

## Reviews / Comptes Rendus

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[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

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# REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Daniel Samson, ed., *Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800-1950* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press for the Gorsebrook Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies 1994).

THE PUBLICATION of this volume of essays is a welcome indication that rural history is capturing the interest of our younger Canadian historians. It appears that all the articles in this volume were written by recent graduates, or those about to graduate from doctoral programmes. As the subtitle suggests, the authors' interests have clearly been influenced by the labour historians who supervised their work in most cases, but this cross fertilization of research areas is all to the good. None of these essays concerns "cow and plough" history; instead the focus is on the blurry border line between independent commodity production and wage labour.

While one might expect that the main goal would be to discover how an urban proletariat emerged from the countryside, editor Daniel Samson makes it clear in his excellent introduction that he rejects such a teleological approach to history. Indeed, all the authors avoid the negative value judgement of dual economies found in the works of liberal and Marxist social scientists alike. Like the historians of 19th-century colonization in Québec, Samson and his fellow authors are interested in how the rural population resisted proletarianization by supplementing farm incomes with seasonal wage labour. Thus

they effectively adopt the "cointegration" model, though no reference is made to this useful term coined by Gérard Bouchard.

This is not to suggest that any of the essays directly takes up the debate about the development of underdevelopment in Atlantic Canada. Rather they tend to maintain their focus on the more immediate questions at hand: the development of a wage-earning sector in the rural economy of the early 19th century (Rusty Bittermann); the persistence of the household-based economy in one rural community during the "capitalist transformation" of the post-Confederation era (Steven Maynard); the role of rural labourers in the coal-mining community of Inverness (Daniel Samson); the ecological, economic, and political-diplomatic reasons for the persistence of a household-based fishery in 19th-century Newfoundland (Sean Cadigan); the incursions of what were known in Québec as "faux colons" on the crown leases of the New Brunswick forest companies during the early 20th century (Bill Parenteau); and the rejection of the modern urban world by Nova Scotia novelists Charles Bruce and Ernest Buckler (Erik Kristiansen).

Given the wide variety of topics and the resistance to broad-sweeping generalizations, there is actually less unity to this volume than one might have expected. It is tempting, therefore, to speculate on the implications of the authors' findings for the issue of economic and social development in the Atlantic provinces. As in his earlier work, Bittermann stresses the early development of what were essentially two classes in the north-eastern section of the region: market-ori-

Table of Contents for Reviews is on pp. 5 & 6.

ented pioneers who acquired the most arable and accessible land, and the later arrivals who depended on seasonal wage labour to survive on their backland holdings. More clearly developed here, however is the thesis that there was a symbiotic relationship between the two groups, with the backlanders supplying much of the labour required by their more fortunate predecessors, particularly during the harvest season. So much for the myth of the self-sufficient pioneer, though Bittermann certainly does not deny that the common goal of the two groups of settlers was a family-based economic independence. More work now needs to be done on the impact that seasonal labour strategies had on household structure, demography, gender roles and the sense of community.

Samson's essay reveals that even in the coal mines many of the workers were seasonal migrants from the countryside. The same was obviously true of the forest industry, whose winter labour requirements were more complementary to agriculture. But while Bittermann's market-oriented farmers, Samson's coal company, and Cadigan's fish merchants all certainly benefited from the seasonal labour offered by marginal farmers, Parenteau's forest companies deeply resented the individuals who laid claim to land within their crown timber leases. His essay demonstrates, once again, how the politicians managed to have their cake and eat it too as far as the forest resource was concerned. On the one hand the government granted control over the crown timber land to large forest companies, while on the other it caved in to local pressure when individuals claimed lots within the timber leases for the ill-disguised purpose of cutting and selling the timber.

Parenteau is doubtless correct to suggest that such political patron-client relations were "an integral [...] element in the small and limited class struggles undertaken by rural workers," but he might have commented on the role that these

small favours played as a political safety valve. After all, it was in the interests of the Liberal and Conservative deputies to ensure that the rural population did not turn to political alternatives in a bid to gain control over the forest resource, much as the settlers in Finland and Norway had done by electing the Peasants' Party in those countries.

Despite the title of this volume, Parenteau's essay is the only one where the countryside is actually "contested" (albeit in a limited way) in the sense of a conflict between two opposing forces for control of the land. However, Samson's study does culminate in a labour struggle, even if the role of the seasonal rural workers remains somewhat foggy. One might have expected them to be impediments to the development of a working-class consciousness, but the struggle in 1909 was basically between the entrenched craft union (PWA) and the more progressive industrial union (UMW), and it was the latter which appears to have appealed to the seasonal rural workers as well as the foreign-born proletarians. The ties formed between the UMW and the workers from the countryside would be a fascinating and important topic for further study.

While this volume has provided a valuable service by identifying the role played by rural workers in the Atlantic economy, much more work needs to be done on the motivations and culture of these men and women. Were they in fact clinging to a measure of independence by resisting proletarianization, or were they simply forced to retreat to their land holdings on a seasonal basis because of the nature of their early industrial economy? Did they pine for home and family when they were working in the cities, or did they quickly develop their own social networks in the new environment? Can we even make such generalizations when it is likely that each individual fell somewhere between a broad continuum of attitudes and behaviour?

Certainly, it would be dangerous to assume that the novels of Charles Bruce and Ernest Buckler speak for all or most of the workers who moved from the countryside to the city. Because of their education and skills as writers, both these men were able to enjoy the luxury of retreating to their native communities. Kristiansen defends them against the charge of reactionary romanticism, arguing that they represent a typically modernist rejection of modern society, but the fact remains that both men would essentially remain outsiders even in their rural communities by virtue of their class position. Interesting as Kristiansen's essay is from a literary viewpoint, then, we can learn more about popular perceptions of the transition from country to town, and farmer to labourer, in the works of folk poets such as Larry Gorman, or the oral interviews conducted by historians such as Gary Burrill.

Most of the essays in this volume reveal that the changes lamented by Bruce and Buckler began to take place much earlier than commonly suspected, and Maynard's paper reminds us that there was inequality even within the idealized pre-industrial household. But if his case study had been set more adequately within the context of an emerging petite bourgeoisie (as in *Family Fortunes* by Davidoff and Hall), perhaps the independence demonstrated by the main female character towards her merchant husband would have seemed less anomalous. And if fathers did retain ownership of the land rather than passing it on to sons before they died, the Maritimes certainly had a more paternalistic culture than either Québec or Ontario. Once again, it is time that the necessary quantitative research be pursued to test such generalizations.

Certainly, this volume takes a major step in the right direction, for even while none of the contributors is guilty of romanticizing the rural past, their common emphasis is on the people's resilience and adaptability rather than on exploitation

and underdevelopment. In short, *Contested Countryside* reminds us of the insights to be gained from a rural focus for all regions of a country the majority of whose people lived and worked in rural communities until the recent historical past.

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Simon Fraser University

Le Collectif Clio, *L'histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles* (Montréal: Le Jour, 1992).

THIS IS AN EXPANDED VERSION of the book published ten years ago by the same collective of women and translated into English as *Quebec Women. A History* (1987). This edition is 120 pages longer and has five more chapters. There are some wonderful new photos, and they are much better reproduced than in the first edition. Those considering whether to buy the new enlarged version will want to know what has changed and what new information or analysis they will receive for their money. This will be the focus of my review.

In the revised version seven new chapters cover the period between 1965 and 1990 replacing the one chapter that dealt with the decade between 1969 and 1979. The new periodization makes more sense than the earlier one. It places the women who founded the Fédération des femmes du Québec in 1965 or who joined the AFEAS in 1966 as well as those who pushed for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women within the period dealing with second wave feminism. Ironically it also fits better with more traditional political periodizations.

The new chapters examine transformations in feminism, education, women's work, their family lives, artistic creations, politics and the law. This section of the book will be particularly useful for anyone seeking a summary of the major changes that have occurred over this period in which feminists challenged so

many aspects of society and politics. The focus is often institutional, dealing with major changes in laws, identifying the main women's organizations, as well as introducing key actresses in society and politics. The authors succeed in pulling the major milestones of these years into focus with more distance and ambiguity than in the first edition. They reflect intelligently on the gains made, the resistances encountered. One of the great strengths of this section, indeed of the book as a whole, is its careful treatment of women and the law, an area anglophone historians had hardly touched when the first edition was published. In the new version this means there are good summaries of changes in provincial laws affecting women's lives in such areas as matrimonial property regimes or provisions for maternity leave. These will be useful for those wishing to compare such law in Québec with other provinces. While transmitting an outline of major changes, the authors also constantly assess the dilemmas, choices and constraints that women faced in a relatively balanced way.

There are some surprising gaps in the discussion of the 1965 to 1990 period, however. Although the authors deal with women's sexuality and with changes in birth control and fertility there is no sustained discussion of lesbian relationships — either as a political issue or as the choice of growing numbers of women. Indeed the whole book pays minimal attention to relations between women, sexual or otherwise. Nor are the variety of brands of feminism that inspired women in Québec during this period given very much attention. Only radical feminism is named explicitly, there is no serious discussion of socialist feminism, and the material on feminist organizing in unions has been shortened in this edition.

In contrast to the new chapters concluding the book, the earlier parts remain largely unchanged. Paragraphs have been added incorporating material from publications on women; little however, has

been drawn from theses, where so much valuable research lies buried. There is minimal integration of research outside women's history that might have led to a re-interpretation of women's place. Sentences have been added here and there acknowledging the existence of immigrant women. Slightly more attention has been given to native women. And, the text has been copy edited. Overall, however, the changes in the text are minor, although the additions to the bibliographies at the end of each section are comprehensive. Nothing that has been written in the intervening years appears to have led the authors to change their interpretations of women's lives in the years prior to 1965.

