a particularly strong picture of environmental politics by showing not just that

Pollution Probe had a significant influence on business and government, but also how that influence was perceived by the business people and politicians who were affected by it. Nonetheless, it would be useful to have an expanded perspective on how business and government perceived and assessed their responses to the early ENGOS. This minor nitpicking aside, *The First Green Wave* is an invaluable contribution to the history of the environmental movement, and a very useful, contemporarily relevant assessment of the dynamics of environmental politics.

HEREWARD LONGLEY
University of Alberta

Margaret E. Beare, Nathalie Des Rosiers, and Abigail C. Deshman, eds., *Putting the State on Trial: The Policing of Protest during the G20 Summit* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2015)

PUTTING THE STATE ON TRIAL examines the policing and suppression of protests associated with the Toronto and Huntsville meetings of the G8 and G20 in summer of 2010. As a volume with fifteen chapters, the book offers an extensive analysis of those many enduring images from the protests in Toronto: police kenneled and mass arbitrary arrests, shoddy conditions of the temporary holding facilities, the manipulation of laws to intimidate and arrest protesters, as well as the images of police violently attacking unarmed protestors. With a security budget of over \$1 billion, what transpired in the streets and temporary detention facilities of Toronto solicited a fair degree of media scrutiny and public outcry. Though the policing of the G20 summit has received some degree of academic attention, the volume does an excellent job providing new analysis and discussion of both the events of the G20 as well as the

relationship between these events and the long-standing police suppression of the political left in Canada.

In their introduction to the volume the editors stress that the book is not simply about the G20 but a broader examination of the policing of dissent in Canada. In an effort to underline this point, they give a short synopsis “From the Winnipeg Strike to Toronto’s G20” that, though quick, provides an illustrative portrait of the historical suppression of leftist movements by policing forces in Canada. Though the editors themselves shy away from framing their analysis of policing as only targeting the left (they make a shallow point regarding the policing of hockey riots and Guns N’ Roses concerts), the historical record is overwhelmingly illustrative of the RCMP’s (and others’) obsessive surveillance and disruption of left-wing movements.

After the introduction from the editors, the collection is divided into three sections. The first of the thematic sections features five chapters examining trends that gave rise to the mass suppression of protests in Toronto. This section contains a number of useful chapters for instructors of upper-year courses looking for concise readings on the relationship between leftist political movements and the state in Canada. In particular, Leo Panitch offers an excellent stage-setting chapter that catalogues the transnational architectures of global capitalism and the protests that have coincided with these meetings of political elites. Though hasty in its concluding remarks around violence and tactics, Panitch underlines the connections between transnational economic powers and localized protest, as well as relating how Canadian events figure into global patterns of accumulation and resistance. Though perhaps outside the interest of some readers of this journal, the first thematic section also contains a brilliant chapter by Lesley

Wood on the transforming strategies (and tactics) of protest policing in North America between the 1995 and 2012. As a concise yet comprehensive account of the transforming repertoire of police practices, Wood underlines how Toronto’s G20 is best understood as the most recent iteration of suppressive mechanisms developed to control increasingly plural social justice movements. As Wood concludes: “to understand why police kettled protests in the rainy Toronto streets in 2010 means looking beyond that day and those actors to the increasingly integrated and less accountable networks in which police decision-making takes place.” (61) It is precisely the operational environments of integration and discretion that are addressed in the second thematic section of the book.

Under the banner of “Policing the Event,” five chapters provide a range of discussions on the policing and surveillance activities that transpired in preparation and on the streets of Toronto. Indeed, as perhaps the most radical transformation to protest policing, it is precisely the pre-emptive surveillance practices that structure the “events” that unfold in protest spaces. As an important theme within social movements and policing literature, the role of pre-emption and ubiquitous social movement surveillance was central thread within the chapters of this section. Moving beyond the immediate threats that political surveillance presents to the suppression of protests, chapters from Kate Milberry and Andrew Clement, Veronica Kitchen and Kimberly Rygiel, and Nicholas Lamb and George Rigakos, all underline how the information and intelligence networks established through these policing operations have far-reaching repercussions in terms of future surveillance and political suppression. Combined with more opaque and unresponsive systems of “accountability” or redress, the chapters

listed above are excellent in calling attention towards the long-term threat to civil liberties and political resistance that arise from current information collection/sharing practices of policing and security agencies.

Given the spectacular transgressions of the policing practices in Toronto, the third thematic section addresses issues of “accountability” and lessons to be learned. Divided between four chapters, authors examine different elements of the after-the-event responses including a number of legal avenues of contestation and/or redress, public and media scrutiny, inquiry, and investigative models of “accountability” and oversight, as well as broader notions of critical public education. As a concluding section it is illustrative of two overarching themes of the volume: an entirely antagonistic and hostile attitude from policing agencies towards the demonstrations, which rationalized the wanton approach to the issues of *Charter* freedoms and police violence; and secondly, an institutional model of policing in Canada that systematically shields police agencies (and officers) from being brought to justice for their crimes. It is not an issue of bad apples, but bad containers and as Nathalie Des Rosiers highlights in her concluding remarks, the repetition of these patterns of policing violence and impunity are inevitable, as was evident in the violent suppression of Quebec student strikes of 2012.

In addition to the clear and systematic critiques offered in the conclusions of the volume, the final section is exemplary of the most notable academic contribution from the volume: its fluid, interdisciplinary approach to examining the topic of political suppression in Canada. The volume combines black-letter legal analysis with sociological theorizing and historical investigations to provide a thoughtful and empirically rich account of the events in Toronto, as well as the broader issue of

police impunity in Canada. Perhaps the chapter with the least direct relation to the events at Toronto, but the most germane in terms of contemporary (post-G20) policing in Toronto, is Howard Morton’s legal analysis of the powers of “street checks”. Given the recent protests by groups like #blacklivesmatter against “carding” practices (as well as the killing of unarmed black men) in Toronto, the chapter is illustrative of the book’s aim of being relevant to broader issues of police violence and impunity.

As a policing scholar, I highly recommend the text. Above all, the text provides a valuable set of resources for graduate students and supervisor regarding issues of policing and social movements in Canada. Specific chapters could certainly be used for weekly readings or case studies in undergraduate or graduate courses. As a relatively inexpensive text from an academic publisher, it could be used for upper-level special topics courses, as the book does provide enough distinct materials to be used in perhaps three weeks’ worth of readings and discussion. The text is exemplary for its interdisciplinary and scope of contributions, though its shelf life maybe limited given the next G20-esque events may be upon us soon enough.

JEFFREY MONAGHAN
University of Ottawa

Jerome Klassen, *Joining Empire: The Political Economy of the New Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2014)

THIS BOOK MAKES the case that “Canada’s new foreign policy is a class-based effort at *joining empire*.” (6; all emphases in quotes are from the original) “Empire” refers to the current system of collective imperialism dominated by the United States. The second notable term

in the above sentence registers what is most distinctive about this book – “class-based.” I will raise some questions below about the third notable term, “new.”

Along with earlier works, including Todd Gordon’s *Imperialist Canada* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring, 2010), this book challenges understandings of Canada as some kind of rich dependency. The New Canadian Political Economy School held that one reason Canada does not qualify as an advanced capitalist country is that it lacks a real national bourgeoisie with its own class interests (see Wallace Clement, *Continental Corporate Power* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977]). It is a fundamentally different framework for analysis and politics to recognize instead that a relatively independent Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie controls Canada’s economy and the Canadian state. To note this difference we should regard *Joining Empire* as part of a newer Canadian Political Economy School. The particularity of Canada’s relationship with the US remains central, but the dependency-premised justification for Canadian left-nationalism is gone.

Klassen first reviews theories of imperialism. His own account emphasizes that spatial expansion is inherent to capitalism, and that value is geographically transferred through trade. As indicated by adopting the term “empire,” he views collective imperialism by the advanced capitalist states as currently predominating over inter-imperialist rivalry.

The book then reviews the nature of the US-led empire of capital in order to address how Canada fits into this framework. It treats North American continental deep integration as an example of how secondary powers like Canada must find specialized roles to advance the interests of their own capitalist class. Continentalization is characterized as part of a broader “spatial fix” for the capitalist crisis of accumulation. It provided

a broader base for Canadian capital to further internationalize: “The NAFTA relationship, then, has been critical for the expanded reproduction of Canadian capital on a *global scale*.” (134)

This recent expansion of Canadian capital beyond the domestic economy plays a central role in Klassen’s account. It is examined in more detail when the three circuits of capital approach (capital in the sphere of production, in circulation, and in the financial or money form) is used to evaluate Canada’s current role in the world economy. Despite certain particularities, the Canadian circuits are deemed typical of an advanced capitalist economy. “The Canadian state must be located as a secondary imperialist power in world accumulation ... tightly bound with the political economy of US capitalism, but also linked to wider circuits of capital in the world economy.” (152)

The nature of Canadian capital is also evaluated in terms of the directorship linkages among leading corporations. In a chapter written with William Carroll, author of the seminal *Corporate Power and Canadian Capitalism* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), the corporate network in Canada is characterized as “largely dominated by nationally owned firms – in particular, by leading [transnational corporations] under Canadian ownership.” (176) Changes between 1996 and 2006 include a “growing set of directorship interlocks between Canadian-owned TNCs and the largest foreign-based firms in the world.” (176) Leading Canadian firms “operate not as continental ‘compradors’ but as active members of an ‘Atlantic ruling class’ with transnational reach into both developed and developing countries.” (177)

These points are applied to explain recent Canadian “security” and foreign policy. Klassen criticizes dependency-influenced writers for their “one-sided focus on the interiorization of US corporate

power in the Canadian political economy, to the detriment of understanding the exteriorization of Canadian capital in transnational patterns of exploitation and accumulation.” (185) *Joining Empire* makes the case that “the transformation of the Canadian state since 2001 is the structural effect of the internationalization of capital and the recomposition of the power block around globalizing corporate interests.” (187)

The evidence offered includes detailed review of the succession of policy proposals and statements by Canadian business leaders and government agencies that progressively articulated the new approach. A densely documented chapter on Afghanistan and Haiti illustrates its application. It explores how development aid is funded, the training of police and security forces, and the financing elections of limited legitimacy.

Analyses that focus on capital often neglect the other side of the class relationship. I therefore appreciated that at each logical step in his account Klassen included placeholders for attention to “anti-imperialist struggles of workers, oppressed nations and other subaltern agents.” (56) The book ends by calling for the “further building of a counterforce to empire, and with it, a program of *antiracist, working-class politics* ... not just in Canada but around the world as well.” (257)

My chief reservation concerns what is new. I think the diagnosis of Canada as currently imperialist would be stronger if the book made clearer when it became so. The distinct emphasis is on the recent period rather than any continuity from before.

Thus Canada-US free trade is characterized as “a key turning point for Canadian capitalism.” (98) The North American Free Trade Agreement “sparked an *internationalization of Canadian capital on national, regional and international scales.*” (103) Klassen

refers to the “economic foundations of Canada’s new imperialism” (122) and how a “new power bloc emerged in the political economy of Canada.” (200) While the recent security and foreign policy practices are “not entirely new, they been advanced qualitatively over the past two decades, especially since 9/11.” (207)

In some respects these changes are qualitative, but in other respects they are not. Canada held extensive investments abroad long before they surged recently in tandem with those of other countries. William Carroll demonstrated that Canadian finance capital emerged well over a century ago. Canada-US cooperation on “security” issues has long been very close. The interests advanced by current foreign policy do not seem very different than in the earlier cases from Israel to the Congo enumerated in Yves Engler’s *The Black Book of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2009).

As a partisan of the perspective that Canada has long been imperialist I may be demanding too much of a work whose chief merit is that it addresses recent developments. My appreciation of what has changed is also confounded by uncertainty that much analytical purchase is gained by the concept of “empire.” In any case, greater clarity about Canada’s previous political-economic status would help identify what is really “new” in the last three decades covered by this book.

With honourable exceptions the New Canadian Political Economy School neglected making the domestic bourgeoisie an object of serious study. *Joining Empire* is an important correction of that cardinal deficiency. We now have a theoretically sophisticated and up-to-date account of how Canadian foreign and security policy expresses the class interests of Canadian capital.

BILL BURGESS

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Dan Zuberi, *Cleaning Up: How Hospital Outsourcing is Hurting Workers and Endangering Patients* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2013)

THE FUTURE OF THE labour movement in the US and Canada almost certainly depends on its success in service industries like health care and education. Within such industries, workers and those who advocate on their behalf are wise to link claims for better wages and working conditions to broader conceptions of the public good like better patient care and higher quality schools. This is clearly Dan Zuberi's intention in *Cleaning Up: How Hospital Outsourcing Is Hurting Workers and Endangering Patients*, the title of which makes the connection that he works to substantiate over the course of 125 pages. The broad claim of the book – that the way a society treats its lowest-level health care workers in turn impacts the health of the society – is an important and provocative one.

Zuberi begins with the spectre of rampant hospital-acquired infections, which rose sharply in British Columbia immediately following the widespread outsourcing of ancillary hospital staff in 2004 (though has declined slightly since). He argues that there is a “largely overlooked connection between deteriorating working conditions in hospitals and the increase in hospital-acquired infections.” (6) The greatest strengths of the book are in the rhetorical links it makes between workers' and patients' wellbeing, and in its passionate advocacy on behalf of low-wage hospital workers.

Given his interest in the relationship between the outsourcing of hospital ancillary staff and the increase in hospital infection rates, however, Zuberi employs a somewhat counterintuitive research design. His research consists of interviews with hospital ancillary workers and

other health care professionals, along with participant observation (although the participant observation goes largely unmentioned in the book), all of which occurred between 2007 and 2011. Zuberi recruited preliminary interviewees at union meetings and used snowball sampling among these interviewees to broaden his sample.

This design would not necessarily be an issue if the book's goal were to enrich our understanding of the experience of ancillary hospital work in an increasingly market-driven environment. But the book's central argument hinges on the link between outsourcing and infection rates. Thus, the fact that the research starts three years *after* outsourcing becomes problematic. While we learn a lot about the struggles that hospital workers face in the contemporary environment, it is almost impossible for the reader to discern the extent to which these problems have worsened since outsourcing. (Zuberi often reports statistics from his interviews – i.e. 74 per cent of the workers he interviewed said the job negatively affected their physical health (46) – without discussing how these statistics might be different from those that would have been found before outsourcing, and without discussing how this statistic is influenced by his admittedly biased recruitment strategy).

Given the data to which Zuberi had access, another potential strategy would have been for him to compare the experiences of workers, and hospital infection rates, across different hospitals that used outsourcing in different ways or to different extents. This would have helped him to draw clearer conclusions about the relationship between outsourcing and workers' experiences, and between each of these and hospital-acquired infection rates. Yet while Zuberi recruited interviewees who worked at different hospitals

across Vancouver, he spends no time discussing variation in workers' experiences by hospital.

The more general problem with this book, however, is that it is simultaneously so narrow in focus and so broad. By staking his argument on the connection between the outsourcing of ancillary staff and hospital-acquired infections, he sets himself up for questions he is not prepared to answer. First, does outsourcing actually lead to increases in hospital-acquired infections? Zuberi's interviews do not help to answer this question. On this question, in fact, the most compelling evidence that Zuberi marshals is not his own. Instead, he cites several reports on hospital outsourcing in Vancouver – by Robert Stanwick and Nancy Pollak, among others – as well as a robust health policy literature, all of which support the conclusion that Zuberi repeats here.

Second, if outsourcing *does* in fact lead to increases in infections in Vancouver, by what process does this occur and how generalizable is this process? In the case of British Columbia, Zuberi argues, outsourcing led to a radical reduction in ancillary staffing levels and cutbacks in the training of these staff, a fragmentation of communications systems between in-house staff and the outsourced ancillary staff, and an almost complete lack of accountability for the contractors. Zuberi implies that these are all inevitable results of outsourcing: "Fundamentally, corporate managers and supervisors do not work for the best interests of patients. Rather, they are there to protect the best interests of the firms that employ them." (63) This likely contains some truth, but it is almost certainly an oversimplification. We might imagine counterfactual cases in which outsourcing could lead to the hiring of more expert cleaners, the implementation of more streamlined communications systems, and a hospital administration that carefully monitors

the services for which it contracts. It would likely not surprise us, for example, if an external corporation implemented and administered a hospital's electronic medical records systems in a more efficient and effective way than an in-house team. Large and unsubstantiated generalizations – "outsourcing is incompatible with the needs of complex institutions" (122) – do not help us better understand the ways that market forces interact with bureaucratic systems such as the hospitals in Vancouver.

If Zuberi's narrow claim is unsupported by his evidence, his sweeping discussions of hospital-acquired infections, on the one hand, and low-wage work, on the other, feel irrelevant – the non-overlapping areas of a Venn diagram of which the book's argument sits at the intersection. The book discusses a wide variety of causes of hospital infection that have little to do with the outsourcing of ancillary workers: among them too little hand washing among all hospital workers, the overuse of antibiotics, a lack of administrative monitoring and reporting, hospital overcrowding, contaminated catheters. Likewise, we learn quite a bit about the hardships faced by low-wage workers that bear only indirectly on hospital safety or cleanliness.

Despite these limitations, Zuberi's analysis succeeds in highlighting the importance of hospital cleanliness for the prevention of hospital-acquired infections, and in suggesting (if not proving) the ways that improving the wages and working conditions of low-wage hospital ancillary workers might improve patient outcomes. While this reader was hoping for a more rigorous proof of the connection between worker and public well-being, Zuberi's book nevertheless makes an argument we cannot afford to ignore.

ADAM REICH
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William A. Mirola, *Redeeming Time: Protestantism and Chicago's Eight-Hour Movement, 1866-1912* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2015)

WILLIAM MIROLA is a sociology professor at Marian University in Indianapolis, and co-editor of three previous works on religion and class. *Redeeming Time* is rooted in his dissertation in Sociology at Indiana University; he notes that he began the research some twenty years ago. Scholars have done little to examine the possibilities for and limits to cooperation between religion and labour. This book, examining a 50 year period in one city's history, is a helpful contribution to this limited conversation. Labour historians have tended to underestimate the role of the clergy in the 19th century labour movement, Mirola observes, while religious historians have overvalued it.

Mirola defines the eight-hour movement as "a central narrative in American industrial development" in which we can "identify the origins of several features of the contemporary economic landscape." (xii) These features include American Protestant churches' limited involvement in the labour struggle, the labour movement's focus on "pragmatic unionism," and the growth of "the market's untouchable morality of profit accumulation." (xii) Mirola takes pains to argue that the failure of the clergy to take action in support of labour was not, as some would believe, inevitable. Nonetheless, this failure resulted in the loss of their moral legitimacy with respect to "the routine operations of capitalism." (xii-xiii)

The focus on Protestants is clearly explained; the choice of Chicago, less so. Chicago workers were at the centre of national debates on the eight-hour day, a moral question that involved "beliefs about work, industrial justice, leisure, education, civic duty, and health. It was

a means to 'redeem time' for workers." (2) Catholics are largely ignored because they were not a significant religious group in Chicago at the time. And though the Catholic church was involved with immigrant worker issues in the city, Mirola notes, the church as a whole did not get involved with labour questions in a significant manner until after *Rerum Novarum* in 1891.

The book's six chapters take a chronological approach. Chapter 1 discusses the views of Chicago Protestants in the 19th century, the emergence of various factions within the eight-hour movement, and the connections among labour reformers, employers, and clergy. Clergy saw employers as morally upright Christians, as evidenced by their business success and their church attendance. By contrast, they viewed the working class as potentially dangerous, and opposed the eight-hour day for fear that workers would use the time to drink alcohol or be immorally idle. As employers began to redefine their faith as strictly personal and limited to Sunday mornings, clergy support for them ceased to be unquestioning. Workers, meanwhile, "lacking access to other resources," counted on churches to support their demands for an eight-hour day. (41)

Chapter 2 outlines the first eight-hour campaign in Chicago, in 1866-7, while the next two chapters focus on the period from 1873 to the aftermath of Haymarket. Over this period, the intransigence of employers and the unequal struggle between workers and employers evidenced by Haymarket resulted in growing sympathy for workers on the part of clergy. Clergy support for the eight-hour day emerged as a result. However, clergy took advantage of the eight-hour movement "to mobilize support for the temperance and Sabbatarian movements and to reinforce Protestant morality among an increasingly Catholic working class." (116)

Chapter 5 examines the 1890s and the passage of the Sweatshop Act in Illinois. Three factions within the labour movement made use of religious rhetoric (craft unions, the Knights of Labor, and the Central Labor Union). Their importance declined as workers realized that avoiding religious justifications for the eight-hour day “allowed labor to speak a language that resonated with employers and minimized the risk of fragmenting a religiously divided labor movement.” (152) The Knights and the CLU, though, saw religious rhetoric as “a means to frame a future social order based on cooperation and justice, the antithesis of industrial capitalism.” (153) The slowness on the part of Protestant clergy to translate moral support into practical action meant that the labour movement began to move away from the clergy just as “the new Protestant consciousness was about to be institutionalized into a pan-denominational social creed supporting labor rights.” (153) The Social Gospel came too late, in some ways, for the labour movement.

Three particular events are the subject of Chapter 6: shorter hours for women workers, a demand for shorter hours for typographers at a Methodist publishing house (which resulted in conflict with the Methodist church), and the creation of the pro-labour Social Creed of the Churches. By the beginning of the 20th century, the shift had been made from religious to political and economic rhetoric. Protestant churches turned their attention to the middle class, while the labour movement abandoned the oppositional and transformative language of religion for the language of employers which was “based on the logic of the capitalist market.” (191) Workers sought to shorten the workday rather than redeem it from capitalist dictates.

Mirola’s conclusion explores “the possibilities and constraints surrounding

religion as a basis for activism around economic and industrial issues.” (20) He acknowledges that “redeeming time” may seem ridiculous to those living in a multitasking age where our time is increasingly governed by technology. In the case of late 19th century Chicago workers, “redeeming time involved an accommodation to capitalism and industrial production instead of resistance to it.” (197) It was not Protestant clergy who aided workers in winning the fight for the eight-hour day. Rather, he concludes, success came through the strengthening of the labour movement through strikes, the evidence of continued economic success provided by those businesses that moved to an eight hour day, and public sympathy for worker protests in the aftermath of Haymarket. Nonetheless, Mirola declares that there is “some hope for the role religion plays in the contemporary labor movement” in that our present situation has similarities to that of turn-of-the-century Chicago. However, “demands to redeem time through shorter hours are few, as most workers appear anxious to hold on to their job regardless of the hours they work.” (207) He ends by quoting the “prophetic warning” of theologian Walter Rauschenbusch, writing in 1912: “If the present struggle of wage-workers is successful, and they become the dominant class of the future, any religious ideas and institutions which they now embrace in the heat of struggle will rise with them to power and any institution on which they turn their back is likely to find itself left in the cold.” (207) It seems, then, that the benefits to a potential future church-labour alliance rest primarily with the church. Mirola, however, seems to hold out hope for the faithful, declaring it “ironic” that “today, people of faith remain hesitant to fight in and over the arena of capitalist economics and industrial conditions.” (ix) Reading this book while attending the recent “Religion

and Labor: Moral Vision from/for the Grassroots” conference at Syracuse University, it’s a hope that I share.

JANIS THIESSEN
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Jacob A. Zumoff, *The Communist International and US Communism, 1919–1929* (Leiden: Brill 2015)

THIS BOOK CHALLENGES a long-standing story about the early US Communist Party. Amid the prosperous 1920s, according to the old narrative, a small group of American radicals, out of touch with the US realities, hope to follow the example of Russia’s workers and peasants led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, who made the 1917 Revolution. The result was a new Communist Party characterized by crazy, sectarian ultra-leftism. A primary culprit was the Communist International, pulling naïve idealists into organizational, strategic, and tactical schemes derived from backward Russia, hilariously inappropriate to the most dynamic capitalist country in the world. (I myself heard a story, perhaps apocryphal, of an early Communist leaflet appealing to the Workers and Peasants of Brooklyn.)

Pushing against what he sees as a caricature of early US Communism, Jacob Zumoff adheres to the original revolutionary perspectives. Whether he is right or wrong in this, his orientation causes him to seek and dig out valuable information about what the early Communists actually thought, did, and tried to do. The result is a picture of an early US Communism far more interesting and impressive than is revealed by the time-worn narrative. Zumoff’s thesis is that the Comintern played a positive role in its first four years, but that increasingly afterwards, its negative transformation in

the direction of what came to be known as “Stalinism” destructively impacted on the US Communist Party.

The classic study of early US Communism is the two-volume work of 1957 and 1960 by liberal-minded ex-Communist Theodore Draper – *The Roots of American Communism* and *American Communism and Soviet Russia*. Draper’s meticulous work transcended the caricatures yet ultimately was dismissive of US Communism as being dominated by the perspectives and needs not of the US working class but, instead, of the Communist leaders of Soviet Russia.

Zumoff’s introduction traces the conflict between Draper and his followers, who see the tragedy of a Soviet-dominated US Communism, and younger 1960s activist-scholars seeing US Communism in its 1930s reformist incarnation as a source of inspiring struggles. He draws from each of the two approaches while transcending both. Fully conversant with the secondary literature, he has also delved into the papers of numerous participants, plus newly available archives of the US Communist Party and the Communist International. And he has drawn all of this together into a well-written, highly informative volume that will stand as a “must-read” source for years to come.

Zumoff’s study complements John Riddell’s multi-volume edition on the first four congresses of the Communist International. These reveal a richness and diversity of political thought and experience often missed by some historians. Far from imposing inappropriate “foreign” perspectives, we see Lenin, Trotsky, and other leaders of the Comintern insisting (and assisting) in US Communists grounding themselves in the realities of their own political and cultural environment. Up to 1923–24, as Zumoff documents, the relationship proved to be overwhelmingly positive.

Even in the days of relative health, however, a situation of “factional gang warfare” (158) permeated the young party. On one side was the central leader Charles Ruthenberg, assisted by an ambitious protégé named Jay Lovestone; on the other side a largely trade union based current headed by William Z. Foster and James P. Cannon.

The problem was worsened by József Pogány, a functionary sent by the Communist International to assist the Hungarian-American federation. Adopting the name “John Pepper,” he proved to be a very talented yet irresponsible adventurer. Pepper passed himself off as having far more authority than had been intended by those who sent him and assumed a central role in the inner councils of the Party. Aligning himself with the Ruthenberg-Lovestone faction, he contributed to a sharpening of the inner-party warfare, and also to a combination of opportunism and sectarian arrogance that seriously damaged Communist prospects in the broader arena of US labour activism.

Although Pepper was finally removed in 1925, the factionalism sharpened. This took place within a context of considerable maneuvering and manipulation, as the role played by the Comintern was transformed by developments inside the Soviet Communist Party. Lenin’s death amid the ballooning of a bureaucratic state and party apparatus, a temporary alliance of Comintern chieftain Gregory Zinoviev with Stalin against Trotsky, then an alliance of Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin against Zinoviev and Trotsky, and finally Stalin’s triumphant rupture with Bukharin – all were reflected within the Comintern and had an impact on developments within US Communism.

When the Foster-Cannon caucus had a majority, the Comintern intervened on behalf of the Ruthenberg-Lovestone caucus (which it deemed more loyal to

the Comintern). At this point, Cannon – sincerely believing in the need for loyalty to the Comintern, which had done much good in the past and represented world revolution – broke with Foster, forming a caucus to end factionalism. Upon Ruthenberg’s premature death in 1927, however, the super-factional Lovestone became Party leader.

Lovestone and those around him enthusiastically supported Stalin and waged an anti-Trotsky campaign that expelled Cannon and others. But he himself was soon – almost inadvertently – caught up in an anti-Bukharin campaign, as Stalin and those around him sought to centralize the world Communist movement under their control. By 1929, the US Communist Party was “Stalinized” under the pliant leadership of Earl Browder.

This is a political history of the US Communist Party, with a focus on leaders, factional disputes, and especially the ongoing relationship with the leadership, policies, and apparatus of the Communist International. Limited attention is given to the on-the-ground work and experience of, for example, the Trade Union Educational League, the International Labor Defense, the American Negro Labor Congress, the Workers School, etc. While such studies remain to be written, utilizing the tools of social history, this volume contributes a valuable framework.

A major plus of Zumoff’s contribution is his inclusion of four chapters on “the Negro Question.” He shows that it was Comintern insight and influence which compelled the US Communist Party to come to overcome a deep-rooted tendency on the US Left to avoid coming to grips with racism. In legitimately challenging later Comintern theorizations however, he includes “self-determination for black Americans” in a list of Stalinist-influenced “ideological errors and eccentricities.” (366) Surely this merits further

consideration. Leon Trotsky himself (in interaction with Black radicals like Claude McKay and C.L.R. James) embraced a more supple version of self-determination for African-Americans.

More work also remains to be done on the post-1929 period. While the Communist Party of later years has been a focus of other historians, it awaits treatment from someone with Zumoff's political sensibilities. Bryan Palmer's multi-volume biography of James P. Cannon promises to do justice to the scholarly study of US Trotskyism. The Lovestone group evaporated in 1940 but deserves greater attention than Zumoff suggests. He misleadingly claims that "starting in the 1930s its leaders began to act as braintrusts to the AFL bureaucrats' opposition to Communism and the CIO" (284) – but the story is more complex and interesting than that. Nonetheless, this fine book stands as a major contribution to the history of Communism in the United States.

PAUL LE BLANC

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Erin Royston Battat, *Ain't Got No Home: America's Great Migrations and the Making of An Interracial Left* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2014)

ERIN BATTAT'S STUDY is a comparative analysis of migration narratives showing how "black and white writers experimented with new literary forms that recast the relationship between African American and southern white workers and testified to the possibility of class-based interracial alliances." (2) Ultimately, Battat is focused on "the aesthetic dimension" of migration art, looking at how struggles for social justice surfaced in the fiction of Sonora Babb, William Attaway, and Chester Himes and in the visual art of

Elizabeth Catlett. (3) Battat also includes brief analyses of Tillie Olsen's 1930s *Yonnondio*, a white migration narrative written and set in the 1930s but published in 1974; Richard Wright's 1941 photo-essay *12 Million Black Voices*; the 1945 nonfictional migration narrative, *They Seek A City*, co-written by Black writer Arna Bontemps and white leftist Jack Conroy; and Harriette Arnow's *The Dollmaker* (1954). Precisely because interracial alliances and relationships were so rare, Battat contends that writers in her study "turned to the migration narrative to articulate their reform visions." (4)

That radical writers and artists, Black and white, used literature and other cultural forms to push for social change is well documented by scholars of the 1930s and the Left. But Battat's underlying quest is to show that these artists produced an *interracial migration narrative canon*, which, she says, emerged from shared contexts, and which should "replace the traditional view of black and white migration as separate streams feeding different political and aesthetic pools." (13) This poses a number of questions, not fully addressed in this study, chief among them are these: how does she define "interracial migration narrative," and is the evidence presented here extensive enough to make a convincing argument that this interracial canon exists?

Clearly, the social issues of the 1930s and 1940s – the Depression, migration, and the prominence of the Left – did produce a new cultural map, and the migration narrative was at the centre of these cultural shifts. Battat focuses on the migration narratives of Attaway, Babb, and Himes because they "more explicitly engage with the intersections of class and race in the migration experience." (11) She begins to make her case for the interracial character of their narratives with the recovery of Sonora Babb's neglected 1930s dust bowl novel *Whose*

Names Are Unknown, which was finally published in 2004 by the University of Oklahoma Press. Because Babb was a communist, she was invested in exposing the way capitalism's demands produced the shocking conditions of migrant labour communities, and, presumably, a greater investment in representing interracial solidarity. The most clearly articulated example of interracial unity Battat offers from *Whose Names Are Unknown* is the scene of Black, white, and Filipino workers gaining a collective voice as they join with one another "across boundaries of race, ethnicity and gender." (65) Yet, as Battat herself notes, this collective unity is undercut in the novel's own practice of marginalizing and stereotyping its characters of colour. The one Black male character in the novel is introduced as "The Negro" Garrison, along with his wife Phoebe, who never speaks, and the "short, stocky Filipino" named Pedro. These stock characters do not enter the novel until Chapter 37, nearly the end, when they meet together at an organizing meeting, but Battat pushes this as the essential scene of interracial unity, concluding that, "This tableau [of Black, white, and Filipino workers] attests to the central role of migration in bringing about interracial working-class solidarity." (66) Battat seems determined to produce this solidarity even as she critiques Babb for her thin portrayals of people of colour. The argument for an interracial vision is further eroded by the way Babb describes these white migrant camps as normative. White migrants drive around towns undisturbed; their children go to school or expect to; they go to the movies undisturbed; they eat and drink wherever they want and whenever they have enough money; the worst slur they are subjected to is being called "Okies." Although Babb does deal with the issue of the Okies' whiteness in a 1938 journal she kept while working for the Farm

Security Administration, neither she nor Babb examines the way Babb's novel is deeply implicated in racial exclusion.

In the chapter on William Attaway's 1941 migrant novel *Blood on the Forge*, Battat's own analysis undercuts every example of interracial unity or solidarity that she provides. Battat claims, for example, that "interracial camaraderie flourishes in the bunkhouse" in *Blood on the Forge* but "deteriorates in the realm of the family and neighborhood." (90) What is substantially the experience of race in *Blood on the Forge* is violent racial hostilities, white working-class resistance to Blacks, and race war. In Battat's own terms, Attaway "refigures the North as a site of race and class conflict rather than integration and opportunity, pressing for revolutionary change." (92) There are flashes of interracial unity in this novel, or more accurately, "interracial camaraderie," which appear and disappear like meteoroids but are never sustained because, in the words of Attaway, "political and social equality" are inseparable. (90) The same can be said for the example of Chester Himes's *If He Hollers*, which depicts a racial hostility so venomous among the workers in the shipyards of California that the main black character Bob Jones ends psychologically and physically damaged and the only dramatization of interracial unity is Bob's being drafted along with the two Mexican youths.

Battat concludes that by the 1950s, "stories of internal migration no longer adequately conveyed the vision of an interracial class struggle," but withered "amidst anticommunist purges and escalating racial hostilities in the South." (164) She considers only three narratives to show how the rise of conservative politics shifted the emphasis in migration narratives away from a critique of social issues: Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952), Dorothy West's *The Living Is Easy* (1947), and Harriette Arnow's *The*

Dollmaker (1954). She does not include many major postwar African American migration novels, and I suggest that looking at even three – Lloyd L. Brown’s *Iron City* (1951), James Baldwin’s *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), or Paule Marshall’s *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959) – would produce a more complicated story than the one Battat tells. The one Black migration narrative that produced the interracial ideal Battat imagines is Lloyd L. Brown’s 1951 *Iron City*. In a Scottsboro-like depiction of interracial unity, the Mississippi migrant flees the racial violence in Mississippi for Pittsburgh, drawn there by seeing the poster of two Communist Party nominees, one white and one Black, and joins an interracial cadre of Communist Party members to free a falsely imprisoned Black man. Though *Iron City*’s interracial ideology may have been motivated by Brown’s communist commitments, this novel is the singular example from the Cold War 1950s of Left interracialism: Blacks and whites are joined together as social and intellectual equals, sharing bread, money, struggle, and jail. Unfortunately, this novel is not included in Battat’s study.

Battat proposes that the “tensions and continuities between African American and white migration novels” call for an “integrated approach” to understanding the 1930s Left and its literary production. (69) In Battat’s own terms, however, the record – both discursive and historical – reflects a “fundamental divergence in black and white migration narratives.” (126) Battat consistently deploys this strategy of invoking then dismissing a more nuanced critical perspective in favour of a kind of cultural idealism that inflates the concepts of integration and interracialism. Moreover, given how few migration texts are included here, it is hard to justify the claims of an interracial migration canon. What is so promising

in this study – especially its examination of the intersections of populism, regionalism, feminism, and left radicalism – needs to be balanced by a greater emphasis on the messy, contradictory elements of the migration story that Battat so deftly identifies.