Is this because so little significant research has been done, or because the authors fail to incorporate important material? Certainly the number of publications appearing in Québec women's history has increased over the last decade, but is still relatively small and certain periods, especially the years prior to the 1860s have received very little attention. More attention could have been given to recent research. There is, however, another partial explanation. On re-reading the two versions I was struck by the strength of the earlier version. Certainly there were errors and interpretations that many would disagree with, as the authors point out in their new introduction. Few of these have been changed. Yet overall, it is amazing that these four women were able to write such a comprehensive account of Québec women's history in the early 1980s when so little research had been done.

A second issue that struck me on reading the two versions was the folly, or difficulty of re-writing a survey text like this one. A good synthesis has to rethink the whole picture. This cannot be done by simply adding paragraphs. The authors have written a new synthesis of the most recent period, taking parts of what they had written previously, but reconsidering the whole. They have not done this for the earlier part. Neither draw on some of the

new ways feminist historians have been trying to conceptualize the complicated relationships between class, gender, race and sexuality historically. The authors state that the book is about the historical experience of Québec women and not about conceptual frameworks. (14) This means it is refreshingly free of discourses and deconstructions. This will make it accessible and useful to the general public, less interesting to higher level university students and historians. It remains a good, overall survey, with many of the strengths and weaknesses of the genre.

Bettina Bradbury  
York University

Danielle Lacasse, *La Prostitution Féminine à Montréal, 1945-1970* (Montréal: Les Editions du Boréal 1994).

PROSTITUTION makes for intriguing history: besides sex, money, and power, it offers up lurid job sites, middlemen, and scores of moralists attempting to contain its influence over the social body. Since the rise of women's history, historians of the early 20th-century social reform period have concentrated on the nearly ubiquitous campaign to close the red light districts across North America. While the reform era has been nicely excavated, the rest of the century has barely been touched by historians. In this context, Danielle Lacasse's study is a welcome addition to the historiography.

What did happen to prostitution in the decades after a period of intense and repeated raids on brothels in the red light district? Building on Andrée Lévesque's work on Montréal prostitution in the interwar period, Lacasse explores the structures of female prostitution in the post World War II period. Like Lévesque she sees prostitution as a form of work, one that functioned under a hierarchical structure involving women from a variety of backgrounds and experiences. Lacasse finds, though, that the job is transformed

as the days when women dominated all levels of the hierarchy effectively ended in this period. Those with power and control over the "milieu de travail" were male; Lacasse systematically shows how clients, pimps, police and judges contributed to making prostitution increasingly oppressive work for women.

Lacasse argues that the shift to male dominance over the profession was a product of the early postwar "grand nettoyage" — the cleanup of Montréal's civic administration. At the height of Montréal's anti-vice crusade thirty years earlier Joseph Tremblay, head of Public Safety, managed a near shutdown of Montréal's notorious red-light district, resulting in the escalation of arrests of female sex-trade workers. Opponents of eradication, those who preferred a system of regulation, feared Tremblay's methods would result in forcing prostitution underground, causing it to spread throughout the city. They felt that at least by confining it to the red-light district, disease and crime were contained and controllable. During the interwar period the red-light district thrived under the tacit acceptance of the civic government and the police force. In 1946, Pacifique Plante, head of the police force's morality squad, followed in the same footsteps as Tremblay, ordering repeated raids on brothels in the red-light district. Plante managed to make more enemies than friends, however, and within two years he was kicked off the force for insubordination. He retaliated by going public with allegations of corruption tying city hall to commercialized vice. In 1950 an inquiry into commercialized vice in the city led to the purging of corrupt officials and a resumption of raids on the red-light district. The effect of the grand nettoyage of the 1950s was precisely what regulationists had always feared — that prostitution would spread throughout the city.

Female prostitutes took cover from the raids on brothels by moving their work to cafés, cabarets, restaurants, and the street, both inside and far away from

the red-light district. This shift, Lacasse argues, landed them firmly in the clutches of male middlemen — pimps, taxi drivers, club owners, waiters, and bartenders upon whom they were dependent for customers and both physical and legal protection. The work, then, became more dangerous and difficult. Unlike in a traditional brothel where rates were fixed, prostitutes now had to negotiate rates with potential customers. Besides the health risks of working long hours on cold nights, "tricks" might be turned in public areas that left little time to take precautions against venereal disease or pregnancy. Women working the streets were also subjected to surveillance by police, violence from johns, and were often at the mercy of pimps.

This book makes an interesting contribution in the area of church and lay organizations' involvement in rescue work with prostitutes. In the period studied there was little support for prostitutes. Where their cause was picked up by women's organizations and the church earlier in the century, in the postwar period there was deafening silence. Lacasse explains the lack of a feminist voice on prostitution as a result, at least in part, of the fallout after women won the right to vote in 1940. Associated with this was a decline of voluntarism. As for the church, Montréal clerical authorities shifted their work to the prevention of moral downfall, leaving aside the rescue of the already fallen. In doing so they followed the message of Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) who did address the dangers threatening young, modern women and called on the faithful to protect themselves, but ignored the plight of the fallen, including prostitutes.

In postwar Montréal, then, prostitution was a hierarchical business and those at the bottom were the female prostitutes who faced unwanted pregnancies, venereal disease, violence from customers and "managers," a lack of control over their wages, and harassment from police and court officials who treated them like

criminals instead of underpaid, undervalued workers. Aside from a discriminatory economic system that Lacasse explores in Chapter 4, it is not clear why women chose prostitution. Prostitution is not simply like other work in the female job ghetto. It smashes through boundaries of appropriate gender behaviour while at the same time reinforcing a hierarchy of gender relations. There was potential here to explore gender relations, sexuality, and the meaning of prostitution that was left unfulfilled. More research in this area should be done to illuminate these facets of the trade in the postwar period.

This book makes good use of a range of sources from municipal court archives to the Caron Inquiry papers to police annual reports and newspapers. They heavy emphasis on statistics to draw a profile of the prostitute can be explained by the lack of information left behind by prostitutes themselves. The portrait of the prostitute is somehow unsatisfying, though, and one wonders why oral histories were not used. Perhaps therein lies a key to unlock the shifting meaning of this illegal yet essential work women did. Also because there is little secondary literature on prostitution in this period it is difficult to assess whether Montréal was the exception or the norm. At the end of the book Lacasse suggests areas for further study, including male and juvenile prostitution. This study should inspire further work both in terms of these subjects and this time period.

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Naomi E.S. Griffiths, *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1994* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press 1993).

AS PART of its Centennial commemorations and in an effort to understand itself, the National Council of Women asked Naomi Griffiths of Carleton University to

write its history. Despite Griffiths' enthusiasm, sympathy, and historical talents, *The Splendid Vision* does not escape the restraints of a commissioned institutional history. The plentiful illustrations — portraits of past presidents — symbolize the emphasis on the national organization, its executive, and annual meetings. Some tedious lists of member organizations and resolutions reinforce the image. Given that the main source was the published year books of the Council — and meaty volumes they appear to have been — this is not surprising, but it is disappointing since Griffiths also describes the varied hands-on activities of the Local Councils. Nevertheless, a discerning and determined reader (the index is not always helpful), will find some provocative observations on the role of elite and middle-class women in shaping Canadian society over the last century.

The National Council, an association of voluntary associations, was composed of representatives of national women's organizations and Local Councils. Griffiths argues it should never have succeeded for members, apart from a desire to "do something, right now" about problems, lacked a clear priority as they lobbied governments for social, economic, and political changes. Yet, Griffiths contends, its "vision of consensus" helped it "form the Canadian social conscience and, because its structure allowed great autonomy, it has had profound regional importance in addition to its considerable national presence." (10-1) Moreover, she stresses, the Council and its member organizations gave women a public voice and a social and political education even before they had the franchise.

At the local level, membership often included church groups (mainly Protestant but with some Catholic and Jewish affiliates), Business and Professional Women's clubs, hospital auxiliaries, a variety of service-related societies, political organizations and, in a few cases, auxiliaries to trade unions. Constituent organizations had individual goals, but Councils

often co-operated in community efforts such as providing milk for poor children, organizing playgrounds, encouraging the preservation of park land, sending comforts to the relief camps of the 1930s and soldiers overseas, and promoting cultural activities.

The Council was involved in many issues affecting women. For example, although most members were married, middle-class, middle-aged, and did not work outside the home, the Council was concerned about working women. An early focus was on domestic servants. Here, Griffiths challenges the suggestion of Veronica Strong-Boag and others that council members were self-serving "Lady Bountifuls" who exploited poor women and argues that such a view overlooks the facts that more men than women were servants, that the employment of domestic help was not confined to the homes of the well-to-do, and that running a household required heavy labour.

The Council also interested itself in the working conditions of women in factories. Although not all members agreed, the Council regularly passed resolutions and lobbied governments for the appointment of female factory inspectors and for laws regulating the hours of work. After the 1920s, resolutions on the right of married women to work frequently appeared on Council agendas. In the 1950s, after a half century of intermittent effort, the Council helped persuade governments to enact legislation designed to secure equal pay for equal work. However, as Griffiths notes, the increasing participation of women in the labour force created "deep divisions among women" that "would critically affect the future of the Council." (246) Early concerns about women workers, Griffiths asserts, did not reflect *noblesse oblige* as some historians have said, but were reforms "framed largely within the existing general pattern of daily life," (116) and were similar to the ideas of the major political parties. In fact, on contentious labour issues, there was diversity. Members of the Winnipeg



Local Council offered to operate the telephones during the 1919 General Strike; several New Brunswick Councils sent groceries to families of striking Cape Breton miners.