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Robert Justin Goldstein, ed., *Little “Red Scares”: Anti-Communism and Political Repression in the United States, 1921–1946* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate 2014)

LITTLE “RED SCARES” is an important contribution to the literature on American anticommunism. It gathers together thirteen experts in the field, and sheds light on a period in the history of American anticommunism that has received relatively little historiographical attention: the years between 1921 and 1946. The volume is edited by a pioneer in the field, Robert Justin Goldstein. As Goldstein makes clear in his succinct introduction, this volume proves that the first Red Scare of 1919–1920 was not a blip in American history: rather, it was the opening salvo for decades of anti-communist, counter-subversive activity. Within this framework, McCarthyism was nothing new under the sun. Further, *Little “Red Scares”* explores the many faces of counter-subversion between 1921 and 1946. Anticommunism was implemented at the federal, state, and municipal levels, often to varying degrees and at different times. The book shows that the boom in activism was a grassroots matter, too. Militant religious and secular organizations were rabidly anticommunist and remarkably well-organized, and often bundled their attacks on communism within broader battles against the rise of secularism, the influx of immigrants, or racial and gender equality.

The thirteen chapters in the volume are organized chronologically and thematically. They all, to varying degrees, engage with four overarching questions: (1) What is the relationship between the first “great” Red Scare and the second one (1946–1954)? Is this a story of continuity or change over time?; (2) Assuming that anticommunism remained a central force throughout the period under analysis, who led the pack? Should we focus our attention on Congress, the federal government, state governments, local governments, private-sector groups, business interests, labour groups, mainstream media, or religious organizations?; (3) What were the key arguments used against communism, and to what extent did these arguments resonate with broad sectors of the population?; and (4) Did counter-subversive activities successfully curb the spread of communist and left-wing radicalism in the United States between the two world wars?

The arguments offered in answer to these questions vary from chapter to chapter: there is no unified approach or overarching consensus, and rarely do authors directly engage (and disagree with) one another. For instance, the first two chapters provide a new framework for understanding the place of the 1920s in US history, but the similarities end there. In Chapter 1, University of Tennessee historian Ernest Freeberg argues that the receding of the first “great” Red Scare was the work of the emergent civil liberties movement. For Freeberg, the movement initially coalesced around causes such as the continued imprisonment of hundreds of war dissenters after World War I. (Among the 1,200 dissenters convicted during the war was Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs who, in 1920, ran for president from behind bars.) Imprisonment without due process led a large number of Americans – including chastened liberals and progressives – to

hold high the banner of free speech, and begin fighting for checks on federal and state power. Thus, for Freeberg, anticommunist activism faltered because it was shown to be biased and undemocratic by a large swath of Americans.

Freeberg’s interpretation stands in sharp contrast to that advanced by other scholars in the volume, including Marquette University emeritus historian Athan Theoharis. In his investigation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Theoharis argues that anticommunist activity was never really scaled back after the first Red Scare. Rather, the FBI continued monitoring suspected communists. In the process, the Bureau “evolved from a minor agency having limited influence to a powerful agency that profoundly, if at times indirectly, affected national policy and political culture.” (23) Furthermore, the FBI “won,” in the sense that for fear of being discovered, radical leftists hid in the shadows. In his contribution, the path-breaking expert in this field M.J. Heale comes down somewhere between Freeberg and Theoharis. He argues that there *was* a huge shift in the interwar years, but that it was mainly operative at the federal level. Indeed, Heale suggests that in the 1930s, American Communists “were largely spared harassment” by the federal government, just as state and local authorities and private right-wing groups began ramping up their anticommunist activities: “the federal government,” he notes, “was a relatively late recruit to the anticommunist cause.” (62)

In contrast to Freeberg, Heale and others assert that the radical left took a real beating in the interwar years. Consider the treatment of supporters of the Spanish Republic (who were often unfairly tarred as 100% communists, as investigated by historian Eric Smith), or the reaction to consumer advocates (such as the League of Women Shoppers, analyzed by University of Iowa professor

Landon Storrs). In one of the most fascinating chapters of the volume, Kennesaw State University Georgia professor Robbie Lieberman shows how advocates of racial equality were more often than not branded communists, and hence summarily dismissed by mainstream white America. Even universities and sites of learning were not protected, as Stephen Leberstein and Timothy Cain explore in their chapters on American universities and schools, respectively. All of these examples suggest the continuity and success of anticommunist activism in the interwar years.

Authors in the collection also offer a variety of answers to the question of who was wagging the dog. For the young but already quite accomplished Alex Goodall (author of the ground-breaking *Loyalty and Liberty: American Countersubversion from World War I to the McCarthy Era*, [Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014]), Congress was ahead of the pack, though it was isolated and unable to unite other anticommunists in common cause. Rebecca Hill (Kennesaw State University) concurs, and shows how it would take until the late 1930s for Congressional conservatives to gain momentum again, in the lead-up to the Hatch Act. For Chad Pearson (Collin College), business interests – in the form of employer associations like the National Association of Manufacturers, the US Chamber of Commerce, and the Southern States Industrial Council – were the decisive voices. Leading expert Markku Ruotsila (author of *British and American Anticommunism before the Cold War*, [New York: Taylor and Francis, 2001]), puts labour groups in the driver's seat: he provocatively argues that their cooperation with anticommunist surveillance activities and their overt anticommunist statements strengthened the counter-subversive movement in a big way. Finally, Stephen Leberstein puts

a great deal of emphasis on state legislatures (the New York state legislature, to be precise), in his investigation of the Rapp-Coudert Committee's work to root out communists in academia. As anti-FDR campaigns gained momentum in the House in the 1930s, Kenneth O'Reilly investigates how "winning back America" was a key motivation for the founders of the Dies House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), whose creators cast the Roosevelt administration as "un-American." The charges have an eerie resonance today.

Given its breadth and depth, *Little "Red Scares"* will be of interests to specialists in a range of different fields. With appropriate scaffolding, it may be put to productive use in undergraduate and graduate courses on US history, the history of anti-communism, and the history of counter-subversion since World War I. To be sure, the book does not provide all of the answers to the questions that it poses, and it could benefit from a more active attempt to situate the United States in a broader framework. We get glimmers of the transnational anticommunist networks of which American actors were a part in only a few of the contributions, though we now know that this international context is crucial if we want to come to a deep understanding of the causes and effects of American anticommunism. Happily, this important issue is one that a number of young scholars (including Daniel Bessner, Paul Hanenbrink, Alex Goodall, Udi Greenberg, Michele Louro, Jennifer Luff, Tony Michels, Kathy Olmsted, and Colleen Woods) are exploring in new and forthcoming work.

GIULIANA CHAMEDES

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David Lucander, *Winning the War for Democracy: The March on Washington Movement, 1941–1946* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2014)

IN EXCHANGE FOR a presidential ban on racial discrimination by employers producing war *matériel* for the US federal government and creating a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), African-American labour leader A. Philip Randolph cancelled a threatened protest rally by Black workers in Washington, DC on the eve of US entry into World War II. While eventually killed by Congress, the FEPC was instrumental in raising Black employment to six million by 1944. However, little is known about Randolph's short-lived March on Washington Movement (MOWM) that fought to secure gainful employment for Blacks in defence industries and public services. The latest edition of a labour history classic does not refer to MOWM. (Melvin Dubofsky and Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America* [Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 2010]) Besides an entry in *The Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History*, the group attracts little attention. (Eric Arnesen, ed. [London: Routledge, 2007])

As David Lucander argues, MOWM's significance does not solely rest on the release of Executive Order (EO) 8802. MOWM and the FEPC were not the products of legislation drafted by white politicians. MOWM emerged from an activist Black working-class culture which was firmly rooted in the New Deal order and which had a lasting social impact. In the spirit of Double V campaigns, MOWM opposed both foreign fascism and domestic racism with "critical patriotism." (56) Unlike W.E.B. Du Bois during World War I, Randolph and his associates were not against confrontation. Members of the all-Black grassroots movement organized protests against various forms of Jim

Crow in northern and mid-western cities. MOWM organizers would pave the way for the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

After stating his case in the introduction, Lucander develops it in five sections. Chapter 1 covers MOWM's formation in 1941. African-American college graduates, trade unionists, and female professionals comprised MOWM's executive staff. Like Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), they saw themselves as "reformers." (3) In dealings with Franklin Roosevelt, Randolph collaborated with Walter White's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Roosevelt and his advisors held that a march would benefit Axis propaganda, hurt fragile relations with southern Democrats, and destabilize the labour market. First suggested by New York City mayor Fiorella La Guardia as a compromise, EO 8802 was born out of "political calculations, not idealistic impulses." (37) The FEPC had few powers but represented the novel idea that the federal government could regulate discriminatory employment practices. Leftist reactions to Randolph's agreement to cancel the march were negative. The Communist Party-backed National Negro Congress denounced Randolph. (Randolph was a noted anti-communist.) Criticism of Randolph's clumsy leadership style mounted within MOWM.

In Chapter 2, Lucander writes about MOWM's growth and relations with progressive groups. To reinforce the idea that African Americans must take the lead in asserting racial equality, MOWM was all Black in membership. While most members did not share Randolph's socialism, his direct action concepts influenced MOWM protests. Although African-American women were key administrators and field organizers, there was a "gendered division of labor" at national headquarters. (63) MOWM enjoyed

support from pacifist A.J. Muste. Large rallies in New York City and Chicago featured keynote speakers like Mary McLeod Bethune, Adam Clayton Powell, and Norman Thomas. But as the NAACP was unwilling to work with what it saw as a potential rival, its ties with MOWM weakened.

Chapters 3, 4, and 6 concentrate on St. Louis MOWM and the FEPC Region IX office, which covered St. Louis. The city's Blacks were hard hit by the Depression and an entrenched Jim Crow system. Nearly two million black migrants had gone to St. Louis from the South but were excluded from manufacturing. Led by charismatic BSCP organizer T.D. McNeal, the MOWM St. Louis Unit exemplified how ordinary people put Randolph's ideas into practice. McNeal understood the connection between racial and economic injustice. He and David Grant, trained lawyer and former industrial labourer, gained support from the city's Democratic Party. While these men were harassed by white supremacists, MOWM was respected in Black society. St. Louis MOWM employed organized labour's rhetoric and tactics. In three years, there were hundreds of protests and a rally at the municipal auditorium drawing over 10,000 people. St. Louis MOWM was exposed to political intrigue, as with the situation at US Cartridge. There, MOWM wanted to desegregate the firm in line with FEPC recommendations, but management and a white United Electrical local agreed to create an all-Black production unit segregated from the rest of the workforce. While there is no record of a company having a federal contract revoked for violating EO 8802, MOWM unsuccessfully pushed for the establishment of a permanent FEPC as the war drew to a close.

Chapter 5 deals with the role MOWM women played in protests to desegregate public utilities. A women's auxiliary

of the St. Louis NAACP, many of whose members also belonged to MOWM, organized sit-ins in segregated department store restaurants; white Fellowship of Reconciliation activists also participated. In collaboration with the NAACP chapter at Howard University, MOWM organizer Pauli Murray organized lunch-counter sit-ins at department stores in Washington, DC.

Lucander finishes with an assessment of MOWM. Besides the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, its legacy was the desegregation of the armed forces, the creation of numerous state-level FEPCs, and the creation of federal affirmative action programs. MOWM opened a new front in the war for democracy: sustained state intervention – albeit limited – in the work world. The sections on St. Louis are case studies of working-class politics.

Lucander consulted the papers of Randolph, individual MOWM organizers, the BSCP, and the NAACP. He also accessed Black-owned newspapers, oral history interviews, and Federal Bureau of Investigation reports. The appendices have information about MOWM's 26 branches. Lucander observes that no transcript of the 1941 White House meeting exists. Few MOWM documents were preserved due to persistent funding problems and “an intentionally loose membership policy.” (181) It is understandable why it is difficult to study MOWM.

Lucander has mined relevant historiography. His work fits well with recent studies of the “long civil rights movement” and changes in the New Deal coalition (Andor Skotnes, *A New Deal for All?* [Durham: Duke University Press, 2013]; Paul Frymer, *Black and Blue* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008]; Stephen R. Ortiz, *Beyond the Bonus March and GI Bill* [New York: New York University Press, 2010]). Lucander speaks to the “working-class Americanism” thesis.

There are a few criticisms. Since E.D. Nixon was a guiding force behind the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott, I was curious about his MOWM-related activities. What place did the Port Chicago controversy have in MOWM's opposition to segregation in the armed forces? What was the corporate community's thinking about MOWM protests? A minor mistake is that Chapter 6 opens with the claim that V-J Day took place in 1944.

Winning the War for Democracy is a welcome alternative to the "Greatest Generation" narrative. In light of Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter, *Winning the War for Democracy* is a noteworthy challenge to the still popularly-held notion that African-American labour played a subsidiary role in struggles for civil rights.

ANTHONY B. NEWKIRK
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Karen M. Paget, *Patriotic Betrayal: The Inside Story of the CIA's Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade Against Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2015)

WITH A FOCUS ON the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Paget reviews the forms of covert action in US national and in international student organizations from 1941 to the late 1960s. Paget's book is a truly remarkable story of betrayal, manipulation, and deceit orchestrated by the US government on its own citizens and internationally. Her work is the latest – and most sophisticated to date – contribution to the small literature on CIA meddling in student politics internationally.

The first few chapters are dedicated to important "from above" student organizing that Paget effectively argues is key to understanding how later events unfolded, especially the relation between the CIA

and the US National Student Association (NSA). By the time the CIA formed in 1947, anticommunist organizers, associated with a variety of state and private forms of covert action, were already entrenched in the movement that formed the NSA.

The key strengths of Paget's work are her detailed description of select moments of covert action and her analysis of how the NSA came about, how it became involved internationally, and how the NSA-CIA relationship and objectives changed over time. The main body of Paget's text describes the international activities of the "NSA-CIA" in the International Student Conference (ISC) and its Coordinating Secretariat (COSEC), and how the global revolutionary potential of the Soviet-influenced International Union of Students (IUS) was undermined. Paget presents several case studies involving particular national student organizations. With a few exceptions, such as the case of Sweden, Paget seems mainly concerned with covert operations in "developing" nations. She has little to say about covert operations in Western nations or with the CIA's relation (or not) with these nation's own intelligence operations.

Around 1955, CIA objectives shifted from breaking the IUS monopoly on international student organizing to keeping the ISC united, working against IUS-ISC unification (especially strong among African, Asian, and Latin American student leaders) and gathering intelligence on student leaders (future national leaders). Her description of the balancing act between colonized and colonizing nations in the ISC and racism among NSA delegates, made the book irresistible. The last third of the book describes the covert action that occurred after the revelations of CIA involvement.

Paget admits her work is "American-centric since the NSA is the prism through which this history is told" (ix) and that she was a "witting" (4) NSA-CIA

insider. In spite of these important admissions, she never reflects on how this subjective location affects her telling of the NSA-CIA history, choosing instead an apparent objective “God’s-eye” perspective in her narrative. She does not really say much about her and her husband’s role in the NSA-CIA. On one hand, Paget’s insider status appears to provide us with a unique view of the CIA’s covert action – her prior knowledge and membership in the exclusive club of the “witting” no doubt facilitated her access to former NSA-CIA participants. On the other hand, readers have to ask themselves, how does being an American and a former NSA-CIA participant affect the knowledge generated and presented? While Paget’s work is central to uncovering many truths, given the history of lies and smokescreens of the NSA-CIA, how can we trust Paget’s account? The tendency to leave these methodological and ultimately ethical concerns unaddressed reduces the credibility of her otherwise extraordinary story.

I appreciate Paget’s admission of American-centrism. However, she fails to consider how an American-centric perspective hinders her narrative of the NSA-CIA actions. For example, Paget seems to decontextualize naively NSA-CIA actions in relationship to the military-force side of *Pax Americana*. Additionally, her focus on the CIA in the NSA draws attention away from the NSA’s domestic achievements. Moreover, Paget ignores other interconnected spheres of youth organization such as the World Assembly of Youth, the World Youth Festivals, and the history of the IUS. As well, she overlooks the December 1949 “London Conference” which prefigured the ISC meeting and was likely linked to a British covert action. Paget’s account is hardly the “full story” as claimed on the book’s front flap.

From a Canadian-centric point of view, Paget’s omission of reference to

the National Federation of Canadian University Students (NFCUS) is mysterious given Canada’s geopolitical location to the US and the fact that the NFCUS and NSA were in regular communication. Could it be that, typical of American researchers on student politics, she simply ignores Canada? Alternatively, is it that the information might be too sensitive? In spite of the absence of any NSA-CIA-NFCUS details, nevertheless, her work offers us opportunity to reflect on the relationship between various forms of covert action and student organizations in the Canadian context, both historically and contemporaneously. The most notable example is Paget’s outing of “witting” NSA-CIA operatives – who I found attending NFCUS meetings and were no doubt on the look-out for opportunities to have NFCUS act on behalf of the US government’s Cold War goals. Another insight into the Canadian situation is Paget’s broad view of covert action in student organizations: government intelligence agencies are not the only institutions involved in covert action. University administrators and “professional youth organizers” such as those connected to the Catholic Church and youth wings of the dominant political parties for example have all engaged in covert action on student organization in Canada.

Another example of how Paget sheds light on the Canadian situation in her description of Eleanor Roosevelt’s wartime student meetings where various anticommunist covert agencies converged. One of the anticommunist techniques student leaders learned at these conferences was the “student as such” policy, whereby any future US national student organization would “focus [only] on ‘student’ (that is, educational) issues.” (17) This is just what happened in the NSA and the ISC and was one of the key demands placed on the IUS (before the ISC was formed) by NFCUS and NSA in order for them to join. Calls

for “student as such” policies and other such politically stifling policies were, from time-to-time, a divisive postwar feature in Canadian student organizations. Currently, it is a key policy of several politically conservative, centrally controlled, provincial and national student organizations. These organizations appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s to openly undermine the Canadian Federation of Students and its Québec allies that posed a threat to Canadian political and economic elites. Given the counter-subversive origins of “student as such” policy, it is probable that wherever such policy is seen, covert action is active. It stands to reason that any national or provincial student organization that threatens elite interests is going to be subject to forms of covert action “from above.”

I appreciate the enormity of Paget’s project and the challenge of forming a single narrative on the “vast spider plant” of covert action. (6) In spite of Paget’s NSA-CIA-centric lens, her work will clearly be useful to those wanting to “deepen the understanding of how the American operation influenced [or not] international student politics”: one of Paget’s key hopes. (ix) Her book should have broad appeal to Cold War historians and “spy culture” junkies alike, to those concerned with imperialism, neocolonialization, youth-state relations, as well, wartime and postwar political youth cultures. I look forward to reading accounts, stimulated by Paget’s work, from other national points of view.

NIGEL ROY MOSES
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Sekou M. Franklin, *After the Rebellion: Black Youth, Social Movement Activism, and the Post-Civil Rights Generation* (New York: New York University Press 2014)

AS PRESIDENT OBAMA leaves office while Black youth remain open targets for those paid to protect and serve *all* citizens, this book is timely. Political scientist Sekou Franklin focuses on strategies and movement-building among those he calls the “post-civil rights generation” of young people: those he describes as coming of age after the mass movements. (16) These young people’s post-Jim Crow experiences shape their realities and the backlash against those rights previous generations fought for. The goal of the book, therefore, is to assess the changes, limitations, and opportunities for youth-driven mobilization and activism. In these assessments, Franklin successfully engages with social movement theories and the subtle differences between transformational movements (long-term, more high risk, with a more sustained impact) and protest movements (short-term, restricted, with limited mobilization opportunities).

Franklin carefully puts his analysis of the post-civil rights activism in historical context – spending considerable time plotting youth radicalism from the 1930s to the 1980s, highlighting the ebbs and flows, the cyclical patterns of movement activity, and change over time. He also situates these moments of activism within the political contexts of their time, plotting the interplay between national politics and political mood swings, with the subsequent strategic organizing in response: from the rise of Nazi Germany and its effect on the US Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s to the national swing to the right from the late 1960s. He clearly demonstrates why history matters and how movements emerge not out of a vacuum, but from the work and legacies

of generations before. He provides a clear introduction outlining his methodology and choices before launching into rich multi-disciplinary explorations of five case studies. Starting with the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC) in the pre-Cold War era, Franklin considers the post-World War II Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), one of the better-known youth-driven activist groups in US history, alongside the lesser-known Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU). As the mass movements disintegrated, activism continued, albeit without the driving momentum of the 1950s and 1960s. From the divestment movements to the New Haven youth movements, the Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN), the AFL-CIO's Union Summer program, and the juvenile justice reform movement (JJRM) initiatives, Franklin explains how young people made use of the tools available to them and tapped into the legacies of earlier campaigning strategies.

His work to solidify the rich and understudied histories of youthful Black activism contextualizes the movements for change by more recent generations after the mid-1970s to 2006. Underscoring the historical existence of vibrant pockets of persistent activism and what he terms "movement infrastructure" and "institutional leveraging," Franklin acknowledges the labyrinth of rhetorical and legal obstacles that hinder the development of transformative movements and movement-building. Franklin situates 21st century radicalism and activism in the context of historical work and the current discourses that mask and devalue, or as he puts it "curtail[s] transformational movement initiatives that use extra-systemic pressures," the continuously evolving work in which young people are engaged. (11) Thus the book serves to bridge the knowledge of the mass movement years to the present, imperative

particularly for young activists currently on the frontlines from the streets to within the academy.

Franklin focuses on strategies and movement-building, keeping in sharp focus the intersectionalities between movements, individuals, generations, and goals. One of the major threads upon which Franklin pulls throughout the book are the intersectional approaches by activists to incorporate multiple interests that support each other – like race and economic justice, and labour union organizing – a persistent thread throughout the 20th century as the status of Black people hinged on the axis of race and class. As such, he connects local to nation; across generations; intra and intergroup dynamics; college campuses to non-campus coalitions. The result is a complex web of organizations, people, and campaigns that sometimes muddy the prose yet illustrates the messiness of movement-building and movement-organizing.

He reiterates what many historians have done in the past twenty years to complicate the mid-century Black mass of movements, unraveling the simplistic notions of the Black freedom struggle that principally pivots around a few events or people, and Franklin adds to these existing narratives the more recent Black youth movements that pierce the 21st century landscape, like the HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns and more recent labour campaigns. Case studies by design place artificial spotlights that can often throw shadows on many other equally important examples, or exaggerate the effects of one over another, or separate tightly interlocking campaigns and coalitions, but by creating a multi-faceted theoretical framework in his first chapter to map out the many ways in which movements existed and exist, Franklin plots sheer activist resilience as political and social landscapes shifted in the post-civil rights era.

What Franklin lacks in storytelling and narrative (the investments in people's life stories and choices that can also successfully inform subsequent generations) he makes up for in the detail of his case studies, rendering visible the multilayers of movement infrastructures, generations, and organizations at those specific moments. This approach complicates the discourse about disengaged and apathetic youth by showcasing examples of bravery, tenacity, and wisdom beyond their years in the face of oftentimes deadly resistance to their claims for equal treatment and social justice. While it is wise to keep in mind the relatively small numbers of foot soldiers at any given time (even during SNCC's heyday), the act of remembering, documenting, and analyzing locates sources of resilience, agency, and survival throughout the Black experiences in the United States is invaluable. As a minor tangent, the book could be strengthened further by a more sustained gendered analysis beyond acknowledging women's leadership to insert more layers that reflect experiences, choices, and outcomes among activists. For instance, how did young women navigate through their respective movements (from SNYC into the 21st century) differently than young men, and did these tactics and strategies shift along the timeline?

While Franklin clearly lauds these youthful movements, he maintains a critical eye to the internal weaknesses, disagreements, and turmoil that divided and diluted their effectiveness. Despite all the forces vying for their destruction, young people managed to accomplish what they did. Although Franklin may not adequately prove how influential certain groups were to later generations – a metric hard to acquire across time – the mere extensive historical trajectory should cement the activist lineage for the next generations. To access this information, Franklin utilized existing

oral history interviews and conducted over 80 of his own. He also reconstructed records of the Black Student Leadership Network/Black Community Crusade for Children, and the Juvenile Justice Reform Movement as well as mining the rich archival repositories at Howard University and the Library of Congress. In all these ways, this book is useful to social movement scholars across disciplines as well as current activists in need of historical markers and anchors for their ongoing campaigns.

FRANÇOISE N. HAMLIN
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Paul Le Blanc and Michael D. Yates,
*A Freedom Budget for All Americans:
Recapturing the Promise of the Civil
Rights Movement in the Struggle for
Economic Justice Today* (New York:
Monthly Review Press 2013)

A LITTLE KNOWN document from the mid-1960s provided the labour-left with a blueprint for realizing the most radical promises of the civil rights movement. Reflecting the ideas of its socialist authors, the "Freedom Budget for All Americans" promised the elimination of poverty by ending unemployment and providing increased access to education, housing, and healthcare. Paul Le Blanc and Michael D. Yates trace the long history of the "Freedom Budget" and argue for its continuing relevance in an era of austerity politics, growing inequality, and rising social unrest.

Activists and scholars, many of whom had worked together to organize the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, developed the Freedom Budget, which called for \$180 billion in federal spending over ten years and went far beyond Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs in addressing the root causes of poverty. Following the passage

of the landmark civil rights bills of the mid-1960s, supporters of the “Freedom Budget” viewed it as a logical move in to the realm of economic justice. Martin Luther King, Jr., the budget’s highest-profile advocate, heralded it as “a kind of Marshall Plan for the disadvantaged.” (92)

The budget was a collaborative project, but Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters President A. Philip Randolph and his close associate Bayard Rustin spearheaded the work. The great strength of the 84-page “Freedom Budget” was that it called for a radical reordering of the nation’s priorities based on realistic budget projections. Its great weakness was that it was a non-starter politically. The budget gained little traction due to the increasingly conservative political climate and a preoccupation – among politicians and left-activists alike – with Vietnam that pushed domestic issues to the margins. It enjoyed a slight revival during the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike and the Poor People’s Campaign, but it died shortly thereafter. Rustin, Randolph, and their acolytes share some of the blame for the budget’s political failure, according to Le Blanc and Yates. In the mid-1960s, this small but influential group of socialists sought to curry favour with leaders of the AFL-CIO and liberals within the Democratic Party. Rustin urged radical activists to shift their focus from protest to politics in order to effect change from within liberal institutions. This shift, however, undermined the budget proponents’ ability to launch the sort of grassroots movement that was necessary to its success. Even had it enjoyed a popular base of support, however, Le Blanc and Yates are guarded about its chance of success. “Perhaps its only hope was to be associated with the kind of radical and radicalizing struggle that King was waging at the end of his life,” they conclude. “In such a context, its defeat might have provided, as did King’s defeat, inspiration

for future struggles around an undefiled vision.” (175)

What might be salvaged of an obscure left-wing budget proposal from the 1960s? Yates and Le Blanc believe quite a bit. They acknowledge that the political challenges are even more daunting than they were in the 1960s, an era of glorious hope and possibility by comparison. But they argue that a new “Freedom Budget” is even more urgent today than it was fifty years ago. By most key indicators, the conditions for the poor and working class have worsened and economic disparities are growing. A new budget is still possible, they suggest, though it would require a political willingness coupled with deep cuts in military spending and a stronger commitment to progressive taxation. The authors decline to detail a political strategy for moving such a proposal, but drawing on the history of the “Freedom Budget” they provide suggestions for activists who might endeavor the campaign. They urge activists to frame their work within the context of broad ideological goals that express fundamental human values. That deep ideological and educational work needs to be coupled with mass protest and organization out of which “the political consciousness and broad social forces may develop that can actually put a New Freedom Budget on the agenda.” (240)

This book was written against the backdrop of the Occupy Wall Street protests of 2011–2012 and was intended to provide activists with some history and strategic tools for building a sustainable movement around issues of social justice. While too late for Occupy, *A Freedom Budget* should be required reading for Black Lives Matter activists, labour leaders, and others dedicated to the causes of Black freedom and economic justice.

KERRY TAYLOR
The Citadel

Gregg Shotwell, *Autoworkers Under the Gun: A Shop-Floor View of the End of the American Dream* (Chicago: Haymarket Press 2011)

AUTOWORKERS UNDER THE GUN, Gregg Shotwell's brilliant book-length compendium of his shop-floor newsletter entitled *Live Bait & Ammo*, conveys sharp wit, poignant and prescient insights, unapologetic indignation, occasionally earthy humour, and yet so much more. An auto-worker and United Auto Workers (UAW) member in Michigan for thirty years, Shotwell's newsletter series spread far beyond the factory walls via the Internet, spurring other UAW members to form the Soldiers of Solidarity (SOS) protest movement against concessions and corporate bankruptcies. Reading his missives makes it easy to see why Shotwell galvanized fellow union members to action. A superb scribe with a keen eye for detail and a gift for turning phrases into rhetorical daggers, Shotwell used his newsletters to catalogue, in amazing detail, how parts manufacturer Delphi spun off from General Motors in robust shape but rapidly descended into debt and bankruptcy. More importantly, he anticipated the decimation of the formerly solid contractual scaffolding of wages, benefits, and work rules, and the inevitably devastating blowback this had on his coworkers – two-tier wages for new employees, increased pension and health-care contributions, layoffs, and the concomitant upheavals to people's lives and communities. In the process, he weaves a narrative that is alternatively laugh-out-loud funny, infuriating, and heart-rending.

At his most humorous, Shotwell combines the Gonzo journalistic style of Hunter S. Thompson with the shop-floor perspectives of *Rivthead* author Ben Hamper. Describing the density of helium balloons at a union convention, he writes, "I felt like I was in the bottom

of a bubble gum machine.... Balloons got in my eyes and several of my industrial brothers were snorting helium and speaking in tongues." (46–47) His mock conversation with a representative on Delphi's Ethics Line may elicit hearty laughter. (144–146) Yet Shotwell aims for and delivers far more than laughs. Close readings of labour contracts and the business press equip Shotwell to dispel inflated claims from business leaders and journalists about "legacy costs" in auto-workers' wages and health care benefits. (122) His well-informed perspectives invoke labour history to compare production quality standards to workers' efforts a century earlier to maintain the quality and prices of kosher products, terming each a "living agreement" that workers themselves uphold. (61)

Shotwell's "Strike Back" from January 2001 blazes like a cannonball across the corporate and labour-relations bows with its fervent call for workers' power and control, reminiscent in fury and scope of how Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* exploded onto the postwar cultural horizon almost a half-century earlier. Shotwell's plea for widespread resistance to social indignities and economic insecurity emerges most forcefully in his poem, "Strike back": "Strike back because your brothers and sisters are laid off. Strike back because you hate the bastards. Strike back to redeem your dignity. Strike back for full employment. Strike back to abolish inequality. Strike back because your job is a bore and your boss is an ass. Strike back for freedom... Strike back because Medicare doesn't cover prescriptions for your mother... Strike back." (31–32)

Strong research and a laser-like focus make Shotwell a formidable opponent for company and union alike, both of which he roundly criticizes. He adroitly pivots between skewering Delphi for its "stock-piled debt in the US" and the "swindle" of its "corporate restructuring" abroad, and

his repeated contention that UAW was complicit in allowing Delphi to shed its obligations to the former General Motors employees. (159–166, 69) One can trace a deepening seriousness in Shotwell’s tone as the book – whose newsletter entries proceed chronologically – careens toward its ominous, painful end for Delphi employees. His calls for workers’ resistance grow from work-to-rule tactics to forming a mass labour “revolt” akin to the civil rights movement to save the “next generation of workers.” (211) Here one must ask why, despite the spread of SOS, acts of workplace solidarity, and concerted legal actions opposing Delphi’s bankruptcy, more workers did not respond to Shotwell’s pleas. He squarely blames Delphi for spurring fear among its workforce and the UAW for failing to resist. However, Shotwell’s eloquent epilogue might explain more and read differently with an assessment of the possibilities and limitations of work-to-rule campaigns, a distinguishing between job and class consciousness, and perhaps a fuller examination of how information through mass media – which he utilizes and criticizes so well – shapes working-class perspectives.

Shotwell serves as an articulate voice of a generation of workers watching, criticizing, and resisting the dismantling of the structures and cultures that union solidarity, through fierce struggles, built and expanded in the postwar period. He raises important questions about the diminished terms, conditions, possibilities, and consequences of industrial labour for future generations, arguing that two-tier systems render “second-class citizenship” through generational discrimination. (140–141) Thus, *Autoworkers Under the Gun* eloquently refutes the myth of the “selfish unionized worker” so prevalent in the US. This book has great value for instructors covering labour relations, working-class life and intellectualism, and

deindustrialization, as well as for workers seeking to find and hone their own voices through the examples of Shotwell and others willing to “strike back” against the attacks on their livelihoods and integrity. It is masterful, a must-read.

JASON KOZLOWSKI

West Virginia University

Stephen Tuck, *The Night Malcolm X Spoke at the Oxford Union: A Transatlantic Story of Antiracist Protest* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2014)

READERS SHOULD NOT take the title of Stephen Tuck’s new book too literally. *The Night Malcolm X Spoke at the Oxford Union* is not a microhistory of the evening of 3 December 1964, when Malcolm X graced the British institution to debate the notion, “Extremism in defence of liberty is no vice, and moderation in the pursuit of vice is no virtue.” Nor is it a Rashomon-like tale that compares different recollections of the debate that X and the Scottish nationalist Hugh MacDiarmid lost to the liberal Conservative MP Humphry Berkeley and the Labour peer Lord Stoneham by 228 votes to 137. It is more similar in tone and content to articles in the (neo)liberal media that have marked the anniversary of X’s speech and assassination by asking pundits and historians to provide pithy accounts of race relations in Britain and the United States during the past fifty years. As a result, the book serves as an instructive tale for anyone who wishes to translate historical articles to a broader public, communicate radical campaigns for human rights in the 1960s to contemporary audiences consumed by social media activism and the clichés of journalists and public relations agencies, and speak to audiences in the US and UK that are not only divided by a common language

but different understandings of race and racialization.

Although it draws on some of the Malcolm X Papers at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Chapter 1 is primarily concerned with synthesizing secondary material about Malcolm X's life of travel and discovery between 1925 and 1964. It may not be "breathless and sensational." (21) However, its descriptive asides about Marcus Garvey (a "charismatic Jamaican"), and X's sensitivity to the "marketing game" and "propaganda" (13, 39, 42) bear as much resemblance to the series of prints and paintings of X developed by Glen Ligon in 2000 (which drew on Afrocentric colouring books of the 1970s and the erratic styles and unworried markings of school children), as Manning Marable's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (London: Penguin, 2011).

After providing a CliffsNotes companion to X's biography in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 paints a picture of Oxford, Britain, and race that moves between 1870 and 1964. This means a certain imbalance to the book, since it does not provide an equivalent emphasis on 19th century antecedents to X's visit to Oxford, such as the UK tours of Frederick Douglass and Ida Wells-Barnett, which were critical components of crusades against slavery, lynching, and anti-Black racism. In addition, the chapter discusses anti-Black riots in British ports in the early 20th century with phrases such as "Tensions rose. Violence followed." (57) It does not analyse the rhetoric about the protection of white jobs and women in relation to transdisciplinary work about the fears of miscegenation. Nor does it connect such phobias about mixture and mixing to X's diatribes against so-called "mongrel-complexioned children" created by American slavery. Historians of labour who scratch the surface of this historical

narrative will no doubt uncover other moments in which the language and style of Tuck's tale marks a significant departure from historical accounts that do not eschew social and cultural theory. Two examples, however, deserve particular attention. In the first, Tuck describes white British students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds as "lower class" rather than connect them to a long history of working-class radicalism. (63) In the second, Tuck repeatedly notes that Malcolm "may well have" read a particular newspaper article that the historian has found illustrative. (73, 83) Such passages suggest that the historian may not have found archival material relating to X's interpretation of written documents. They may also be used to note the book's (over)reliance on journalistic articles, and concomitant lack of engagement with music, art, and film that influenced the politics and poetics of the African American icon.