Although Griffiths is sympathetic to the Council, she points out its failures, notably the "fragmented focus" (418) of its lobbying activities. At the same time, she implies that diversity has been the Council's strength. That diversity illustrates the importance of voluntary activity in initiating social reforms. Few will want to read the book from cover to cover, but selective dipping offers some different perspectives on many social issues of the last century.

Patricia E. Roy  
University of Victoria

Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990* (Toronto: Dundurn Press 1992).

IMMIGRATION has long been a major issue in Canadian public policy debates. From the time when it was assumed that Canada needed a larger population to settle its habitable areas until the present, the question of how best to increase this country's sparse population without doing damage to its economy, racial composition, and cultural character, has been a matter of serious concern. This work by Valerie Knowles, an Ottawa scholar who wrote a useful biography of Senator Cairine Wilson, examines the evolution of immigration policies from the days of New France until very recent times. It is a sound and clear overview and the best general work available on this interesting subject.

Knowles focuses on immigration policy as an aspect of national development and expansion. Beginning with Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who sought to populate Canada to further French mercantilist goals, Knowles reminds us that Canadian

immigration policy was always an aspect of national development and expansion. While early policies were intended to make Canada a self-supporting adjunct to the French imperial economy, those followed immediately after the American Revolution were based on the need to find homes for Loyalists and on British designs to protect its North American possessions with a "garrison of citizen-soldiers, who would form a potential buffer against the American." Immigration into Upper Canada from the United States before the War of 1812 worried British officials into adopting schemes to promote immigration of "a new infusion of loyal and trustworthy subjects," and led to the inflow of vast numbers of British immigrants who transformed Canada and the Maritime colonies into a very British North America by the 1860s. Immigration during the Macdonald era did not add significantly to Canada's population growth, despite generous inducements offered by the Dominion government. When the famous tides of immigrants arrived during the "Sifton Years" before World War I, immigration emerged as a serious matter of public debate over the question of what kinds of people were best suited for the country's needs.

Knowles examines the debate in parliament, the press, and other public forums from about 1900 to the 1940s over the suitability of potential immigrants on grounds of race, culture, occupation, or country of origin. Most observers, even the most liberal, believed that Canada should limit entry only to those who were easiest to assimilate into this country's British Protestant society, were willing to farm (preferably on the Prairie frontier), and were not a threat to the established political and economic order. The overwhelming concern focused on "development" was probably best expressed by Sifton himself who wrote in 1901 that "the Government of Canada [is] encouraging immigration for the development of natural resources and the increase of production of wealth from these resources."

In explaining immigration policy during the interwar years when the same assumptions were in place, but with a nasty corollary attached, Knowles' account breaks important new ground. For Frank Oliver, Sifton's successor as Minister of the Interior, the ethnic and cultural origins of prospective immigrants were of greater concern than their occupations. It was not enough — as it had been for Sifton — that they were "stalwart peasants" who would add to Canada's Gross National Product, they had to be of the right racial stock so as to "elevate the conditions of our people and our country at large." It was Oliver who in 1906 brought forward the first of the immigration acts that significantly increased the number of prohibited categories. He was followed by other ministers and bureaucrats, William Scott and Frederick C. Blair among others, who made it their mission to keep "undesirables" out of this country. Until well after World War II, Canada's immigration policy was essentially exclusionist, and it was not until passage of the Immigration Act of 1976 that provisions were made for the admission of an identifiable class of refugees into Canada.

These policies, of course, only reflected public perceptions and the broad desire to keep Canada white, British and French, and Christian. Considering the spate of books and journal articles since the early 1900s on the subject of immigrants and immigration and the need to limit that privilege as much as possible to persons fitting those categories — some of this literature coming from leading intellectuals, including noted historian Arthur Lower — it is no wonder that Canada's policy was so restrictionist. Politicians seldom get ahead of the Canadian people on this issue and that is why officials turned back the *Komgata Maru* in 1914, severely limited immigration of Asians and Blacks, kept the passengers of the *St. Louis* from landing, and turned a deaf ear to victims of Nazism, especially Jews, who ended up in the gas chambers.

Simply put, the people of Canada — or those who claimed to speak for them — did not want "undesirables" to come here and the bureaucrats knew it.

Ms. Knowles' account is a worthy, solid, and interesting starting point for the examination of these policies. She has also provided a most useful statistical appendix and bibliography. What is now needed is a thorough study of the effect of these policies on Canada's immigrant communities, their reaction to them, and the evolution among them of an accommodation to the social and political context of Canada.

Gerald Tulchinsky  
Queen's University

Robert J. Grace, *The Irish in Quebec: An Introduction to the Historiography* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture 1993).

BORN IN 1899, Ann Skelly — my grandmother — grew up on a farm in Saint-Colomban, an Irish settlement north of Montréal. Like other Quebecers of Irish origin, she lived much of her life on a cultural threshold. A shared faith, frequent intermarriage, an intermingling of musical, culinary, and other traditions: such commonalities must have blurred the lines between her community and that of the French speaking majority in the region (and, for that matter, the province). Ann Skelly's story is not told in Robert J. Grace's useful and timely survey of the literature on the Irish in Québec. Or perhaps it is. After all, Grace's account focuses new attention on the neglected experience of Québec's rural Irish and explores the intriguing, bittersweet relationship between the province's francophones and its largest single group of 19th-century immigrants.

The stated objectives of this volume, however, are more modest. The idea was not to offer a new interpretation of the Irish experience in Québec; presumably

Grace's forthcoming doctoral dissertation will do that. The idea, rather, was to provide a guide to the existing secondary literature, with the noble aim of encouraging and facilitating further research in the area. The task is accomplished in two stages. First, Grace's historiographical essay carefully leads readers through a body of work which he obviously knows intimately. Immigration, settlement, work, institutions, politics, and culture: these are the signposts along the way. Second, Grace and collaborators Fernand Harvey, Brendon O'Donnell, and Kevin O'Donnell deliver a scrupulously annotated bibliography of some 1,089 titles, all of which deal either directly or indirectly with the history of Québec's Irish.

Despite the volume of literature reviewed, one is struck by just how little serious academic work has been done in this area. There has been no Donald Akenson or Bruce Elliott to push the quality of research and writing on the Québec Irish up to a new level. Many of the studies mentioned by Grace and his colleagues deal with the subject only as part of some other agenda. Indeed, the main strength of this volume may be that it brings together such a wide range of works that touch on the Irish in Québec, without necessarily being about the Irish in Québec.

Readers of *Labour/Le Travail* will be especially interested in Grace's treatment of the literature on Irish labourers. The author rightly emphasizes the role of the Irish as workers in Québec's timber coves, canal and railway construction sites, sculleries, and in other manual occupations. The development of Irish working-class neighbourhoods such as Montréal's Griffintown and the Champlain ward of Québec City is well documented, as is the combination of ethnic and worker solidarity which gave rise to such labour organizations as the Québec Shiplabourers Benevolent Society in the 1850s.

All of this is well charted territory. Less familiar — and perhaps more ur-

gently needed, given Akenson's appraisal of the situation in Ontario — is Grace's attention to the rural Irish. Readers learn that in 1871 about 30 per cent of Québec's population of Irish origin lived in Montréal or Québec City; this is quite a high proportion, considering that only about 15 per cent of the general population lived in the two major centres. Still, seven out of ten Québec Irish lived somewhere else besides the two large cities. Grace ignores the fact that some must have lived in other towns and cities (Sherbrooke comes to mind). But he is surely right in arguing that most lived in the country, in places like the Beauce, the Ottawa Valley, the Laurentians, and the region around Québec City. Along the same lines, in a province in which 55 per cent of all household heads declared their profession as "farmer," 41 per cent of Irish Catholic household heads made such a declaration to the 1871 enumerator, as did 60 per cent of Québec's far less numerous Irish Protestants. Compared to other segments of the population, then, Irish Catholics apparently lived up to their reputation as urban dwellers and proletarians. But in absolute terms, their rural experience was also important, probably substantially more so.

Grace's survey is particularly useful in identifying gaps in the literature; the rural Irish provide a case in point. Another neglected topic is the relationship between Irish Catholics and the French-Canadian majority. Interestingly, the patterns seem to have varied from one region to another, depending on the demographic balance and the labour market, among other factors. In certain communities, like Saint-Colomban, the Irish population was virtually assimilated into the French-speaking majority by the early decades of the 20th century. Elsewhere, both ethnic tension and Irish cultural retention were higher. The critical point here, however, seems to be that the more bitter, antagonistic aspects of the relationship were conditioned less by ethnic hatred than by workplace rivalry. Whether

on the docks in Québec City, on canal and railway construction gangs, or as labourers in the timber industry, French-Canadians and Irish-Catholics shared a subordinate relationship to capital. As such, their interests could be played off against each other by largely British-Protestant employers, who stood to gain by applying the age-old dictum: divide and conquer.

On the whole, the book is well organized and presented. In addition to the text and the bibliography, it contains some 34 illustrations — many showing living and working conditions — and two useful maps, which chart the distribution of Québec's Irish population in 1871. One might be permitted a complaint or two about the editing, however. My reading of Grace's essay turned up more instances of awkward syntax, incorrect punctuation, and inconsistent usage than I was willing to ignore. One example is the use of the French term *Laurentides* to denote the area north of Montréal. This might be considered an acceptable effort to francisize a common place name, except that the more conventional and, it seems to me, correct English term "Laurentians" also turns up in the text. (45)

What would Ann Skelly make of all this? When I was a kid, she used to make fudge when we would visit. Not the chewy, chocolate kind but a hard, crumbly, brown-sugary, substance that my brothers and sisters and I loved. In my experience, only "Nanny" knew how to make this stuff properly. (She was also a skilful fiddler, with a fantastic repertoire of jigs, reels, and other tunes; but that's another story.) Recently, I was intrigued to discover that many other kids in Québec had grown up enjoying this same tooth-defying treat. But instead of fudge, they called it *sucre à la crème*. And instead of Skelly or O'Rourke (her married name), their indulgent grandmothers had names like Tremblay, Beauchemin, and Lapointe.