Chapter 3 marks a dramatic shift in focus as it provides detailed discussion of organizations and groups that campaigned against racial discrimination in Oxford between 1956 and 1964. It also shares similar rhetorical strategies to liberals in the 1950s and 60s who wished to distance themselves from so-called dangerous militants. For while Tuck was willing to describe British tabloids such as the *Daily Mirror* as "left-leaning" in Chapter 2, (75) Chapter 3 considers newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* to be normative and national rather than right-leaning or ideological.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the night X spoke at the Oxford Union, while Chapter 5 considers X, Oxford, and a racial Atlantic between 1964 and 1968. The chapters not only adapt material previously published in Tuck's 2013 article on transatlantic history in the *American Historical Review* ("Malcolm X's Visit to Oxford University: U.S. Civil

Rights, Black Britain, and the Special Relationship on Race”), but offer further evidence for an elegiac description of British-American opposition to racial discrimination – a liberal hour that achieved a shifting of the racial architecture with reform measures in relation to health, education, housing, immigration, transportation, and antipoverty legislation between 1963 and 1966 in the United States, and between 1966 and 1968 in the United Kingdom.

This is not to say that Tuck ignores X’s impact on radical humanists who espoused Black Power. However, his epilogue only devotes two pages to British activists and artists who were inspired by X in order to assert the importance of radical collective identities in the 1970s, and quickly scrolls forward to Oxford students in a digital age who adapt the creeds, deeds and iconography of global African Americans who insist, “I, Too, Am Harvard”. Such emphases are understandable since Tuck is a Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford, Director of the Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities, and Visiting Fellow at the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Studies at Harvard University, who is able to draw on a network of powerful entrepreneurial intellectuals (such as Henry Louis Gates Jr., Alphonse Fletcher University Professor and Director of the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research at Harvard University, who wrote the book’s foreword). Yet if the final pages of *The Night Malcolm X Spoke at the Oxford Union* reframe X as an entrepreneurial subject who was attracted by the power and prestige of an elite university, it also bears repetition that Tuck is mindful of X’s repeated dismissal of those “so-called intellectuals” and has constructed a book that displays little interest in what he terms the “so-called Black Atlantic.” (7) In short, his narrative

is not only revealing about what it says about the marketing of humanities research as new, accessible, and transatlantic. It is also notable for what it does not say about earlier work in the field of Black Atlantic Studies that creatively adapted the insights of critical theory about travel, media, and culture in order to analyse the transnational, transdisciplinary, and transracial nature of anti-racist protest.

DANIEL MCNEIL
Carleton University

Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights and Ojibwe Nationhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2014)

CHANTAL NORRGARD’S monograph *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood* is a small, well-researched book that promises much. The author’s central purpose is to argue that Ojibwe participation in the broader economy was an expression of their sovereignty and numerous acts of resistance against federal assimilation policies. Ojibwe pursued economic integration not because they had similar material needs as other people, but because they wanted to maintain sovereignty. Moreover, *Seasons of Change* aims to “move in the new direction of indigenizing American labor history.” (9) The study is devoted to the Ojibwe south of Lake Superior (Minnesota and Wisconsin). Five substantive chapters organize the material thematically or topically: berrying, commercialized hunting and trapping, fishing, work in the lumber industry, and tourist colonialism. A helpful appendix reproduces the treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1854.

One of the most interesting chapters concerns berrying and gathering activities. This region was well endowed with wild rice beds, berry patches, and

maple sugar trees, and the Ojibwe were long familiar with these resources. Not only does this chapter demonstrate new market possibilities with colonization, but also highlights a fond social dimension created by commercial gathering activities. Life at seasonal work sites was recalled as happy times. The material here demonstrates strongly the role of women (and children) in the production and marketing of these natural products. Important content of the second chapter explains the violation of treaty rights by state authorities and Norrgard provides a legal history of several court cases. The third chapter concerns commercial fishing on Lake Superior and here Norrgard is attentive to the larger structures (i.e., monopoly) and treaty rights violations. A chapter on Ojibwe participation in the lumbering industry provides information on reservation logging, the work processes of this sector, and engagement is conceived as the exercise of creative agency to challenge assumptions about the disappearing Indian and assimilation. The final substantive chapter relates how the Ojibwe made tourist colonialism serve their own ends. Iron mining, a mainstay for the region, is noticeably absent.

More rigour and less ambiguity would have produced a better monograph. Norrgard's ascribed meaning for *labour* is central to her purpose and argument: "I apply both terms "work" and "labor" to American Indian economic relations as a way of asserting an indigenous presence in American labor history" but ultimately she is out to dismantle "Euro-American definitions of labor and work that have been deliberately deployed to restrict and undercut Native people's economic agency and to further the initiatives of settler colonialism and federal Indian policy." (9) Necessarily, work and labour are used "interchangeably to describe strategies Native peoples have developed to make a living." (9) This conceptual conflation of

labour and work is justified as an undertaking to negate a social-science harm. Those academics that perpetrated an ignorance of Ojibwe economic agency, thereby purposely promoting settler colonialism/federal Indian policy, are not named. How commingling work and labour will actually mitigate this problem or how Ojibwe historical experiences will resonate with the broader labour history seem nebulous. While historical accounts that exclude all but the industrial proletariat have not been an accommodating approach for understanding capitalism, Norrgard's imprecise definitions means that in other circumstances, farmers or businessmen would fit aptly. Traders on Wall Street work hard, but does that really write them into the American labour movement? Her conclusions rest on this bit of logic.

Occasionally, terms such as "capitalist market" or "commercialization" are summoned (e.g., 7, 26, 63, 64), but essentially, the study eschews economic concepts. In the absence of precise and appropriate terminology, how can comparative interpretations about labour history be reached? (For example, not all markets are capitalist markets.) The *allotment* policy is referenced and necessarily so, but the author assumes that this rather convoluted process of dispossession of reservation lands is on the tip of every historians tongue; and regrettably, the scholarship on this topic is never acknowledged. Norrgard delineates the goal of tribal sovereignty as "cultural, social, and political autonomy." (3) In a monograph that professes economic concerns, her construct of sovereignty, absent an economic aspect, seems designed to shape a conclusion by omission. Expedient interpretations flow easily from vague terminology.

Overall, the study suffers from a lack of periodization; when it begins and when it ends is not clear. If the prior situation of the Ojibwe is not explained, then the

reader cannot know what transformations may have occurred. Congruent with ambiguous terminology are problems of coherent reasoning. To illustrate: "The treaties initiated the growth of industries." (7) While it is vital to understand treaties, treaties could not initiate. Access and new property rights followed, to be sure, but in these circumstances, only the investment of capital initiates industrial growth. (In other words, the "lawful" cession of Indian lands is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition, for economic growth.) Ambiguous terminology complements inexact reasoning, and as such, detracts from the extensive research.

Apart from pointing out that Ojibwe lumberjacks had once owned the land that they were logging, no specific findings contribute to an *indigenized labour history*. Rather than rationalize the use of work to replace labour, the relations of economic life can be conceptualized more precisely (e.g., paternalism, independent production, use value, exchange value, property, etc.). The desire to relate meaningfully Ojibwe experiences to American labour history should also be pursued by locating them, through a precise terminology, in economic history.

The empirical reconstruction of Ojibwe economic life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, set within the context of changes to the regional economy, is the strength of this study. This monograph will be appreciated by the communities concerned, since Norrgard brings much textured detail to their history. Similarly, through a discussion of the exercise of treaty rights she links directly the historical and contemporary Ojibwe communities (e.g., 81–82). Often Norrgard is careful to note some real limits of integration, yet external forces (e.g., markets, decision-makers) raise no fundamental challenges to the agency explanation or impinge upon the sovereignty project. If terms are weakly operationalized, then

there is no need to measure change; anecdotes will suffice. If sovereignty was the explicit objective of the Ojibwe, did participation in evolving regional economies (selling labour and products) really enhance their sovereignty? In the final analysis, were they more sovereign at the end of this period than at its beginning?

The author's central claim that the Ojibwe pursued engagement in order to fulfill a sovereignty agenda lacks adequate evidence and convincing reasoning. It is a claim repetitiously advanced by assertion, a political mantra. Interviews with James La Frenier, Paul Buffalo, and Daniel Morrison provide no support for the sovereignty project. (104–106) By indicating a basic desire to make a living, the few indications from the Ojibwe about their motives amount to contrary evidence. (e.g., 31, 39, 90, 96) Similarly, George Starr chose the lumber industry over the hardship of fishing and trapping; and in his words: "My home at that time was a wigwam, but as I was employed in Ashland in the sawmills, I purchased lumber through my labor and built a house in the mill town." (97) The potential for trade and wage employment to generate greater consumption possibilities does not fit with the myopic sovereignty/resistance construct.

FRANK J. TOUGH
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Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez, *Indigenous Encounters with Neoliberalism: Place, Women, and the Environment in Canada and Mexico* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)

ON 1 JANUARY 1994 five cities in the state of Chiapas in southern Mexico woke up to find that men and women from the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) had taken charge. The date of this uprising was hardly coincidental,

designed rather to correspond with the day on which the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect, a neoliberal trade policy they believed would economically disenfranchise them. A largely peasant-based movement comprised of Mayan indigenous communities, the Zapatistas' demands centred upon indigenous rights of dignity, justice, and land. While this uprising took Mexico and the world by surprise, the presence of women at the highest level of command within the Zapatista organization was even more striking. While the Zapatista movement has gained a global reputation, unbeknownst to many a wide variety of indigenous responses to neoliberal policies have emerged in the past several decades.

In her path-breaking work *Indigenous Encounters with Neoliberalism*, Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez explores the Zapatista and three other encounters between indigenous or aboriginal communities and neoliberalism, highlighting the complex relationships between the global market, colonialism, and gender. Within an ambitious set of goals, Altamirano-Jiménez demonstrates how indigeneity is shaped by colonial structures, by economic, social, and political interests, and by gendered senses of place all of which operate on different scales and make certain political visions (im)possible. She pays particular attention to the roles of gender and women within the broader global processes of environmentalism, indigeneity, and neoliberalism.

The book is structured in a fairly straight forward manner. The first two chapters outline the theoretical foundations Altamirano-Jiménez employs in the four case studies. The author defines many critical terms including neoliberalism and neoliberalization, as well as differentiations between types of colonizers, primarily between settler and extractive colonizing practices consistently

situating the role of governments within indigenous histories. Her central focus here is how indigeneity is produced, arguing that the historical comparative analysis demonstrates the process by which colonial structures and modes of governance have produced the roots of gendered indigenous material inequities, displacement, and containment. As a contested field of governance, indigeneity is strongly linked to these colonial formations.

At the centre of her analysis is the connection between the colonial experiences of indigenous communities and the contemporary neoliberal challenges. The author tests her theories through four case studies, two from Canada and two from Mexico, the two weaker parties within NAFTA, in order to highlight the different forms of dispossession, exploitation, and othering of indigenous communities, as well as spatially and economically distinctive colonial and neocolonial projects. In Canada, aboriginal engagement with neoliberalism in the northern Arctic region of Nunavut is now at the centre of the government's attempt to a timeless claim of sovereignty to the territory while the Nisga'a in British Columbia have legalized private property. Unlike other aboriginal groups, the Nisga'a have engaged with the capitalist market and wage economy which has been crucial to their survival as a people. In Mexico, Altamirano-Jiménez analyzes the Zapatista uprising, an indigenous led movement for self-government, a conflict which continues to unfold. In the state of Oaxaca, indigenous communities are in conflict with the government over natural resource management. In all cases, the author notes community strategies to engage with neoliberal reforms are judged by preconceived criteria of outsiders.

Critical to Altamirano-Jiménez's analysis is her distinction between settler and extraction colonialism. The settler model

(as found in Canada) starts from the pre-conception that the land was empty and it eliminates the indigenous peoples in a particular way, not because they have or have not a right to the land but because they are indigenous. In contrast, the extraction model as seen in the Spanish colonization of Mexico allowed indigenous peoples to retain their lands in exchange for labour, resources and social humiliation. They are recognized as humans, although subjugated humans.

As suggested in the subtitle of this work, the author pays particular attention to women's experience within these processes arguing that they engage in two battles: one against the colonial powers that have displaced their communities and a second against their own male counterparts who frequently fight for recognition even at the expenses of their female members. Altamirano-Jiménez argues that colonialism redefined the meaning of gender production and women's voices continue to be subsumed within larger concerns.

This book will be of interest to a wide variety of students, scholars, and community activists because of its interdisciplinary approach to a complex and continuously evolving subject. As in any pioneering work, the book's strength lies in its creation of a road map identifying a wide variety of directions for future work. One of the most significant contributions of Altamirano-Jiménez's work is her identification of four paradoxes within this complex global system. First, global or state articulations of indigeneity unevenly empower Indigenous peoples. Second, not all landscapes (political or environmental) are created equally. Third, indigenous nationalism may lead to new internal divisions and further gender discrimination within these individual communities, and finally these struggles for a broad array of rights frequently increase state power. Future work

will test these significant hypotheses especially in the area of gender analysis where gender norms within indigenous, aboriginal, and colonizing societies are rather distinct and continuously in flux. The specific role of women within these movements will emerge as the litmus test for the sustainability of these movements and the author's identification of this particular element (although frequently obscured within historical processes) marks this work as a significant contribution.

PATRICIA HARMS

Brandon University

Hugh Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure: Life Changes in England since 1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2014)

ONE OF THE FIRST scholars of the history of leisure, Hugh Cunningham has returned to the topic in order to correct three deficiencies in the existing literature: concentration on the 18th and 19th centuries to the exclusion of the 20th, neglect of women, and a focus on leisure rather than time use. As Cunningham explains in his introduction, the first generation of leisure historians, observing the world around them and noticing that automation was shrinking the workweek, were concerned with the "problem of leisure": how would people ever adapt to an ever-growing pool of free time? Since those original studies people are, if anything, working longer, harder, and more contingently than ever before – a situation that has led historians to reconfigure the historical problem as one of work-life balance.

In the preindustrial period, Cunningham argues, time was governed by nature. A series of overlapping religious, civic, and legal calendars structured the year. An overarching eternal "God's time" imposed certain expectations on

Protestants, and a sense of the ages of man determined a common life course for all classes. The availability of light, in turn, structured each day. People who could afford light at night could follow a distinctive sleep pattern, with two periods of sleep with a break in the middle, used for study, prayer, sex, or committing crimes. Darkness created danger, limiting evening events to full moon nights until the development of oil lamps and then gaslight extended leisure opportunities in towns. Over the course of the 18th century, schools introduced bells and clocks, which soon became ubiquitous.

Cunningham shows that at the beginning of his chosen period, a twelve-hour workday was the norm, with Saturday a full workday, Monday often a holiday, and Sunday reserved for religion. Much has been made of the backward-sloping labour supply curve, another way of saying that, after having earned enough money to pursue recreation, workers would stop working. Cunningham argues, convincingly, that this is an incomplete picture. The working year could be uneven, many jobs were casual, and work available only intermittently. Artisans had more control over their time than did apprentices, domestic servants, or working-class women, whose only form of "leisure" appeared to involve switching between household tasks (this was a remarkably durable feature of women's lives, continuing into the present). Cunningham argues that, far from working longer in order to take part in a "consumer revolution" at the end of the 18th century, working-class Britons were forced to step up their labour-force participation to keep up with rising prices for necessities. The imposition of time-discipline in factories is well-known, but as Cunningham shows, coal miners and agricultural labourers were also subject to new determination on the part of employers to standardize the workday and curb worker absenteeism.

Factory discipline coincided with a sort of leisure discipline – the attempt to impose "rational recreation," particularly on working people. In towns and cities across Britain, local agitators, including members of the "respectable" working classes, argued for Sunday closings and for an end to such immoral traditional entertainments as dog-racing, bear-baiting, and football games. Working men and boys lost the space for outdoor activities to commercial and residential development, while experiencing expanding opportunities for spectator sports and circuses. At the same time, activities that required or involved more money, like cricket and horse racing, prospered. By mid-century, Cunningham shows, some groups perceived the end of traditional fairs and leisure activities as a loss, and called for a revival of older customs to knit together increasingly divided classes.

Between 1830 and 1970, Britons experienced a decrease in work hours. Child workers represented the thin edge of the legislative wedge. Although Cunningham emphasizes that Romantic notions of childhood motivated the first attempts to restrict child labour, this Romanticism was pragmatic, as half-time work for children continued until 1918. At every step of this slow and incremental process, popular agitation was central; by the time of the campaign for the 8-hour day, the agitation was international in scope. As the workday shortened, so the work week rearranged, with "Saint Monday" becoming a full workday, and Saturday a half-holiday. Holidays underwent a transformation, from employers' opportunities to lay off workers in slack times, to being regulated by negotiated agreements with trade unions. By the 21st century, many workers were entitled to a month's vacation a year.

As the hours and days of labour shrank over time, so did the years of men's labour. The school-leaving age was raised from 10

in 1880 to 16 in 1973, and the introduction of pensions, first by employers and then by the state, helped to establish a retirement age between 60 and 65 as the norm by the 1960s. At the same time, women – even those with young children – increasingly entered the workforce, both to supplement the family income in an age of new consumer goods, and to escape the boredom of home-based isolation.

The transformation to an industrial workplace left employers with the perennial problem of motivating workers who were both alienated from the process of production, and less willing to be defined by monotonous jobs than past workers had been by their trades. Some employers responded paternalistically, providing work-based leisure activities. Others used the piecework system to motivate workers economically, relied more on capital-intensive processes to remove skilled workers from the equation, or sped up the pace of production. Workers found factory work boring, but it is not clear from Cunningham's sources whether retail jobs or agricultural labour were any more interesting.

If labour was increasingly soul-killing for a significant proportion of the workforce, available leisure options were not particularly thrilling either. A minority of workers took up active pursuits for body or mind, and by the 20th century some of the most popular leisure activities were sleeping, drinking, watching television, do-it-yourself jobs, and housework. Intriguingly, Cunningham describes a leisure life cycle that mirrored the work life cycle; children and teenagers had the most time for fun, while parents of young children had the least.

A short chapter on the "leisure class" chronicles a transformation, from the embrace of such a class for political and social leadership, to popular deprecation of the "idle rich." Middle-class workers complained that as manual workers'

hours of labour were decreasing, their own were increasing. But no matter what their class position, Britons experienced the late 19th and early 20th century as stressful, due to the increasing pace of travel and communication.

While Cunningham ably and fully chronicles the changing situation for the working classes, his picture of work-life balance for employers is more fragmentary. Civil servants and bank employees had short work-days, but of the work habits of employers and project managers (aside from Isambard Kingdom Brunel), we still know little. Cunningham also provides much more information about the work lives and leisure activities of men than of women, despite his goal of addressing some of the gender imbalance in the existing literature. The penultimate chapter, on women's lives, includes a too-brief summary of women's work experiences in the 20th century, followed by a strong analysis of current trends. A problem of too much leisure has not materialized; rather, in some fields, long hours and increased productivity without any overtime pay are the norm. Workers may be entitled to their holidays, but find it impossible to take the time off due to work responsibilities. Even the discourse of "work-life balance" elides the depressing reality that the "life" element consists largely of unpaid household and family labour.

Time, Work and Leisure is a pleasure to read, and should find a wide audience, including undergraduate students and even policymakers. Cunningham strikes a good balance between descriptive narrative and a Thompsonian use of a wide range of primary sources, from poetry to first-hand narratives to employer screeds, workers' time-diaries, and government statistics. Moreover, he does an excellent job historically contextualizing present concerns about how we spend our time.

JAIMIE BRONSTEIN

New Mexico State University

Seth Koven, *The Match Girl and the Heiress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2014)

IN THIS BOOK, Seth Koven has used the friendship between two women, one middle class and wealthy, the other a poor factory worker, in order to explore a number of historical themes that were part of “the transition from Victorians to moderns.” (19) In particular, he wishes to examine the shift between “High Victorian Christian moral paternalism and twentieth-century rights-based social justice ethics and politics.” (19) This is an important story, and Koven’s explication will be welcomed by historians of the period. Muriel Lester was the privileged daughter of an affluent shipbuilder living in suburban Loughton. She spent her childhood in upper-middle class comfort within a deeply religious, but free-thinking nonconformist family. Nellie Dowell was a working-class East Ender whose family was pitched into destitution after the death of her mariner father when she was about five. Her mother was unable to support all five of her children, so Nellie and her sister were sent to live at a notoriously bad poor law school, Forest Gate, and she subsequently went to work at Bell’s match factory at age twelve.

While Koven is unsure how Lester and Dowell met, he uses their friendship to frame his exploration of radical Christianity. Lester rejected the condescending Lady Bountiful model that had characterized Victorian philanthropy and instead, following a girlhood epiphany, sought to remake society in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount. She and Dowell tried to create just such a society at Kingsley Hall, the community centre Lester and her sister founded in the slums of Bow, a “People’s House” as they called it. (3) Kingsley Hall was meant to enact “a Christian revolution in everyday life” (257) that was predicated on love

for and non-judgement of others, reconciliation, pacifism, shared resources, and shared responsibilities for housework (which was meant to help to minimize the class distinctions of residents).

Koven is commendably wide ranging and thorough in his research. The book’s first three chapters focus on the two women’s childhoods, capitalism as experienced by match girls, and new Edwardian notions of Christianity that centred on a loving God rather than a punitive one. The fourth chapter analyses the friendship, based largely on a packet of letters from Dowell to Lester, and several biographical fragments that Lester wrote about Dowell. The fifth chapter explores what Koven calls the “Christian Revolution,” as Lester and Dowell enacted it throughout their quotidian lives in East End London. In the course of telling this tale, Koven touches on a variety of fascinating, and at times eccentric, topics: unionism and the match girl strikes (including the rhetorical migration of the pathetic match girl stereotype from street sellers of matches to factory workers), the suffrage agitation and its factionalism, the international pacifist movement (the highlight being a visit by Gandhi to Kingsley Hall), and new theology (including Madame Blavatsky and theosophy, and Leo Tolstoy’s ethical and spiritual writings). Will Crooks, George Lansbury, Rabindranath Tagore, Sylvia Pankhurst and Annie Besant all figure in the story, as well.

Koven’s book is a detailed and nuanced exploration of sincere attempts by dedicated Christians to find better and more equitable ways to live. Whether these attempts should be seen as revolutionary, however, is certainly debatable. “Utopian Christianity” seems a more apt descriptor, since (as Koven readily admits), Lester and company had no idea how to supply “the precise mechanisms by which

a purifying worldwide Christian revolution would unfold.” (260)

In spite of their attempts to establish an egalitarian community at Kingsley Hall, moreover, Lester very much remained the mentor and leader – and a micro-managing one at that, who even criticized bits of toothpaste being left in the wash basins. Nor did East Enders adopt the Kingsley Hall way of life. Rather, they used its programs, and the skills learned from them, as stepping stones to social mobility and out of Bow. Even the friendship itself between Lester and Dowell was never based on equality: Lester remained the gracious lady while Dowell was deferential and adoring, and determined to remain so. Indeed, Koven speculates that it was the very fact of class difference that at least in part made Lester so attractive to Dowell. However laudable their intentions, the lived reality of the denizens of Kingsley Hall do not seem to have transcended the customary usages of class inherited from the Victorians.

Indeed, the motif of this sincere, though fairly traditional, friendship seems to speak more to the limitations of radical Christianity than its successes. To be fair, Koven was at the mercy of his sources. Lester left little that illuminates her interiority. She emerges as an admirable character, if one that is somewhat difficult to like: the professional saint who loves humanity more than individual human beings, and who could be selfish, demanding, and inconsiderate of those who cared for her. Dowell’s letters, on the other hand, are a window onto her feelings, hopes, likes, and dislikes, but offer next to no explanation of her motives. Why did she not support the union in the match girl strikes? Why was she so determined to keep Lester on a class pedestal? Koven does the best he can in his very close reading of Dowell’s letters, although at times the reading does seem somewhat strained and obvious. Do readers really

need to be told that letters “physically, intellectually and psychologically... collapse distances” between recipients? Or that “they are also objects, literally ink on paper”? (226)

The various limitations of the friendship become problematic because Koven has focused so tightly upon it, and in the end, it cannot bear the analytic weight of explicating his notion of revolutionary Christianity. Links between its campaigns and those of the political left need to be explored much more fully than has been done in this book if we are to understand and appreciate the significance of radical Christianity in the first half of the 20th century. Only then can its role in the shift from Victorian paternalism to rights-based social justice ethics and politics be appreciated.

LYNN MACKAY

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Robin Bunce and Paul Field, *Darcus Howe: A Political Biography* (London: Bloomsbury Academic 2014)

ON 9 AUGUST 2011 Darcus Howe gained international attention during a BBC interview about England’s riots following the police shooting of a young Black male, Mark Duggan. The interview started on the wrong foot when Fiona Armstrong referred to her interviewee as Marcus Howe. It quickly deteriorated when Armstrong suggested that Howe was “no stranger to riots.” Howe took exception and quickly corrected Armstrong: he had never taken part in a riot, but had been involved in demonstrations that ended in conflict. He then politely informed her that she “sounded idiotic” and that she should “have some respect for an old West Indian Negro.” (259)

The BBC interview went viral. For many, it was the first time that they had heard Howe’s voice, or even heard of him.

Yet for more than 40 years, Howe had been one of Britain's most prominent political figures having been, from the 1960s through to the 1980s, at the forefront of Black radical politics in England. In their important book, *Darcus Howe: A Political Biography*, co-authors Robin Bunce and Paul Field trace Howe's political trajectory while offering a window into British society through the prism of Black radical politics.

Darcus Howe, né Rhett Radford Leighton Howe, was born in Trinidad in 1943 and raised in the southern Trinidadian rural village of Eckels. A good student, he attended Queen's Royal College, the country's elite school, on an exhibition scholarship, just like his uncle C.L.R. James had done years before. But despite his privileged secondary education, he grew up in modest surroundings where he gained an appreciation for the Caribbean underclass, race (especially important given Trinidad's large Indian descended population), working-class struggles, and Trinidad's popular culture, including the steel pan and carnival.

Howe carried these impressions with him to London in the early 1960s at a time when Blacks were arriving in large numbers as part of Britain's ongoing post-World War II reconstruction. But while Black labour was needed in the country, the growing physical presence of Blacks was unwelcome to many and racist attacks, police brutality, and sensationalist anti-immigration outbursts in the media and by politicians fueled racial antagonism. Howe's initial plan was to pursue a career in law, but he was increasingly drawn towards politics and he abandoned his studies for the movement, eventually leading to his involvement in *Race Today*.

Race Today was not simply the most important Black popular journal of post-war Britain. In covering Black, Asian, and white working-class struggles alongside events in Africa, the Caribbean, and

working-class struggles in Europe, it also became one of the most important popular political journals in the UK. One of the strengths of the journal was its appreciation of the relationship between politics, art, and popular culture. Considerable pages of the journal were devoted to both established and aspiring artists, including renowned poet Linton Kwesi Johnson who also worked as an editor for the journal and canonized Howe in the famous protest song "Man Free (for Darcus Howe)."

But as Bunce and Field show, *Race Today* was also a political collective that was actively engaged in the very struggles that it covered in its pages. The Race Today Collective rallied people of African, Asian, and to a lesser extent Euro-English descent in the fight towards social justice. Howe was a close associate of C.L.R. James who, in his notion of self-organization, had long argued that so-called ordinary people have the capacity to organize themselves without the leadership of a vanguard party. James also argued that small organizations could play an important role in helping to facilitate social change. Under Howe's leadership, *Race Today* became a vehicle through which ideas and actions could work in symbiosis as people rallied and organized to radically change a Britain that was in need of radical change.

As a political biography, *Darcus Howe* is not only an important chronicle of Howe's life and work, but also an important introduction to Black British struggles from the 1960s through to the 1980s. Despite Canada's close proximity to the US, the book might prove to be particularly appealing in this country as, like the UK, the majority of Canada's Black population descends from immigrants who arrived from the 1950s onwards. And, given Canada's historical ties to the British empire and its colonial history, race politics in this country perhaps have more, or at

least as much in common with the British experience than with its US counterpart. While the authors perhaps do not sufficiently flesh out these ties and informal networks, Black radicals in Canada were often connected and in direct communication with their British and Caribbean counterparts as part of a broader Black and Caribbean transnational political community that often defied the limitations of nationalism and national boundaries.

As the authors' show, Howe, along with C.L.R. James, Robert Hill, James Forman, and many others, participated in the 1968 Congress of Black Writers in Montréal. He connected with important young political figures such as Walter Rodney and Stokely Carmichael who, according to the authors, was a boyhood friend of Howe in Trinidad. Howe went on to join the Civil Rights/Black Power organization SNCC (the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), leading to his participation in New York's Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle for community control of education.

Just a few months before the Congress, Howe was in Paris where he bore witness to the revolt that shook France at its core. Despite being moved by his experience there, he grew concerned about an intellectualism in France that valorized philosophy and the ideas of Camus and served to disconnect students from workers and the wider society. Later he returned to Trinidad where he was involved in the 1970 protests that almost toppled the government of Eric Williams. These protests were initially inspired by the arrest of Black/Caribbean students in Montréal for their involvement in the protest against racial injustice at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia University). In other words, Howe was involved in some of the most important events in Black and Caribbean politics in the 1960s and 1970s and his involvement highlights a kind of Black

internationalism, and its political possibilities, that has a long history in Black and Caribbean radical politics.

Howe was and remains, a public intellectual who possesses a deep appreciation for the relationship between ideas and action and race and class, but the book says very little about gender and the role of women played in the political struggles that Howe was a part of. For example, while we do learn something about the role that deputy editor of *Race Today* Leila Hassan played in the Race Today Collective as both an editor and an organizer (Howe and Hassan also married), we would have benefited from more about her influence within the organization, and more about the role that other women played within the group and the challenges they confronted. Despite this important omission, *Darcus Howe* is a valuable book for readers concerned with Black struggles and human freedom and it provides important insight into the challenges and possibilities inherent in a life of political struggle.

DAVID AUSTIN

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Tara Martin Lopez, *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, Memory, History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2014)

THE WINTER OF DISCONTENT, a series of major strikes in Britain in the winter of 1978–79 in which millions of workers participated, is a significant turning point in British history. Rejecting the stringent incomes policy imposed by James Callaghan's Labour government, workers from many different sectors of the economy – autoworkers and nurses, truck drivers and school cleaners, rubbish collectors and gravediggers – went on strike. They were successful in winning immediate material gains. The

Ford workers, who kicked off the wave of strikes by openly defying the five per cent limit set by Callaghan, won a seventeen per cent wage increase and effectively rendered the incomes policy ineffective; National Health Service workers and truckers also won economic gains. However, as the workers won the battles, they lost the war. As the Labour Party leadership clung to incomes policy even in the face of uprising from its own base, the strikes did not succeed in generating mass bases of support; the Winter of Discontent instead bolstered support for Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives that blamed unions for the crisis, and their election in May 1979 inaugurated a long period of neoliberalism and decline in working-class power and livelihood.

In *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, Memory, History*, Tara Martin Lopez describes the trajectories of each strike in detail from the perspectives of participants based on in-depth interviews, offering valuable insights into the lives and experiences of those directly engaged in the strikes. She also explores the subsequent narratives of the Winter of Discontent which, as "myths" and "folk tales," have served to discredit the labour movement and bolster Thatcherism in the popular political imagination. Indeed, considering the significance of the Winter of Discontent as a key event in contemporary British history, and the frequent negative references to the decade in which labour attained the height of its political power, Lopez makes an important contribution to our understanding of the labour history of the country that has seen the most far-reaching form of neoliberalism and undermining of workers' power.

One of Lopez's main aims in the book is to "deconstruct the myth that has developed around the Winter of Discontent" in order to "debunk the misunderstandings" and to "penetrate into the depth

of *why* it still resonates deeply in popular memory." (3) She seeks to debunk a common misunderstanding effectively promoted by the Tories that the striking workers in the Winter of Discontent were "opportunistic" and "greedy," and willing to create chaos in people's lives as "rubbish piled in the streets, the dead left unburied, and cancer patients turned away from hospital." (22) Through her detailed recounting of the actual events of the strikes, she documents how the most potent imaginary of the Winter, such as food shortages, piles of rubbish on the streets, and unburied dead bodies, was exaggerated or fabricated. Furthermore, Lopez enriches historiography by emphasizing the centrality of service workers in the labour struggles of 1979, the majority of whom were women, correcting the dominant narratives that centre experiences and militancy of male industrial workers.

Lopez argues that the "myth" of the Winter of Discontent was "crucial to the ideological success of Thatcherism." (21) As she demonstrates, the negative representation of the Winter definitely bolstered Thatcherism; however, that the Conservative Party and the right-wing press propagated the "myth" cannot on its own explain its popular resonance. Why did their narrative gain dominance, as opposed to others? The entrenchment of such a narrative is also in itself a *consequence* of the defeat of the working-class at the hands of Thatcherism. She herself recognizes that the popular understanding has been "profoundly shaped by the political vicissitudes of the Conservative Party, but also of New Labour." (5) The crucial question is the decisive *political loss* of the working class in the Winter of Discontent itself; the loss led to the myth, rather than vice versa. After all, despite exaggerations and half-truths embedded in the dominant narrative, the disruption actually did occur; indeed, the disruptive

capacity was precisely in itself the source of these workers' power. The narratives of ungovernable crisis and disruption, and that of "noble trade union activism," (7) should not be considered as dichotomous and contradictory; the problem is why the former was not considered as the latter.

Lopez argues that contrary to the hegemonic narrative, the Winter of Discontent was not a "fratricidal act" (205) that undermined its own interest of the labour movement, or that the striking workers were "irrationally acting against their own interests," (5) on the basis that they were low-wage workers who were fighting against erosion of their livelihood. They were indeed low-paid and, as Lopez emphasizes, women were over-represented in the public sector that took the hardest hit in the incomes policy. However, despite the intentions of the workers and justice of their cause, it is hard to deny that it was a decisive political failure; while she rejects its characterization as "economist militancy," it was indeed a series of militant actions primarily focused on wage claims, and not coordinated around a platform or a movement that could rally wide support and seek broader transformation. Why did the striking workers fail to win broad, mass support, despite the majority of the population being wage-earners? Why was the labour movement so decisively divided, most consequentially between the rank-and-file workers, and the Labour Party leadership in government determined to follow through with the incomes policy? In contrast to the dense and rich description of the strikers' experiences, strategic and political assessment of the Winter of Discontent is limited in Lopez's work, undermining its explanatory capacity.

Lopez emphasizes the formative role of participation in the Winter of Discontent in shaping the political consciousness and subjectivity of the workers; indeed, she makes a convincing case that the

experience of the strike politicized the workers and some continued to be active in unions or the Labour Party for many years to come. However, it seems that the content of consciousness and action in the following years has been shaped rather more strongly by the *loss* in the Winter, than the strikes themselves. Continued participation does not mean participation in militant activism as it was in 1979; many of them, as she introduces, later supported the "modernization" of the Labour Party that shifted it decisively to the right, through their deepening involvement in the party itself or unions that supported the party leadership's course. She argues that the "the different rememberings" of the event "have distinctly shaped the participants' political identities" later. (6) But was their politics causally determined by their interpretation of the winter, or has their interpretation of the winter been shaped by their subsequent politics? As she notes, New Labour's acceptance of the Conservative narrative of the Winter of Discontent has shaped its popular resonance, and the myth steered the party to the right; her book would benefit immensely from a closer examination of the contestations over memories and interpretations of the Winter within the Labour Party.