Although not a historian of food, nor even of popular culture, I think my grandmother's fudge stands for something. The

relationship between Québec's Irish minority and its francophone majority has been bitter at times. Think of the violent clashes between French-Canadian and Irish dock workers in Québec City in the summer of 1879, to take but one particularly notorious incident. But it has also been sweet. If generations of French-speaking Ryans, Johnsons, and McNicolls, or the rich blend of French and Celtic traditions that spawned *québécois* folk music were not proof enough, one could always try a piece of Ann Skelly's *sucre à la crème*. Robert Grace's survey of the literature makes all of this just clear enough to make one want to learn more. It will indeed encourage further work in the area and should serve for years as an indispensable guide for those wishing to explore the rich and complex history of Québec's Irish.

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Royden K. Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1993).

AS A CASE STUDY for a certain interpretation, this book (published in hardback by the University of Illinois Press) uses the tiny but significant Mennonite group known historically as a *Kleine Gemeinde* (a German term for "small church" that denotes church as a body of people more than an institution). The group, presently known as the "Evangelical Mennonite Conference," originated in the Russian empire about 1812-1814 and then in the 1870s emigrated en masse to several locations in the United States and in Canada's West, most notably around what became Steinbach, Manitoba and Jansen, Nebraska.

How should the historian take up the history of a small but intensely religious group that also represents a closeknit and

well-bounded ethnic and kinship community? How, especially if the group had its own economic institutions and styles and therefore offers a case study for economic as well as religious and sociological adaptation and change? Should one begin by studying the group's own sources until fully immersed in its peculiar mindset, outlook, values, and ways? Or should the good historian first delve into the current trends of graduate-school scholarship and then select a group on which to test the trends? The answer, surely, is to do some of both. Yet a strong burden of proof must lie against a scholar's applying currently fashionable paradigms too assiduously without first developing a keen sense of the group's own self-understanding. Royden Loewen clearly tried both approaches, and worked for balance. But he pursued the approach of testing current scholarly trends more and better than he did the other.

As his title *Family, Church, and Market* suggests, Loewen found that, for the years 1850-1930 (pre-emigration, emigration, and adaption), three main dynamics explain *Kleine Gemeinde* history: kin networks; a certain quality of Christian community; and the workings of capitalistic markets. Of the three, Loewen thinks that kin was the strongest in such matters as migration and church selection. (92, 186, 263) That emphasis conveniently let him redress some of the past neglect of women's influence and roles. Less clear is any conclusion about what was in second place — church or market? At least in the field of American history, since the Reagan years it hardly seems possible to open a scholarly journal or a new textbook without landing on a discussion of how capitalistic market forces have generated vast (and often vague) changes in life, social organization, and belief. *Family, Church, and Community* is the published version of Loewen's University of Manitoba PhD thesis; and clearly its author has learned the "capitalist market forces" paradigm — a sort of capitalistic version of Marxism — well. Still,

Loewen was too honest to promote economic motives over religious ones with any clarity. The puzzle is most evident in his chapter on "religious upheavals." To this reader, the evidence in that chapter and elsewhere seems to indicate that a desire to maintain a certain kind of Christian community drove sociological and economic as well as religious decisions more than vice versa. Yet the chapter's opening paragraph (170) states that both in the Russian empire and later in North America "industrialization" and "similar social realities" "uprooted old notions of communitarian, history-based religious faith"; and the closing paragraph (191) posits the same direction of cause and effect.

One may wonder if Loewen would have written such paragraphs if he had been less preoccupied with the market-forces paradigm and more determined first to penetrate deeply into the pre-1930 *Kleine Gemeinde* mind. To stimulate such penetration he might well have learned from the literature of other Old Order-minded Mennonite and related groups. Such literature is quite available, especially on the Amish; yet Loewen's bibliography includes no entries from, say, John A. Hostetler, Donald B. Kraybill, Thomas Meyers, Steven N. Nolt, or James Landing. It does include one article by Sandra Cronk on the Old Orders' theme of *Gelassenheit* (yieldedness, submission). And it includes my own book *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America*, which strongly emphasizes that humility was central to the thought of various Mennonite traditionalists. Loewen makes passing reference to *Gelassenheit* or humility but did not present them as central motifs. Nor did he assume that looking at Old Order groups might offer insights into the *Kleine Gemeinde*. I have only a beginner's understanding of the *Kleine Gemeinde*; but the more I read a book such as Loewen's, the more I think such a look could be quite fruitful.

One look Loewen did take was to examine what he believed were wrong myths about *Kleine Gemeinde* history: myths such as that the motivation was purely one of sincere religion and "static, unswerving persistence"; or another, that *Kleine Gemeinde* "behavior was characterized ... by unilinear cultural assimilation" (262); or still another that Loewen thought overstates differences between the Canadian and the US contexts. (267) Such demythologizing, while everyday work for professional historians, is very often needed for small religious groups and so is probably a good contribution. Moreover, Loewen's chapters apply his main family-church-market scheme to a good variety of topics, ranging from revivalism's impacts to "urbanization." (Loewen might better have referred merely to "town-development"; anyone who drives through present-day Jansen, Nebraska will be surprised to read of its past "urbanization"!)

Much less good is the possibility that the book has far too many small errors. At least, I am aware of an unpublished report that lists quite a number: anachronistic references to "Winnipeg" and "Kitchener" when the two towns were still named "Upper Fort Garry" and "Berlin"; confusing the price of milk with what must have been the price of its butterfat (a huge difference); referring to Epiphany as coming forty days after Christmas instead of on January 6; and so forth. The Epiphany error may have come from not understanding its German name, and the report alleges many other mistranslations of German sources. If the report's illustrations are valid (and too many of them must be), then Loewen and his manuscript's readers and his publisher all need a stern trip to the woodshed and fellow-scholars should use the book's details with great caution. Still, surely none of us has written an error-free book; and even that adverse report admitted that most of the book's material is "reasonable and credible." The specific errors hardly seem of a kind that undermines the book's es-

sential themes and conclusions. Despite the point about Old Order literature, Loewen did a vast amount of research, indicated by his many and varied citations. And the care he took to balance and qualify his own arguments certainly marks him as an intellectually honest scholar.

No one should come to Loewen's book expecting to understand the *Kleine Gemeinde* soul. Despite a plentitude of quotations and illustrations one does not find vignettes, narrative, and characters developed in ways that convey a sense of living among the *Kleine Gemeinde*. The book is less a full-orbed history than a systematic application of one interpretative scheme to certain themes. Still, used with care, it is a worthwhile addition to the literature. It is worthwhile especially for modern historians who are testing the limits of their theses about the all-pervasive workings of capitalist markets.

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John Stanton, *My Past is Now: Further Memoirs of a Labour Lawyer* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History 1994).

I DISCOVERED John Stanton's first book of memoirs at a big anniversary celebration at the BC Museum of Mining, Britannia Beach, near Vancouver. It was in May 1988, in the midst of the outdoor festivities and milling crowds of museum goers, Vancouver dignitaries, Britannia old-timers, local residents, and tourists, that I spotted a gentle, pleasant-looking man selling books out of the boot of his car. I was curious. What did John Stanton's *Never Say Die! The Life and Times of a Pioneer Labour Leader* (1987) have to do with the history of Britannia, a major and extensive copper mining operation that began in the early 1900s and closed for good in the mid 1970s? I stopped to talk. I bought the book. High stakes, dangerous

conditions, and a multi-racial workforce in the lucrative mining, forestry, and fisheries industries of BC have shaped economic and political development and the law in this province since the 1870s, and the Ontario-born labour activist/lawyer Stanton spent four critical decades as legal council to various major unions: he knew all about Britannia and Britannia knew all about him.

When Stanton was first called to the BC Bar in 1936, unions had gained only tenuous toe-holds into the major resource extraction and processing sectors of the BC economy; Canadian law still 'treated unions as criminal conspiracies in restraint of trade.' It would be a decade before workers would organize permanently at the long-established Britannia Mines and in the nearly century-old coastal fish-packing industry. Breakthroughs for the big industrial unions in BC occurred during World War II, but setbacks followed in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s. Stanton practised labour law in the province from 1936 to 1976. Working on a case-by-case basis for client unions, he waded into some of the largest union battles in the country: battles to organize the longshoremen, fishers and allied plantworkers, and mine and mill workers, and struggles to win recognition and bargaining rights, to sign and enforce agreements, and to protect workers and union officials.

I recently ran across Stanton's name again, in the Special Collections Division of the UBC library, in the records of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union in its early years. John worked for the union in its attempts to eliminate the Chinese contract system that had always been dominant in the fish canneries. The union attempted, successfully, to recruit the Chinese plant workers, who numbered in the thousands; an aspect of the strategy was to win rights for Chinese workers in ways that their Chinese bosses could not, or perhaps, would not. This sort of activity, which is not discussed in Stanton's

books, most likely forms a large, unwritten chapter in Canada's labour history.

When Bryan Palmer met Stanton in Vancouver in 1983, Stanton had achieved a reputation among the left as 'a grand old man' of labour. Stanton left BC for retirement in Ontario at the end of the 1980s: he was 75 years old. Palmer recognized in him the qualities of a sharp raconteur, and coaxed him back to the typewriter. Precipitating this, explains Stanton, was an invitation from the University of Victoria's law school in 1988. He was to be interviewed as part of the BC Aural Legal History Project to record the memories of those who had made a major impact on the practice and development of law in BC. One question by the young woman who interviewed him really hit home: "How did a nice middle-class boy like yourself turn into a passionate advocate for unions?" Indeed.