Lopez's book asks an important question on the relationships between political discourse and labour struggles, and sheds a spotlight on the crucial period in contemporary British history. She captures well the contradictory power that public-sector and service workers in particular have; they have great disruptive power, but as disruptive power is aimed at social reproduction, it is far more politically challenging to harness such power on the basis of broad popular support. Considering the significance of these sectors in labour struggles today, and continued dominance of neoliberalism that traces its origin in the late 1970s, her

book makes a valuable contribution to all those interested in the labour movement.

SHANNON IKEBE

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Owen Hatherley, *A New Kind of Bleak: Journeys through Urban Britain* (London and New York: Verso 2012)

OWEN HATHERLEY'S cameos of post-Blair Britain, like Cobbett's *Rural Rides*, occupy a genre spanning fiction and non-fiction with roots in *Don Quixote*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Dante's *Inferno*. As he guides the reader through the futility of Britain's post-Thatcher urban landscape, travel becomes the scaffolding of a sweeping social and historical narrative.

The critique works at several levels. The topmost is that Modernization Isn't Working. Squaring up to Tony Blair's crusading vision of a modern socialism behind the dubious banner of a caring neoliberalism, Hatherley lands many punches. Luton Airport is "one of the main places for processing the thousands of poorly-paid, poorly-housed East and Central European *Gastarbeiter*, those who largely constructed the 'New Britain' promised by the now defunct New Labour movement" (xi) while the City of London becomes the "neurotically protected undead capital of undead financial capitalism." (333)

Yet beneath the surface lies a Fings-Ain't-Wot-they-Used-to-Be celebration of pre-modern gentility. Of Plymouth he writes "If, for Aldo Rossi, Berlin's Stalinallee was 'Europe's last great street' then Armada Way is certainly Britain's," (180) whilst Darlington Station – a commemoration, he reminds us, of the birthplace of the railways – "has a claim to being one of the most beautiful railway sheds on the entire network, a sombre, smoky and atmospheric place with a majestic series of curving vaults, a piece of

Victorian high-tech whose beauty and emptiness are captivating." (38)

The messages jar. Were the people who built Darlington really better off than those who flock through Luton? Is a street which immortalises a four-century-old battle really the best that Britain has to offer? A third more subtle message emerges, perhaps as a result: sometimes modernizers get something right. This recognition appears in Hatherley's frank admiration for the "superb mini-city" (221) of Leicester University, a near-elegiac description of Edinburgh, and a fulsome appreciation of post-blitz Coventry: "The real dogmatists are those who would dismiss the city simply because it (was) new." (125)

All three messages are discharged in a rapid-fire aesthetic critique of Britain's places, laced with racy contempt for their dismalness. For social commentary, however, one must call a halt to the exhilarating journey, and study what is really being said. Unlike Cobbett, Hatherley rarely observes the human conditions he speaks of: evidence for what people actually do is provided by the places they live in. Here lies the rub: the problems underlying Blair's monumental legacy need attention in their own right.

Luton is defined by its appalling airport, a child of mass holidays mated with neoliberal cost-cutting, which distains functionality even as it proclaims itself the latest thing in luxury. Anyone who has fought their way out of the airport after 10 p.m. will bear out this judgement: yet Luton itself is one of Britain's "Minority white" cities, home to a decent and respectful multifaith society which, alongside Southall and Bradford, deserves one day to be celebrated as the birthplace of a genuinely new British way of life, free from the cant and hypocrisy of those who only poke fun at it.

Poking fun at Luton is an English pastime. Like the suburbs, it makes an easy target; it's where the other half lives. But

the great unwashed, as the Victorians dubbed them, live where they can, not where they want – just as Luton’s short-haul flights exist because most people can’t afford much else. The ancient sport of mocking the worse-off rests on a life-style made possible by a poverty that is alternately ridiculed and pitied by those who hound it.

It’s not enough. The finest reflections on modernity – Yeats comes to mind – identify the spark of hope that smoulders at the heart of chaos.

Hatherley acknowledges the limitations of his own critique: Plymouth is “a reminder of just how necessary modernisation was.” (181) However, his sardonic demolition ultimately works because it spears, with surgical precision, the hypocrisy of New Labour’s “Modernization” which was, and still is, deployed as an ideological bludgeon, spinning the mere fact that time moves forward into a profoundly Victorian agenda both in its treatment of the ordinary people of Britain, and its proclivity for making war on the ordinary people of everywhere else. Hatherley’s barbs, at their best, verge on Swifitean satire.

Yet the ultimate curse of satire is ignorance of its own limits. The book lacks what Marx and Engels deployed when they constructed a painstaking social criticism of Victorian bleakness, whilst at the same time showing why, and how, a new age could come of it. In Hatherley’s book, the most discernible alternative is the glory that once was Britain.

In the Britain I know (I cannot, in all honesty, say love), new kinds of life, and new kinds of work, are emerging in new kinds of cities, despite the modernizers and in defiance of them. Over two million people – many absurdly over-exploited, and restlessly conscious of it – work in a creative sector which has grown, during the most sluggish decade of Britain’s post-war history, at a steady 2.7 per cent

a year. As far as Hatherley is concerned, the “seaside city of Brighton and Hove is a place with a radically immaterial economy of tourism, property, media and ‘creativity’ which has a “large and ignored working-class.” (149) To my unkind reading, this simultaneously insults any manual worker who uses her brain, and disqualifies everyone who doesn’t hump bricks or bend metal from the title of truly working class.

Radhika Desai and I describe such myopia as a “machinocratic” vision, by analogy with the 18th-century ideas known as physiocracy (in Kees van der Pijl, ed., *Handbook of the International Economy of Production* [Aldershot: Elgar, 2015]). The physiocrats thought all value came from nature, which true labour worked up by tending the land. Machinocracy holds that true value comes from things, which true labour works up by tending machines.

The distortion is exemplified by Hatherley’s architect’s-eye use of buildings as a prism for viewing humans; as if landscapes count for more than what people do in them. I vividly remember when Glasgow and Edinburgh abandoned “slum clearance” and began working with residents to turn homes into liveable spaces; that modern turning point was integral to the present state of the very cities that Hatherley eulogizes for their past greatness. Many of London’s worst high-rises (though some are indeed beyond redemption) are being gentrified into desirable residences. It is Britain’s class system, not its architecture, which holds back the natural creativity of its residents.

The book tells us that we must reflect, much more deeply, on the concept of “modernization.” History’s transformative movements were never badged as modernizing. We do not find revolutionary banners inscribed “*Liberté, Égalité, Modernité*,” any more than a dream of

Martin Luther King that the world will one day be modern. Visionaries like Popova and Rodchenko made Russia the storm-centre of the avant-garde without ever worshipping modernity for its own sake. Nye Bevan, founder of Britain's Old Labour, never spoke of a "modern" health service: his goal was simply to have one at all, for the first time in history.

Visionary movements of change sweep away antiquity by creating modernity, not by worshipping it. The very word "Modernization" divides the world into the enlightened and those who stand in their way. The first are invariably a rich and privileged minority while the expendable remainder turn out, when studied with due care, to be the majority. "Modernization" is an intrinsically reactionary project: a mythological defence of the *status quo* which repackages anyone who resists it as an ignorant obstacle to progress.

It then falls to the expendables to construct a true modernity. Any traveller who pauses long enough to view the world through their eyes can see it. A marvellous antidote to the follies of post-Thatcher pretentiousness, and a must-read for anyone who has yet to visualise them, *A New Kind of Bleak* is the ultimate travelogue: an exhibit in its own museum.

ALAN FREEMAN
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Marcus Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail* (Boston: Beacon Press 2014)

SAILORS, PIRATES, SLAVES, and motley crews of the Atlantic world gather here and speak to us through the voice of their pre-eminent historian. Much of it we have heard before, but to see and hear these outlaws assembled in one place is a rewarding experience and a reminder of the transformative impact of

Rediker's vision on our understanding of the Atlantic world. The seven chapters of this book give us a synthesis not only of specific studies of marginalized people, but also of a way of seeing and of hearing beyond the veil of "terracentric" assumptions, (2) challenging us to re-imagine the emergence of capitalism, changing class relationships, the abolition of slavery, the rise of revolutionary movements, and the dynamics of communication and knowledge across oceans. It is a deeply engaging and provocative synthesis in which larger worlds are revealed through felicitous choice of voice, image, and anecdote, and in the pellucid prose for which this author has long been admired.

The chapter on sailors' yarns, a recent conference paper, is a bold essay on the great oral culture of the sea. The chapter is rich in allusions (Thomas More, Shakespeare, Montaigne, Milton, Defoe, and many more) but it is no mere literary excursus. People of great learning went down to the docks to learn from sailors, and in their yarns sailors spread the news of mutinies and revolutions. The sailor became the conveyor of crucial information, and seaborne yarns "shaped the dynamics of world history in the age of sail." (29)

The memoir of Edward Barlow, autodidact sailor of the late 17th century, displays the complex thinking of an egalitarian, anti-authoritarian Protestant whose English patriotism allowed room for echoes of the Diggers of the English Revolution. Rediker introduces Henry Pitman as another representative character of the Atlantic world, the escapee, the rebel who became a fugitive, marooned in a Caribbean ecology. Rediker skilfully contrasts the real to the fictional maroon, Robinson Crusoe, whose image as a modern individualist hero was founded on illusion and the evasion of collectivist realities. "Under the Banner of King Death" introduces new material to the account

of pirates that Rediker gave us in an article more than three decades ago, and while inevitably sketchier than his book *Villains of All Nations* (2004), the chapter serves as a welcome introduction to the egalitarian and collectivist culture of the pirate community.

The “motley crew” of Chapter 5 includes the multi-ethnic sailors, slaves, labourers, dockers, fugitives, and others who made their own contribution to the abolitionist movement and to the American Revolution, even as their antinomian egalitarianism and rowdy resistance was severely contained and deflected by the fathers of the republic. Whether or not you agree that the motley crew was really a proletariat, it is surely possible to agree that these “citizens of the world” were new “vectors of revolution” (116) in the revolutionary era. Chapter 6, a revised version of a chapter in Rediker’s *The Slave Ship* (2007), is a powerful reconnaissance of the massive traffic in human beings across the Atlantic. Rediker’s history tells us more about resistance and rebellion than do other works on the Middle Passage, and his account is informed to great advantage by his deep knowledge of the slave ships, those complex, closely articulated assemblages of iron, wood, equipment, and human beings that became the stage for recurring rebellions. Chapter 7 draws upon Rediker’s 2012 book on the Amistad rebellion of 1839, but is largely new. Four case studies in the popular representation of the revolt sustain the case for the importance of antislavery “from below.” (170)

Outlaws of the Atlantic is a work for scholars, students, and general readers. It is an obvious choice as a core reading in an undergraduate course on the Atlantic world. Nevertheless, there is much that Rediker does not attempt here. He chooses not to revisit some of the critiques prompted by his earlier

work. While critics have suggested that his model of early capitalism is reminiscent of a later industrial capitalism, and that his pre-industrial seamen are more like indentured servants than proletarians, Rediker avoids such concerns in this book. He sidesteps the question about how proletarian should be defined, and whether so many types of free and unfree labour may be included within that descriptor. He concludes that the community of the slave ship gave birth to defiant African American and pan-African cultures, (145) but does not engage in an extended analysis of the mechanisms of this cultural gestation and birth. We hear nothing of the controversy over the authenticity and nature of evidence in Olaudah Equiano’s *Interesting Narrative* (1789). On the many quantitative issues arising over the history of the slave trade, Rediker says little, leaving the quantification to others while using the results where appropriate to his “human history” (the subtitle of *The Slave Ship*).

This is merely to say that this book is not a work of theory or methodology, at least in an explicit or tendentious way. The important historiographical truth is clear and still urgent, more than three decades after Rediker began his intellectual odyssey: history is about perspective and representation, and about who has the power to impose perspective and meaning on the past. Those who are often seen as criminals may also be heroes, and heroes may be seen as criminals. In its own compelling way, the book answers doubters and skeptics. Here is a powerful, deeply moving and inspiring vision, at once historical and moral. There is “no easy walk to freedom,” (179) these voices from below loudly proclaim, as they invite us to learn from their history in our own time.

ERIC W. SAGER
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**Paulo Drinot and Alan Knight, eds.,
The Great Depression in Latin America
 (Durham: Duke University Press 2014)**

THE ESSAYS IN THIS NEW book edited by Paulo Drinot and Alan Knight provide new perspectives on the impact of the Great Depression on Latin America. They do not question the centrality of the economic slump for Latin American economic and political history. Instead, they seek to go beyond the traditional focus on economics and politics – related to the rise of import-substitution industrialization schemes, political unrest, and rise of populist regimes in the region – to consider “the broader social, institutional, and political history of the slump while paying attention to the ways in which regional transformations interacted with global processes.” (9) Another related, central theme that runs through the book is that the impact of the Great Depression was not the same across the region. It varied according to each country, and within each country it affected different social groups, economic sectors, and geographical areas in particular ways.

Approached in this manner, the previous generalizations that had dominated the study of the Great Depression give way to a deeper and richer understanding of its process across the region. Composed of an introduction by Drinot, a conclusion by Knight, and seven chapters on different national cases, the book offers a comprehensive, nuanced picture that takes into account common regional patterns as well as specific developments in each country, grounded in current regional and national historiographies and illuminating continuities and changes between the periods before and after the Great Depression.

The varied impact of the Great Depression is revealed in different manners. In the case of Argentina, Roy Hora not only shows that the country emerged

relatively quickly from the worst of the economic decline but also that the crisis had a differential impact on middle classes, who recovered quite rapidly, and lower classes, who suffered a significant decrease in wages and heightened state repression. In Colombia, analyzed by Marcelo Bucheli and Luis Felipe Sáenz, the Great Depression affected the three export sectors – coffee, banana, and oil – differently, in relation to each sector’s distinct configuration of local bourgeoisies and relationship to foreign capital. In Central America, Jeffrey Gould explains that the Great Depression deepened trends already in motion in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, leading to increased mobilization of Indigenous communities and lower classes and their repression by military regimes that later adapted ideologies of *mestizaje* and *indigenismo* to co-opt Indigenous sectors. Like in the case of Colombia, Gould pays attention to developments at the sub-national, regional, and local levels.

The uneven influence of the Great Depression was clear in other cases as well. Chile, Cuba, and Mexico were particularly affected by slump given the nature of their export economies, as studied, respectively, by Gillian McGillivray, and Alan Knight. At the other end of the spectrum is Venezuela, where Doug Yarrington shows that although the export economy was impacted, recovery was also rapid due to the availability of significant oil resources and the main political and economic changes in the 1930s were not due to the economic crisis but to the death of the dictator Juan Vicente Gómez in 1935. In the case of Peru, Drinot and Carlos Contreras argue that the impact was indirect, in that the economic crisis created economic dislocations and social tension that eventually resulted in a more interventionist state and policy innovations.

The Peruvian case brings attention to the topic of the degree of change and continuity in terms of state intervention as reflected in new economic and social policies. The essays dismiss the idea that the Great Depression provoked an abrupt change from export-oriented economies, based on *laissez-faire* economics, to industry-based models under increasing state regulation. Instead, they reflect the current consensus, in that it accelerated trends in those areas that were already under way, and that state interventionism was far from consistent or was completely achieved. In both Colombia and Brazil, export protectionism had already been advanced before 1929. In the latter case, Joel Wolfe shows that Getulio Vargas's economic and social programs, traditionally presented as a reaction to the Great Depression, were fragmented and limited in their reach – an argument also clear in the case of Argentina. In the case of Chile, the previous existence of labour laws was expanded by a growing consensus on the need of a more interventionist state, which was the product of negotiations and conflicts between state officers, workers, and private employers and that gave birth to the system of labour relations that would characterize Chile for the next decades. In the case of Mexico, Knight argues that the economic recovery of the 1930s was not only the product of a more diversified export economy, an incipient industrial sector, and a large subsistence sector that could absorb excess labour. It was also shaped by governmental proto-Keynesian policies related to the major policies of the Mexican revolution as they were being implemented under Lázaro Cárdenas, such as land and labour reforms and pragmatic economic nationalizations such as those regarding oil and railroads.

The influence of the newer trends on social, ethnic, and cultural history can be perceived in different manners in the

essays. In the case of Central America, Gould provides a detailed analysis of the events involving Indigenous communities in different regions and areas of the country. Likewise, Hora complements his analysis of broader political and economic trends in Argentina with consideration regarding consumption, education, and culture, while in Cuba, McGilivray points out the significant mobilization of workers and Afro-Cubans in the wake of the economic crisis. In doing so, they establish a relationship with other works on the interwar period in Latin America, such as Natalia Milanese's and Eduardo Elena's analysis of popular consumption and the state in Argentina in the 1930s and 1940s, Mary Kay Vaughan's work on the modernization of patriarchal relations under the emergent Mexican revolutionary regime in the 1920s and early 1930s, and Thomas Klublock's study on the gender aspects of Popular Front-era policies in Chile. The focus on Indigenous and Afro-Latin American populations in the cases of Central America and Cuba can be connected also to the renewed interest on Indigenous mobilization in the broader field of Latin American studies.

In all these manners, the book succeeds in grounding the Great Depression in broader political, social, economic, and cultural processes, dismissing easy generalizations and revealing similarities and differences among Latin American countries. Indeed, each essay eventually raises a number of questions about the empirical and theoretical framework advanced by the other essays in the book. For example, it would be interesting to apply the wider geographical scope and level of analysis used in the studies on Central America and Colombia to the cases of Argentina and Brazil. And those aspects and others, such as ethnic and cultural dynamics, would be relevant for bringing into the discussion those other cases not included in the book, such as

Bolivia and Ecuador, and Uruguay. These observations aside, this book is a significant addition that will be of interest to scholars and general public alike on a topic whose contemporary relevance, once again, has been highlighted by the recent global economic crisis.