This second legal memoir is more explicitly autobiographical than the first. Whereas the first one is a structured compilation of stories about his most important cases, *My Past is Now* is more personal and more reflective about his background and his work and relations with unions and human rights activists. We find answers to the young interviewer's question: Stanton's paternal grandparents had been Church of England missionaries in India, and they and his own parents were motivated and wealthy enough to finance young Stanton's university education and law degree in the height of the depression. The outgoing, humanitarian influences of his family, his involvement with the YMCA and new Canadian political movements such as the CCF, together with the intellectual experiments at the University of British Columbia and in his first years as a lawyer in the mid-thirties, drew him to anti-Nazi campaigns and protests over red-scare tactics against the unions. He was, he writes, idealistic and naive in those days. That would quickly change. After witnessing serious police violations of the human rights of striking longshoremen in Vancouver, which Stan-

ton calls the "Battle of the Ballantyne Pier," he threw his energy and talents into protecting and extending working-class rights. He entered the field of labour law.

Stanton is not a professional writer nor is he a historian, but he is passionate and informative. Above all, his memoirs reveal a man of courage and modesty, and someone who is without political bitterness. He indicates personal bitterness over his life with his wife and her relations, however; this might best have been confined to the aural history tapes, but then who am I to suggest how John Stanton ought to remember and share the details of his life? Bryan Palmer and the Canadian Committee on Labour History are to be congratulated. Canadians are only beginning to identify their true popular heroes and heroines. At a time when activists are, rightly, wary of lawyers ("Lawyers have a deservedly bad name," is the opening line of Palmer's preface), Stanton's recollections indicate a heroic life ("Labour law, as it is now called, was not a very popular field," wrote Stanton, modestly, in the first book). The recollections serve also as important reminders that the personal is political, and that not all of the winning battles for labour have been, or will be, fought on the picket lines or at the bargaining tables alone.

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Alex Macdonald, *Alex in Wonderland* (Vancouver: New Star Books 1993).

"THEY'VE HAULED centre plate into right field, leaving me with my liberal-socialist ideas, stranded like a beached beluga, babbling quaintly in an archaic tongue." (65) So comments Alex Macdonald at one point in this unusual book — part philosophic discourse, part reminiscence, part lament. Macdonald, a former MP, British Columbia NDP cabinet Minister and long-time political junkie, hopes, in spite of pessimistic statements

like the above, that somehow and in some way socialism will return to former glory and relevance.

Macdonald's book has an easy style and light-hearted approach. The publisher's blurb even attempts to hype sales by referring to his Marxism as "equal parts Karl and Groucho." That is merely silly but there is no doubt that Macdonald defies the stereotype of the humourless leftist. His ideology is open, his friendships are cast wide and his sense of self-depreciation overcomes what he admits is a hint of old CCF righteousness. The actual events in the book are really just excuses for the author's free-flowing thoughts. He visits parliament hill more than once, he travels to Britain and ultimately to the earth summit in Rio. The snap-shots from these places are interesting in themselves but they are secondary to the philosophic essay hidden within the easy tone and reminiscent style.

Two themes dominate the book. The first is the game of politics. Macdonald is an unrepentant political animal in an age when politicians are held in low repute. Indeed, his family seems to have been involved in politics for generations. He has an uncle who was a cabinet Minister for Mackenzie King, another who served in the Upper Canadian legislature. He has friends scattered around the Hill from all parties and he clearly enjoys the give-and-take of debate, the public profile, even the perks so long as they are sufficiently modest. In that sense he is part of an old and distinct class — the political class. Some of his lament, though he might not see it as a primary one, is for the failure of his own political world and for the disrespect into which it has fallen.

The lament is much broader than that however. It is not just for the decline of politics or, for that matter, the decline of the left. Macdonald also rails against modern technocracy and the disappearance of old Canadian values like frugality and decency. He never points his scorn at his own party — he is too loyal for that — but the lament is sufficiently general



that it implicates the special-interest politics of the left as well as the right. He sneers at dangerous political correctness and punctures current pretensions. He attacks the recent tendency of society to group itself into identifiable minorities, or what he terms the "politics of difference." He is especially hard on those fellow leftists whose lack of humour and personal pomposity lead to censorship. "Restricting free speech rarely prevents harm and usually does more harm than good." (112) Indeed, as a man who cites Scottish tradition, George P. Grant and even Edmund Burke himself, Macdonald's book is as much a generational statement as an ideological one. Canada has lost its way. The left has become lost along with it.

Most of all, Macdonald presents the quandary facing the left in Canada today. Neo-conservatism, he feels, is no accident. He firmly links the existence of Canadian social democracy to religious, ethnic and community roots. Traditions of frugality, sharing and small-town decency created the CCF and made Canadians empathize with the party's goals, even if they did not always agree with its methods. Those values, he fears, have fallen by the wayside and along the way socialism has become derailed. How can you appeal to beliefs that no longer dominate the cultural landscape? What does nationalism mean in a global society? Who believes that redistribution of income will work? How, ultimately, does the left reach the people now that the people distrust social engineering, government and plans?

Macdonald is determined to be an optimist. His sense of duty and his own ebullient personality demands it. Throughout the book he throws out ideas for action. Incomes policies, parliamentary reform and so on. These are all steps. For Macdonald the real hope is that Canada can somehow retain its sense of distinctiveness from the ultimate money-society south of the border and hearken back to a sense of community that rejects both the politics of money and the politics of difference. It is hard not to

wish him well but it is equally hard to believe it will come to pass.

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Guy Groux et Catherine Levy, *La possession ouvrière. Du taudis à la propriété (XIXe-XXe siècle)* (Paris: Les éditions de l'atelier, 1993).

LA POSSESSION OUVRIÈRE est un livre touffu, foisonnant de références, d'informations et d'idées écrit par deux chercheurs qui ne semblent pas spécialisés dans le domaine. Ceci donne nombre de digressions intéressantes ajoutant du contexte à la question du logement, mais est également source de curieuses lacunes.

L'ouvrage se décompose en deux parties, la première abordant dans une perspective historique les conditions de l'émergence puis la diffusion de la propriété résidentielle ouvrière, la seconde, purement contemporaine, questionnant les motivations, les conséquences et le sens de cette propriété ouvrière.

La fresque historique reprend pour l'essentiel des textes et des idées déjà utilisés notamment par Roger-Henre Guerrand, Louis Houdeville (non cité), ou Rémy Butler et Patrice Noisette. On pourra s'étonner de voir les auteurs parler de l'Angleterre de la mi XIXe siècle sans faire référence à *La situation des classes laborieuses en Angleterre* de Engels, ou de la France sans *La question ouvrière au XIXe siècle* de Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. Plus curieuse encore est l'absence de *Petit travailleur infatigable* de Lion Murard et Patrice Zylberman, notamment tout le chapitre III — Généalogie de la boîte à habiter.

Le lecteur pourra également s'interroger sur l'affirmation d'un Proudhon présenté comme le père du rejet ouvrier de la propriété (9), au nom de *La propriété c'est le vol*, alors que Proudhon et les proudhoniens prôneront la formation

de coopératives ouvrières et l'accèsion à la petite propriété résidentielle.

Enfin mentionnons que Henri Sellier et l'Office public d'habitation à bon marché de la Seine mériteraient certainement d'être ajoutés à la galerie des portraits de ceux qui ont compté dans la petite histoire du logement ouvrier en France.

Groux et Levy montrent bien que l'accèsion à la propriété des ouvriers signifie une hausse du pourcentage du revenu consacré au logement et un accroissement de l'effort en général. (137 et 170) Ils remarquent que cette propriété signifie une périphérisation, un éloignement croissant des lieux de travail, des temps de déplacement accrus. (162) Malgré cela la propriété ouvrière croît rapidement à compter des années 1960 (surtout en maisons individuelles. Il faudra d'ailleurs corriger 155 les pourcentages totalisant 102 pour cent!). C'est que, contrairement à la croyance commune, l'habitat individuel (et non collectif) est ancré dans la tradition ouvrière, ce qui conjugué à son importance symbolique et pratique (liberté de modifier, d'ajouter, de cultiver le jardin ...) concourt à pousser les ouvriers vers «l'accèsion à tout prix» (Christian Topalov).

Mais les auteurs sont moins convainquants dans leurs passages sur les liens entre statut d'occupation et comportements politiques et plus particulièrement leur évolution avec l'accèsion à la propriété chez les ouvriers, notamment parce qu'ils semblent ignorer toute la littérature anglo-saxonne sur ce sujet: Geraldine Pratt au Canada, Lois Vitt aux États-Unis, Nicholas Williams en Grande-Bretagne ... Rien non plus sur tous les débats autour des écrits de Peter Saunders et plus particulièrement «*The Meaning of Home.*»

Si les auteurs se réfèrent bien à *De la location à l'accèsion* de Paul Cuturello (et non Cuturello) c'est certainement *Familles mobilisées* de Paul Cuturello et Francis Godard qui aurait pu également retenir leur attention.

Le livre fournit une bonne bibliographie et un précieux index des noms cités.

Mentionnons enfin que même si ce genre d'ouvrage s'adresse avant tout à des lecteurs avertis, ceci ne me semble nullement justifier une couverture aussi affreuse.

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Jill Wade, *Houses for All: The Struggle for Social Housing in Vancouver, 1919-50* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 1994).

WHEN, ON 1 APRIL 1954, the first occupants moved into the public housing built at Little Mountain, the goal of providing what Wade identifies as "social housing" for Vancouver began to be realized. The idealism and the politics which contributed to this achievement are the subject of her book. She focuses on the years from the end of World War I to 1950, and organizes her material decade by decade. Her story is enriched with lively details of the persons who promoted the cause and of the circumstances which confronted them. These were both local and national, and so a good deal of the story concerns the federal government: both the lobbying by Vancouver interests to secure programmes to address the housing problem, and the strategies adopted in Ottawa to answer them.