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Rosemary Hennessey, *Fires on the Border: The Passionate Politics of Labor Organizing on the Mexican Frontera* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2013)

WE HAVE VERY FEW conceptual tools with which to identify embodied intensities as they work their way through consciousness into the realm of emotions and feelings. How do we name this process? Are we aware of the many transformations of our corporeal sensations into thoughts or language? Likely we are not. Even less do we consider what their social impact might be. In *Fires on the Border: The Passionate Politics of Labor Organizing on the Mexican Frontera*, Rosemary Hennessey asks us to consider these things.

Though her work with the Coalition for Justice in the *Maquilas*, Hennessey became curious about the role that structures of feeling play in organized resistance by workers. Despite the brutal violence and unspeakable acts of terror committed against workers in the northern border region of Mexico in recent years, neither the power of employers, nor the warring drug cartels' governance by fear has been totalizing. Workers continue to be moved to act collectively to resist their working and living conditions nonetheless. Hennessey, as a participant observer and feminist cultural theorist began asking about the motivating dynamics permitting activists to organize,

despite the dangers and ruling technologies of fear employed against them.

In part, Hennessey asks the reader to engage in a conceptual journey in which she explores the insights from theorists of affect as they might intersect with historical materialism and feminist concerns with the social relations under which basic needs are met and social reproduction is organized. For Hennessey, affect arises in each of us as an indeterminate and unformed quality. She rejects naturalist theories of emotion and suggests instead an interplay of bodily sensations, perception, consciousness and conveyance to others. Affect exists in the interconnection of mind-body-emotion and permeates the ways that production and care are undertaken. Hennessey's brilliant contribution to labour studies in particular, and social movement theory more generally, is to offer us the concept of "affect-culture."

For Hennessey, affect-culture is the transmission of embodied sensations and cognitive emotions through cultural practices, which are themselves contested. Affects bind us to one another and locates us in an environment. Individual activists bring their affect-culture with them to their organizing practices and each movement has its own emotional norms. Consequently, argues Hennessey, activists should become aware of this little-noticed ambience in which they are immersed. If affect-culture is an unconscious dimension of the movement, then its potential may not be realized in collective struggle, or worse, its negative impact might wear away the vibrancy of the movement and the relationships between participants.

The book is not a study of organizing strategy in labour struggles, as much as it is an exploration of affect discussed thematically and in conversation with rich literatures in each chapter. In particular, Hennessey brings an historical

materialist and feminist reading of sexuality, nonconforming sexual identity and gender in the affect culture of organizing in the *maquilas*. In an introductory account mapping some of her own affective encounters, she locates her role in this project as one of bearing witness and identifies her responsibility to learn how to navigate the affective terrain as an outsider.

Each chapter is thematically focused. For example, Foucault's insight about the "open secret" organizes a discussion of the knowing-not knowing when prescribed sexual identities are challenged within organizing campaigns or in all-female workforces. How does sexual identity feature in the affective culture of organizing, asks Hennessey? How do open secrets become part of the undercurrent of collective movements, or enter into the relations of power between workers, the state and capital? Hennessey explores the relationship of bodies and economies in an effort to queer materialism, or present a "socialism of the skin" that would consider the relationship between surplus value and cultural value and asks how embodiment and identity formation become part of the devaluing of some bodies, more than others within capitalism. She locates this discussion in the experience of gay men and transwomen in the *maquilas*. Hennessey goes on to discuss deregulation and "bioderegulation" as processes that lower the costs to capital of caring and survival. Her discussion is situated within the Levis Company's biopolitics and gay rights juxtaposed with the company's creation of devalued feminized workforces and workers' struggle for an independent union. Hennessey also asks questions about the potential for readjustments in gendered leadership practices. She analyses the encounter between northern *maquila* women workers and southern Zapatista indigenous women and sees in these new relationships, a

shift in the emotional habitus of the *maquila* workers as they developed a more autonomous stance from which to meet their needs outside of the factory gate. Finally, Hennessey asks what love has to do with labour and community organizing. Her discussion is set within a broad conversation of hope and utopian possibilities that arises within social movements "against all common sense." (226)

To answer her questions, Hennessey sets an historical and regional context within which complex sexual identities in Mexico become sites of social struggle. She relates stories told by workers and organizers and then analyses these as one might approach a literary text, looking for the seen and the unseen, the symbolic and the silences embedded within. She places herself in the scene only sparsely in the context of dialogue. She listens for expressions of meaning as captured in the insight of her interlocutors, and then reflects on these in light of the meaningful insights of other voices expressed in text and through theory. It is Hennessey's skill as an evocative writer that invites readers to engage with these subtle and complex ideas.

Rosemary Hennessey's *Fires on the Border* is an outstanding contribution to the literature on Mexican labour struggles. Her concept of "affect-culture" arises out of the embodied specificities of Mexican *maquila* workers' organizing struggles but it suggests an approach having much broader purchase. *Fires on the Border* is an excellent source for graduate seminar discussions in the many fields where workers' lives under capitalism are examined. The book would not be easily accessible to union activists in its present form, but over time, I have no doubt that its central insights will wend their way into union education environments. Many unions and union activists remain unaware of their own affective commitments and do not have a way of

openly discussing bodies, feelings, emotions, or sexuality and how these are related to work, community, or capitalism. Hennessey does not explore these questions at the level of the institution and so it is for others to ask how the affect-culture of labour movements and unions can be made visible to activists and explored consciously as an ever-present element in our ongoing contestations of capitalism.

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Chris Dixon, *Another Politics: Talking across Today's Transformative Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2014)

IN 2004, A GROUP of working-class Black and Latina women launched the “Sista’s Liberated Ground” (SLG) project in Brooklyn, NY. In response to the dual problem of police and gendered interpersonal violence, organizers announced the creation of “a space where violence against sistas is not tolerated, and where women turn to each other instead of the police to address the violence in their lives. (149) Organizers provided workshops on how to create and hold the territory. They used murals and stickers to physically mark areas of the city that they would collectively self-govern.

Chris Dixon holds up the Sista II Sista project as an example of “another politics,” the focus of his excellent book of the same name. Neither Sista II Sista’s liberated ground nor the countless other political experiments Dixon examines are represented as blueprints for revolution. One of the recurring themes in Dixon’s book is that there is no single model, tactic, or demand that fits every moment in all liberation struggles. The inspiration he draws from the Sista’s Liberated Ground is in its ways of managing “to be ‘in the world’ – relating to everyday problems of

violence – and yet ‘not of it’ – pointing beyond policing and prisons to a new society.” (150) The grounded audaciousness of the experiment embodies the *against and beyond* dyad that Dixon places at the core of another politics.

Another politics is the label Dixon applies to the vision and techniques of the “anti-authoritarian current” that has developed within the Left in North America since the 1990s. The book aims to more precisely describe and analyze the core characteristics of this broad and unevenly affiliated constellation of ideas and practices. Anyone who studies or has been around the Left in the past twenty years will have already conjured an image of the anti-authoritarian current. Some will like what they see: principled, militant, community-grounded organizers, free from the Old Left, serving the needs of the most disadvantaged through truly democratic, autonomous projects. Others will bristle at the image they hold of self-righteous ultra-leftists, fixated on smashing Starbucks’ windows, invested in the marginality of alternative lifestyles, not serious about building transformative mass movements. Few, however, will have attempted the theoretically challenging and politically delicate task of articulating precisely what holds this diverse current together, where its fault-lines run, what the current contributes, and where its weaknesses lie.

It’s remarkable not only that Dixon’s book accomplishes this complex task, but that he is clearly driven to do so by strategic inquisitiveness about how transformative power works. There is no score-settling in Dixon’s account and he remains humbly open-ended about his conclusions. Thus, the book not only contributes to debates over an influential strain of Left politics, but it also models the kind of inquiry that helps cultivate what Alan Sears calls “a learning Left.”

In addition to drawing effectively on his decades-long experience as a central activist in dozens of campaigns and organizations, the book is informed by interviews Dixon conducted with forty-seven activists in big cities across North America. The interviews provide experiential richness to broader debates; however, the book's unique contribution stems from Dixon's way of integrating what he hears and sees. The selective act of identifying the key elements of another politics means Dixon is not only describing but helping to conceptualize the strengths and ongoing challenges of this emergent political tradition.

Part One lays out the historical and theoretical orienting points guiding another politics. Dixon situates the current at the convergence of three main "movement strands" of theory and activism (34): anti-racist feminism, prison abolition, and reconfigured anarchism (Chapter 1). In contrast to more doctrinaire Marxist and anarchist currents, another politics takes a "synthetic approach" to the best traditions of anti-authoritarianism, anti-capitalism, anti-oppression, and anti-imperialism (Chapter 2). It also emphasizes the importance of "prefigurative politics" to transformative movements (Chapter 3). Dixon's argument that Left political projects must be focused on "wholeness, affective organizing, and being nice" (89) does not equate planting a community garden with revolution, as caricaturists of prefigurative politics often have it. On the contrary, Dixon argues, manifesting the world we would like to see as much as possible "through our means of fighting in this one" (83) is essential to developing the "ongoing, movement-building learning process" that must grow and flourish in genuinely transformative democratic projects. (104)

Part Two is entitled "Strategy" and argues that, despite widespread agreement across the Left about the importance of

strategic thinking, very little actual strategizing takes place within radical organizations and movements. Within the anti-authoritarian current, robust strategizing has been prevented largely because of the tendency of organizers "to focus on principles over plans ... to fetishize particular tactics," and to become trapped in "crisis mode organizing." (111–114) To overcome these obstacles, Dixon argues for a "movement-orientation" that combines intentionality about long-term plans with regular moments for assessment, and accountability mechanisms.

The main focus of Part Three, "Organizing," is anti-authoritarian leadership and organizational models (Chapters 7 and 8). The interviews in these chapters reveal significant debate *within* another politics. For example, in contrast to the celebration of Occupy Wall Street's so-called leaderlessness, Dixon not only posits that leadership is unavoidable (and therefore must be clearly and consciously designed to enhance collective power) but asks, provocatively: If it's true that leadership must involve hierarchy, might there be such a thing as "anti-authoritarian hierarchy"? (197) While sympathetic to those around the anti-authoritarian left who reject political organizations altogether, Dixon concludes that these sorts of absolutist positions "contribute to activist insularity and undercut our ability to build sustained and broad-based movements." (200)

Repeatedly Dixon declares: if another politics is going to change the world, it needs to grow massively. When he raises the challenge of "scaling up," (152) it's as part of the vision of "moving beyond insular activist spaces, connecting with popular struggles, and building movements capable of engaging many, many people." (110) He urges comrades and allies "to create alternatives to purity-based politics," to cultivate "an experimental

orientation ... vital for imagining ourselves outside of what we now know." (228–229)

And herein lays the core contradiction in Dixon's project: the book is at once record and dream. There is tension between description and aspiration in Dixon's call for "another politics" with broad social weight. Is the anti-authoritarian current we meet in this book the one that exists or the one Dixon hopes will develop? The answer can only be both; at times more one than the other (although the shift back and forth is rarely signalled by the author).

Yet this tension is integral to the book's virtue. Mere description would have risked adding nothing new, and worse, deprived us of Dixon's critical insights on the actually existing anti-authoritarian left. Mere aspiration would have drifted into a purist's dream, a how-to manual for a machine that does not exist. Instead, Dixon models critical reflection upon one radical current in the name of facilitating collective learning across the Left. In this moment of "tremendous crisis and possibility," (2) this sort of contribution, brimming with political insight and driven by "urgent patience," (119) is precisely what we need more of.

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Abigail B. Bakan and Enakshi Dua, eds., *Theorizing Anti-Racism: Linkages in Marxism and Critical Race Theories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2014)

PROTESTS ACROSS the US against the murders of Michael Brown in Ferguson and Eric Garner in New York City and the refusal to lay criminal charges against the police officers responsible for the killings of these (and other) African-Americans have made the slogans "Hands up, Don't

Shoot!" and "Black Lives Matter" widely known. In Canada, efforts to draw attention to the murders of indigenous women and media exposés of the Toronto police practice of disproportionately "carding" people of colour have insisted that racism needs to be taken much more seriously. Anti-Muslim racism has flared up in the wake of the murderous shootings in Paris in January 2015. Within the academic field, much work remains to be done to integrate racism and anti-racism into research and teaching about the working class, past and present. The publication of this collection edited by Abigail Bakan and Enakshi Dua is thus particularly timely.

Theorizing Anti-Racism aims to "advance critical scholarship in theorizing race, racism, and anti-racism by recognizing the pivotal importance of both Marxist and critical race theoretical contributions." (5) Both the editors have made noteworthy previous contributions to this field, Bakan from a Marxist perspective and Dua from the side of critical race theory. In this collaborative project, they have sought to "mitigate the tensions between these approaches," (6) treating postcolonial and critical race theory as a single diverse approach. The book is organized into four sections. Each is introduced by a short piece by the editors, who also provide brief introductions to two of the thirteen chapters as well as a concise afterword.

The first section, "Rethinking Foucault," opens with a chapter in which Dua sketches the divide between Marxist and postcolonial scholarship on racism and surveys the important contributions of Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, and Edward Said. She makes the point that the development of critical race theory was shaped by how "post-war Marxism was (and continues to be) stubbornly lodged in ... a commitment to 'class' that often led to a silence on the specific processes

of racism, as well as a hostile relationship towards explicitly anti-racist organizing and politics.” (25) This, Dua notes, led some anti-racist researchers to look to Michel Foucault for “a non-economistic framework.” (33) The result, she suggests, has often been fruitful but also often neglected the relationship of racism to capitalism. This is followed by an extract from Robert J.C. Young’s *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001) on Foucault’s “archaeological” approach of the late 1960s and its application to colonial discourse. The other chapter in this section, also by Dua, looks at the uses of Foucault by Said and Hall and reflects on the strengths and weaknesses of postcolonial theorists’ efforts to combine Foucault and Marx. As she notes, “for most of those who theorize racialized subjectivities, the social constructions of subjectivities, identities, agency, and resistance are not centrally tied to the processes of labouring or exploitation” (86) – a point to which I will return.

The second section is “Revisiting Marx.” Bakan’s chapter (based on a 2008 article) offers a historical materialist approach that deploys Marx’s concepts of exploitation, alienation, and oppression to theorize racial oppression and privilege. This is followed by an interview by the editors with Himani Bannerji, arguably the foremost anti-racist feminist Marxist analyst of racism based in Canada. Bannerji reflects on her theoretical framework, which treats the social as a differentiated unity of social relations rather than a terrain of intersecting identities, its debt to the sociology of Dorothy Smith, and nationalism.

This is followed by three chapters on “key anti-racist thinkers.” Anthony Bogues writes on the major historical works of C.L.R James and W.E.B. DuBois (this chapter is drawn from his *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical*

Political Intellectuals [New York: Routledge, 2003]). Audrey Kobayashi and Mark Boyle write on Jean-Paul Sartre and Frantz Fanon. Eunice Sahle uses Fanon and Antonio Gramsci to look at Steven Biko and, more briefly, Fatima Meer.

The final section offers four pieces of anti-racist analysis. Bakan’s chapter on the “Jewish question” argues that the creation of Israel as a Zionist state was “a critical political element in the advancement of Jewish whiteness” (259–260) within the racial hierarchies of Western societies. The following piece is Sunera Thobani’s telling critique (previously published in 2012) of the failure of influential works by Giorgio Agamben, Michael Hardt, and Antonio Negri to scrutinize “the relationship of race to Western sovereignty within the global order.” (281) Thobani also touches on the acceptance of Jews into whiteness, suggesting a psychological explanation based on Jews’ response to Nazi extermination camps. The contrast between this and Bakan’s account illuminates the difference between Thobani’s theoretical approach and historical materialism, as does the absence of any consideration by Thobani of the relationship between the global state system and capitalism. Sedef Arat-Koç argues that under neoliberalism middle-class people are conceiving of “themselves and their ‘other’ in increasingly culturalized ways.” This culturalism, she contends, is “a form of ‘race-thinking’ or ‘race-like thinking’” (312) with implications for the meaning of race today. The final chapter, Elizabeth Esch and David Roediger’s “Race and the Management of Labour in United States History,” looks at the racial dimension of managerial theory and practice from the 1800s into the 1920s (drawing heavily from their 2009 article on the subject).

Theorizing Anti-Racism succeeds in achieving its stated aim, though not to the extent I had hoped it would. Like almost

all edited collections of this kind, it is an uneven work. Considered as wholes, the fourth section is the strongest while the third is the least tied to the book's central objective.

The editors do an excellent job of bringing together insightful historical materialist and poststructuralist-influenced research in a single volume. However, important theoretical questions to which the two perspectives give different answers are not clarified, a necessary move for people interested in deepening dialogue between critical race theorists and anti-racist Marxists. One concerns social ontology: should we agree with Hall that "the social operates *like* a language"? (78) Others include what is the nature of racism itself (social relation, ideology, or discourse?), what explains the perpetuation of racism today and what are the relative merits of theories of ideology and discourse (an issue discussed in Jan Rehmann's excellent recent book *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* [Leiden: Brill, 2013]).

Regrettably, both Foucault and Marx receive less critical attention in the book

than they deserve. Dua's perceptive observation about the frequent neglect of "processes of labouring or exploitation" is important. Does this not pose a more fundamental challenge to the use of Foucault than she recognizes? This failing flows logically from Foucault's idealist Nietzschean conception of society and individuals, in which the body is much-discussed but human corporeality is nevertheless erased, as Joy James and others have argued. As for Marx, it is too generous to say, as Bakan does, that "oppression is the least complete in its theorization of all the forms of human relations" (109) he studies. It is fruitless to look for adequate concepts of oppression, racism, or race in Marx's work (which does not mean that historical materialists cannot develop what Marx did not).

In spite of these limitations, *Theorizing Anti-Racism* contains much of value. Not all of its chapters are of equal interest to people who study work, the working class, or workers' organizations. Still, everyone in the field would benefit from reading at least some of the contents of this collection.

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