Wade distinguishes between two housing programmes: social housing, which she defines as schemes where the federal government subsidized construction and deficits incurred to provide accommodation for people who could not afford housing provided by private industry; and market housing, "those plans in which the private sector built owned or rented dwellings with federal assistance." (4-5) Housing of either description relied on the willingness of the federal government to participate. The reader gains the clear impression that while Wade's interest focuses on Vancouver the critical decisions were made in Ottawa: the attitudes

of federal officials such as C.D. Howe or W.C. Clark counted immediately far more than those of Vancouver activists such as Helena Gutteridge or Frank E. Buck. There is, consequently, a tension at the heart of this work: to understand the Vancouver story the reader has first to grasp how dependent the city is on senior levels of government. The telling becomes complicated and the reader gets swamped by details that are not always fully or clearly explained. Even the list of acronyms becomes confusing.

Wade argues that 30 years of activism were successful. She bases this conclusion on the fact that by 1954 social housing finally existed in Vancouver. But the case is not persuasively argued, for the book presents a rather loose narrative rather than a logically presented case for the influence of opinion in Vancouver on governments and their agencies with the power to provide social housing. Thus, it is difficult to conclude that one should read the Vancouver story as more than local colour. Furthermore, because Wade concludes her work before the experience of social housing in Vancouver can be evaluated, we have no way of knowing whether the goals of the visionaries and promoters whose activities form the focus of her interest were realized.

In *Houses for All* we have a chapter, an interesting and perhaps important episode, in the story of public involvement in housing Canada's urban population. Work at a local scale can complement recent analyses of federal policies concerning housing and of the housing industry. It is not clear from this study, however, what of importance to an understanding of urban housing programmes we should expect to learn from an examination of the local settings in which the policies, governed more by Ottawa than the cities, were implemented.

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Robert A. Campbell, *Demon Rum or Easy Money: Government Control of Liquor in British Columbia from Prohibition to Privatization* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press 1991).

Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, ed., *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays* (Montréal and Kingston: Queen's University Press 1993).

WHILE A NUMBER of excellent Canadian social histories have recently been written which have dealt peripherally with the issue of drink in culture, few of them have made this question the central focus of their inquiry. This analytical tendency has a well-established pedigree, dating at least to Gareth Stedman Jones' important *History Workshop Journal* critique, "Class Expression Versus Social Control?." This article cautioned over enthusiastic social historians to avoid a misplaced emphasis on "leisure" phenomena (such as drink) in place of a critical inquiry into the political economy of production upon which leisure activities must surely be based. However, a crucial feature of any historical study which takes this counsel seriously must be the fusion of all aspects of social conflict, both in the spheres of "labour" and "leisure." It must relate a multitude of social cleavages of the past, and the exercise of power both at, and outside of, the "point of production." Since drinking customs and attitudes to beverage alcohol are intimately enmeshed in numerous social conflicts in both these spheres, a sustained social history of drink has the potential to provide a lens to reveal much that otherwise might be missed.

If Canadian labour and social historians have made drink only a peripheral concern to their own work, it is also true that Canadian historians who have made drink their specific focus until recently have been primarily concerned with the development of the temperance and prohibition movements, and have not systematically examined the relationships between drink culture and other conflicts

within the social order. Under these circumstances, the two books under consideration have the potential to begin to rectify a longstanding oversight, and to make a significant contribution not only to the literature of drink in Canada, but to all Canadian social history.

With a clear understanding of this potential, Cheryl Krasnick Warsh begins her introduction to the collection of essays in *Drink in Canada* by suggesting that the extant body of works concerning the Canadian temperance movement "have failed to examine adequately the social, psychological, and economic functions of drinking." (5) This collection, then, is presented to address that deficiency. In particular, as Warsh reviews the historiography of drink in Canada, she maintains that some of the best Canadian historians of drink owe an intellectual debt to Joseph Gusfield and his 1963 work *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. In this work, Gusfield outlined a conception of "status anxiety," asserting that the middle classes of the United States, threatened by the growth of the modern industrial economy and its attendant social dislocation, essentially appropriated temperance as a moral "shield" to protect their social position. Thirty years after its publication, Gusfield's influence is still strongly felt in historical analyses of drink. Indeed, Warsh places a number of the pieces in *Drink in Canada* squarely into the Gusfield tradition, beginning with the essay by Jan Noel, "Dry Patriotism: The Chiniquy Crusade," and Glenn Lockwood's "Temperance in Upper Canada as Ethnic Subterfuge."

However, there is an important difference between Gusfield's analysis and the articles in *Drink in Canada*. While Noel and Lockwood might be said to be writing in the tradition of Gusfield, unlike *Symbolic Crusade*, neither article posits class as the principal axis upon which the temperance debate divided. In Lockwood's contribution, rather than a class conflict underlying the dispute between the

"wets" and the "drys," we see an ethnic conflict. Lockwood argues that in the first half of the 19th century, American settlers in Upper Canada felt threatened by the large numbers of Irish immigrants. This ethnic conflict was fought on the terrain of morality and identity: the Irish challenged the Americans' loyalty to the Crown, and in response the Americans championed the temperance ethic, presumably hoping to elevate drunkenness to the equivalent of treason in the public's perception of moral righteousness. Lockwood asserts that the "instant moral legitimacy with which temperance was invested by the American Reformers could not be arrested, at least not at first." (55)

Taken as a corpus, the articles in *Drink in Canada* represent a significant extension of Gusfield's hypothesis. The great insight of *Symbolic Crusade* was recognizing the symbolic character of temperance, and the way that an actor in a social conflict constructed that symbolism for political reward. Gusfield documented the process of incorporating a temperance ethic into class conflict, but *Drink in Canada* suggests that social historians should not necessarily privilege the symbolism of class conflict to the exclusion of others. Temperance could be a defensive middle-class shield, but it could also be wielded as an offensive sword in a wide variety of social conflicts. Numbers of Canadians constructed the symbolism of drink to accord with the advance of diverse political projects.

In an argument similar to Lockwood's, Noel proposes French-Canadian nationalism as the organizational principle behind the Chiniquy crusade. She suggests that this temperance crusade symbolized a different political project than class conflict: "[b]y linking sobriety to patriotism, Chiniquy was able to unite religious and secular temperance supporters and to create a mass temperance fervour that had no parallel elsewhere in British North America." (35) To accept the validity of the temperance ethic meant for some people their acceptance of the

validity of French-Canadian nationalism, regardless of whether they were Catholic or secular teetotalers.

Further contributions to *Drink in Canada* demonstrate that the acceptance of temperance as a positive good could be made to symbolize the acceptance of other exercises of power. In Warsh's second article, "Oh Lord, pour a cordial in her wounded heart," she suggests that some 19th-century Canadian doctors attempted to harness anti-drink sentiment to secure professional jurisdiction over alcohol as a "dangerous drug." (73) Moreover, this process was performed explicitly to acquire the public perception of the need for medical authority over those "deviant" women who violated the "Cult of True Womanhood" by drinking. Indeed, Warsh suggests that Victorian rates of female drunkenness remained fairly constant, while the rate of physicians' concern over it drastically increased. Regardless of medical necessity, physicians appeared to be contributing to the debate in pursuit both of forcing women into a narrowly defined stereotype, and of enhancing their professional jurisdiction. Likewise, Jim Baumohl's "Inebriate Institutions in North America, 1840-1920," draws similar conclusions by examining two medical attitudes to alcoholism and its institutional treatment. Those who favoured the "Home" model conceived of alcoholism as a disease curable through short-term, voluntary residence under the care of the proper professional. Conversely, those who favoured the "asylum" saw the alcoholic as incurable, dangerous, and degenerate by faulty heredity. Baumohl demonstrates that this latter conception of the drinker came to predominate in medical thought, and as physicians lobbied government to fund their asylums, this prevailing medical conception was sanctioned at the level of the state. In the process, physicians moved into explicit class stratification of their proposed patients/inmates: one physician suggested that inebriate asylums were the

perfect solution to the "tramp problem." (105-6)

To a great extent, the articles in *Drink in Canada* appear to have elaborated an unexplored element of Gusfield's hypothesis: once temperance is conceived as a moral symbol, the political project which it supposedly symbolizes is open to contest by a variety of historical actors. The most suggestive of the articles in *Drink in Canada* indicate that the symbolic politics of meaning lent material support to a number of significant political causes.

In light of the possibilities for a Canadian social history written through the insights of the history of drink, it is disappointing to witness Robert Campbell's retreat from this important project in his recent monograph. Campbell opens *Demon Rum or Easy Money* with the following disclaimer: "One of the things this book is not is a social history of alcohol." (5) Owing less to Gusfield's analysis, and more to Christopher Armstrong's and H.V. Nelles' conception of the regulation of public utilities in Canada, Campbell's work is an exhaustively researched chronological narrative of the various Provincial liquor regulations, pressure groups and key players in liquor control in 20th-century British Columbia. Campbell argues that "state theory" has been limited by two dominant conceptions: viewing the state as a "broker" among interest groups, or seeing it as "captured" by one or more lobbies. He suggests that the study of liquor control demands that we adopt a more subtle approach. But despite this promising beginning, *Demon Rum or Easy Money* appears short on rigorous historical analysis. To cite but one example, Campbell clearly documents the transition between those early liquor regulations which considered revenue to be a secondary consideration, and the later mode of "public-private" regulation where government control was structured into a partnership with business. Yet this process is never set in a wider context: situating it in light of the contemporane-

ous Progressive movement, for example, might well have drawn out important conclusions with relevance to the broader social history of British Columbia.

Campbell has written a meticulously researched monograph in *Demon Rum or Easy Money*, but he challenges someone else to author the social history of alcohol that "remains to be written." (5) In recognition of the tremendous potential contribution that the social history of drink might make to Canadian social history at large, like the purported effect of the twin subjects of his title, Campbell's monograph leaves me "craving more."

Brian Paul Trainor  
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Julie Vandervoort, *Tell the Driver: A Biography of Elinor F.E. Black, M.D.* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 1992).

ELINOR F.E. BLACK (1905-1982) of Winnipeg was the first Canadian woman to obtain specialist certification and to head an academic clinical department. Even without her singular accomplishments, Black would make an excellent subject for biography because of the melodrama of her upbringing and the astonishingly rich collection of personal papers — letters, diaries, short stories, and autobiographical essays. Relying on the papers and extensive interviews, Julie Vandervoort has produced an intelligent, well written account of her life.

Born the last of four children to strict Presbyterian parents, Elinor was displaced from her parents' affections by the illness and ultimate disability of a slightly older sister with whom she became uncommonly close. The sisters became protégées of Arthur Stoughton, Winnipeg professor of architecture, and his wife Florence. The Stoughtons unsuccessfully attempted to adopt Elinor and photographed the girls in filmy white dresses but did not succeed in persuading them to

pose nude, although they tried. Their peculiar generosity sustained Elinor in her studies and early career.

Black graduated from medicine at the University of Manitoba in 1930. After a British internship, she ran a lonely general practice in Winnipeg through the Depression hardship of 1931-37 in an empty basement office. Too proud to ask for money, she ate beans and liver for weeks until Stoughton and her father offered her help. Her career was assured after 1938 and her second stint in England, with certification in obstetrics and gynaecology — her first Canadian first. By 1951 she was professor and head of obstetrics at the University of Manitoba — two more firsts. But when she stepped down, her part-time salary became a full-time salary and was paid to a man. Vandervoort wisely resists reducing the discrepancy to a gender issue and recognizes that the rise of specialization was an important professionalization issue.

The analysis has considerable psychological plausibility. Black's relationships were complex: love-hate with her father; cool competition with her older physician brother; love for a man who would marry her if she gave up her career; passion for a man who could not marry her because he was already married; conspiratorial glee with the disabled yet highly accomplished sister; and jealous affection for a few special women. Black was vigorously athletic and she could be biting cynical, ironic, and funny. She always claimed that she did not get on with women; indeed she had several men friends. But Vandervoort has shown the extent to which she found solace in moments with other women, and she has gently explored the sexual ambivalence that these friendships imply.

Black's tremendous personality, her competitive determination, and her intense commitment to medicine are fascinating. In letters to her friends she affected an "aw-shucks" conversationalist style that may have disguised feelings of angst and isolation, but now allows her

"I'm OK [although I'm bleeding]"—strength to leap off the page. As a doctor she was adored by her patients; as chief she commanded the respect of her mostly male colleagues and students. In old age, she could "twinkle" for a television camera and ignore an interviewer by giving a fulsome answer to a question he did not ask. As to what turn of character — obsession or vanity? — led her to keep so many letters, carefully organized in file folders bearing such labels as "boy-friends," we will never know, but we can thank Vandervoort for allowing us to wonder.

The medical portions of the book are accurate. Enlarging upon the obvious feminist slant, is a secondary framework of slightly presentist medical vindication through the neo-conservatism of late 20th-century consumers of obstetrics. Black believed in the old style of maternity care: the least intervention the better. She worried about messing with hormone axes. She supported birth control, and was comfortable with nurse midwives. But she stopped at allowing fathers into delivery rooms and worried about all the new "*in vitro* stuff." Vandervoort does not let the desire for retrospective justification control her narrative and she tells some cringingly sad stories about inappropriate judgements Black made at the end of her life.

Because I liked the book so much, I feel a bit guilty about raising some concerns that emerge from the canons of scholarship; two, however, seem important. First, the author did not relate her subject to the increasing number of good secondary sources on the history of women in medicine and science: Ainley, Apple, Morantz-Sanchez, Strong-Boag, Walsh, to name only a few. Black would well fit the doctor-just-like one-of-the-boys model that has been found in her predecessors of the previous century. She carried herself with the daring style of women in several countries who hid their sex behind mens' clothing in order to practice medicine. If other analyses could

have been linked to Black, then a more synthetic product might have emerged — one that could have served as a useful teaching tool.

Second, there are problems with the sources. We cannot further explore the subject without difficulty, since the papers, carefully cited by date and name, are identified simply as being "held privately by [unidentified] family members" [in undisclosed places]. Similarly Vandervoort offers no explanation for her exceptional failure to name "the man" she describes as "the only one who truly mattered ... an educator, an activist, some said a radical" — Black's lover in 1941. (135) The account is well contextualized, but some of the flavour is pulled from novels. Finally in many places we are told with impressive accuracy and no qualifiers exactly what Black thought: "Elinor raged inwardly" (25); "she vowed to ... take those stinging words and fling them back in his face." (29) Notwithstanding the plausibility of the psychological responses, phrases like these without references make the account appear to be a faithful dramatization.

With the skill of the author and the power of the material, this book reads like a novel; the epilogue is exquisite. I hope Vandervoort turns her hand to other medical subjects still in need of attention: Emily Stowe, Maude Abbott, or a new history of Canadian women in medicine. In the meantime, I plan to give her book to my mother, my daughter, and my former classmates, knowing they will all find something magic in Vandervoort's Black.

Jacalyn Duffin  
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W.R. Chadwick, *The Battle for Berlin, Ontario: An Historical Drama* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 1992).

WILLIAM CHADWICK first had a play in mind when he began looking into how in 1916 Berlin, Ontario, became Kitchener. The play, "The Berlin Show," delighted Waterloo audiences (myself included) in the summer of 1994. It is easy to see Chadwick's interest, for the story is replete with villains, heroes, dramatic turns, and outrageous rhetoric. All of this is part of *The Battle for Berlin, Ontario*, a well-researched, highly-entertaining (though openly-jaded) account of how a small Ontario city bearing the name of the Prussian capital fared during the Great War.

In Chadwick's view, it did not fare well. The account of "what actually happened" in Berlin between November 1915 and January 1917 "is the story of how a city of solid, hard-working people became nationally known as a place where law and order had broken down, where it was dangerous to walk the main streets in daylight, where clubs and shops were wrecked by mobs, a clergyman and his family were assaulted in their own home, and a mayor-elect was advised by the military authorities to 'go to some friend's house ... and there keep quiet and let no one know [your] whereabouts.'" (5)

The story, taken from newspaper accounts, official records, and a surprisingly large body of secondary material, is well-told. Whatever one has to say about Chadwick's work, it is a very good read. Particularly notable is his fine sense of detail, from which many a historian could learn a lesson or two. His architectural descriptions are dead on, for Kitchener remains a city built of that Victorian red and "pallid yellow" brick.

Not quite so admirable is Chadwick's editorial stance, in which the playwright and the historian stand at odds. The tension is clear from the preface, in which Chadwick notes: "It hardly needs adding that, like any good historian, I interpret

these records and reports in my own way; and, indeed, it will soon become clear to the reader that I 'take sides,' which adds a flavour of drama to my account and may well provoke the reader." (vi)

Provocative indeed, but Chadwick's openly admitted presentism keeps him from exploring fully why the events he describes and so quickly judges took place. His satisfaction with simple truths (he begins Chapter Two by informing the reader that "a stupid war is greeted with mindless euphoria ...") leads at times to some annoying judgments. Were all of those who supported the name change simply "short-sighted and easily swayed by cheap emotionalism?" (161) Probably not, for as Chadwick notes, the battle lines over the city's name were not simply divided between Germans and British: while some Hahn's and Schwartz's wanted a new name, others like the McKay's and Reid's fought to keep the old one. Class divisions further complicated the campaign for "The inherent distrust of the worker for the boss was a significant element of both the recruiting and name-change campaigns ... " (161) Yet even on this level the divisions blurred, for on both sides members of the local Board of Trade were allied with their "adversaries" in the Trades and Labor Council.

The motives of Berliners/Kitchenerites were understandably confused as they sought to find meaning in a war of unprecedented horror and suffering. To change a city's name may seem a silly response today, but in what was then a province with strong civic and economic rivalries, the action made some sense — at least on a symbolic level. In a war that the Allies were clearly losing to 1917, strong symbols mattered.

To insist on a broader context is not to defend the likes of Sergeant Major Granville Blood (his real name!) whose groups of undisciplined soldiers accosted young Berliners who had not yet joined the ill-fated 118th battalion. Nor does it exonerate the battalion's officers, who



tried but failed to keep their men in check while defending the men's right to "re-cruit." To say that the arguments of the local British League were irrational is to miss the point that these were irrational times. In many eyes, nothing else mattered but to win the war.

Perhaps good history simply makes bad drama. Perhaps also this reviewer may be asking for too much, for Chadwick's book (like the play) is intended primarily for a popular audience. Both works deserve a substantial audience, and not just from Kitchener, for what they suffer in historical objectivity is largely offset by their detailed and highly entertaining presentation.

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Dorothee Schneider, *Trade Unions and Community: The German Working Class in New York City, 1870-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1994).

FOR A GENERATION now, American labour historians have focused on culture and community in their efforts to understand class formation, a focus that has allowed them to vent anti-bureaucratic disdain for centralization, particularly in the form that it took hold in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). A cult of the rank and file has evolved inasmuch as historians have sought out working-class consciousness in local worker organization, at the workplace and in their communities, and assumed that in these places militancy burned brightly only to be dampened by bureaucratic organizations that transcended the community notably political parties and national trade unions. Dorothee Schneider's work on German immigrant workers in New York City departs from this tradition, casting AFL-style business unionism as the culmination of more community-based efforts by German workers at resisting employer authority. Here traditional com-

munity, in this case as bound by ethnicity and to lesser extent neighbourhood, is treated historically as an emerging limitation that unionized workers had to learn to overcome as they were increasingly confronted with mechanization and large-scale producers.

The heart of this book is three well-chosen case studies of trades dominated by German workers: the cigar makers who were quick to embrace the forms of business unionism; the brewers who were able to operate within the AFL and still maintain a commitment to socialism; and the bakers for whom organization was slow and painful. In each case, Schneider provides the reader with an understanding of the status of the respective crafts in Germany and the social pressures that gave the craftsmen incentive for emigrating. The immigrant craftsmen often found making a go of it in New York a trying experience, and Schneider details changing working and living conditions within these trades. She distinguishes between those in which skilled workers maintained wages at a high enough level to maintain some semblance of family life (though even for cigar makers this was always precarious due to the rise of tenement production that appeared with the immigration of Bohemian cigar makers), and those who were dependent upon their employers for room and board, which was in part a vestige of guild traditions and paternalistic relations. But such arrangements were also the result of excruciatingly long work weeks, a burden particularly for the young men who worked in New York City's numerous cellar bakeries. In addition, these chapters do an excellent job in delineating the changing ethnic composition of the workforce and the homogenizing impact of technology on the labour process.

Efforts to combat employer power usually began at the local level. Strikes often resulted because of an incident in a single shop; in one case the slapping of a baker by a foreman led to a strike, which a group of united employers used as a

pretence for a general lockout of unionized workers. In such strikes, workers were able to avail themselves of aid from the local community, though the degree to which they were successful is significant for Schneider's analysis. An exclusively German workforce was often predisposed to retaining the German language in union affairs, and their ethnic orientation could serve to limit the resources upon which they could draw in times of crisis. More than the brewers and the bakers, the cigar makers quickly adopted English and moved to the centre of worker organization, and they reaped the benefits by gaining the support of other labour organizations that were not exclusively German. But even this reliance on the resources of fellow workers and countrymen ultimately proved less than effective, as German trade unionists learned that centralized control over strikes and the development of benefits and strike funds were a superior and reliable source of support when fighting employers who were often ready and highly organized to defeat strikes.

In this account Samuel Gompers and his fellow cigar makers are rarely posed as labour aristocrats anxious to protect their own narrow position at the expense of others. Nor are they portrayed as attempting to lead the American labour movement away from the socialist path. Instead, German workers, many of whom came to the United States with a socialist background, learned to overcome the narrow confines of the ethnic and local community and constructed an organizational apparatus that was capable of preserving worker power. Schneider's discussion of Cigarmaker's Local 144 and its efforts during the 1870s and 1880s to incorporate both Bohemians and "Progressives" into the CMIU portray something more than a narrow business unionist perspective. Recognition that a socialist party like that in Germany was unlikely to carry worker concerns very far led most to discover that a solid trade union was a better vehi-

cle for accomplishing collective organizing and labour reform.

While the discussion of trade-union development is powerful, Schneider is not so generous in her treatment of political life; despite her claim that the Democrats paid increasing attention to the German working-class voter in the aftermath of the Henry George mayoralty campaign, there is little effort to explore the impact of the two-party system on German immigrants as they emerge from the confines of the *Kleindeutschland*. She pays considerably greater attention to the Henry George mobilization, devoting a chapter to it and thereby following a tendency of labour historians to focus exclusively on infrequent independent labour parties. In this chapter, she demonstrates that German socialists were willing to ally themselves with other worker groups, even willing to put up with the single-tax that they saw as theoretically primitive. Schneider attributes the breakdown of the George coalition after the election to the insistence of the English-speaking single-tax supporters on programmatic purity. In politics, as well as in trade-union development, Germans (many continuing to embrace socialism) learned to transcend local ethnic communities and points of view to develop a more useful and broader working-class movement. In so doing, they helped shape the direction that the American Federation of Labor would thereafter follow. Dorothee Schneider has put together a work worth the attention of labour historians, one that should prove influential in leading to a reexamination of the origins of the AFL.

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Pacific University

William G. Ross, *A Muted Fury: Populists, Progressives, and Labor Unions Confront the Courts, 1890-1939* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1994).

WILLIAM G. ROSS, a professor at the Cumberland School of Law, Samford University, Birmingham, Alabama, has written a narrative history of the political attack on the judiciary engendered by "Lochner era jurisprudence." Citing constitutional clauses that guarded property and contract rights plus common law traditions that outlawed coercive restraints of trade, activist judges between 1890 and 1937 condemned laws regulating wages and working conditions while they issued injunctions that limited workers' rights to strike, picket, and boycott. During the 1890s when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled a federal income tax unconstitutional; declared manufacturing beyond the power of the federal government to regulate; and sanctioned lower court injunctions that punished Eugene V. Debs and his American Railway Union for boycotting interstate railroads on behalf of Pullman Company strikers, critics of the judiciary, in the words of Ross, "alleged that a 'judicial oligarchy' had usurped the power of Congress and thwarted the will of the people by interfering with the activities of labor unions and nullifying legislation that was designed to ameliorate the more baneful effects of the Industrial Revolution." (1)

Ross explains why the opponents of judicial usurpation failed to curb the power of judges to reverse the actions of legislatures and executives. The subtitle of the book notwithstanding, Ross scants the Populist critique of the courts, treats organized labour's (the American Federation of Labor) efforts to curb antistrike injunctions without adding to the work on that subject by William Forbath and Victoria Hattam, and proves most successful in exploring the campaign by those he characterizes as "Progressives" to curb judges' ability to thwart popular democracy. Ross' "Progressives" resemble

those portrayed years ago by George Mowry, Richard Hofstadter, and John Morton Blum. They were educated, respectable middle-class citizens of old origin Protestant families with scant sympathy for agrarian radicals or militant labour. Exemplified best by such leaders as Theodore Roosevelt, Robert LaFollette, and George Norris, these "Progressives" favoured judicial reform because they feared that reactionary judges might unintentionally create a revolutionary situation by inflaming the masses. In twelve descriptive chapters that carry his narrative from the turn of the century to 1937, Ross limns how and why the movement to reform the judiciary waxed and waned. He examines the intellectual critique of judicial review; numerous attempts to transform the courts through the power of appointment; campaigns to recall judicial decisions or judges by popular vote; the thirty-year struggle to ban labour injunctions that culminated in the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932; and, finally, the unsuccessful attempt by Franklin D. Roosevelt to reconstruct the Supreme Court in 1937.

Ross explains why the principle of judicial review survived nearly half of a century of sustained criticism largely unscathed. His Progressive reformers shared a profound respect for the integrity of judges and their ability to rise above crass politics. Theodore Roosevelt, for one, supported the recall of extremely obnoxious decisions yet opposed fervently the recall of individual judges because the latter policy threatened the independence and impartiality of the judiciary. Judges also proved far more flexible in adapting to changing social realities than their critics conceded. Ross shows how and why state and especially federal courts tolerated some social reform and public regulation of the society and economy. Even when "Lochner era jurisprudence" seemed most rigorous, the years from 1921 to 1937, a majority of federal judges began to use the constitution to protect personal liberties from majoritarian op-

pression, while a minority of lower-court and Supreme Court judges, most notably Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Louis Brandeis, and Benjamin Cardozo, sapped the foundations of "Lochner-era jurisprudence." Judicial adaptability reached its apogee in 1937 when a one-person majority of the Supreme Court rejected the jurisprudence of "substantive due process" and initiated a tendency by judges to defer to the wisdom of legislators and executives concerning social and economic legislation. In Ross' view, the adaptability of judges as well as their insulation from the "more transient winds of popular opinion" enabled the judiciary to serve as the allies as well as the enemies of reformers. Certainly, the subsequent history of the Roosevelt and Eisenhower (Warren) courts illustrated how judges could promote reform in the spheres of civil liberties, civil rights, and social justice.

Ross' monograph has two great strengths: first, his exploration of how judges reacted to criticism and adapted to shifting realities; and, second, his treatment of how progressive critics of judicial activism diluted their own critique of the judiciary through internal discord and untoward respect for the impartiality of the law. Ross leaves his subject an advocate of judges and judicial review. In his words, "the history of the attacks on the courts ... helps to explain why attempts to curtail judicial power during every period of American history have failed, yet why those attempts have influenced judicial decision making and have had a salubrious impact upon the vitality of American democracy." (21)

Ross' subsidiary hypothesis that agrarian radicals, trade unionists, and ordinary citizens shared the elite reformers' respect for the law appears more tenuous. Few common people experienced the legal education and careers in the law enjoyed by so many of Ross' "Progressives," that made them especially respectful toward legal tradition and the rules of jurisprudence. Most ordinary citizens, I suspect, took a far more instrumental ap-

proach to the law, applauding judges whose decisions served "popular versions of justice" and condemning judges who sailed against the winds of popular opinions and prejudice. Although Ross cites a letter from an Idaho farmer to Franklin Roosevelt condemning the latter's plan to reform the Supreme Court, warning the president that the highest court in the land "is a judicial body ... and is not a plow horse for or with any one" (302), it may well be that the farmer shared the individualistic values of judges antipathetic to New Deal reforms. However well Ross explains the origins of elite criticisms of judicial activism, he is far less successful in justifying the power of unelected men and women to negate the will of the people. Ross appears to share a belief promoted by members of the University of Chicago "law and economics school" that "the risk of judicial abuse is an acceptable price to pay to control the legislative abuses that all too often do occur."

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Dana Frank, *Purchasing Power: Consumer Organizing, Gender, and the Seattle Labor Movement, 1919-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994).

THIS BOOK, the author warns us in her introduction, is a study of defeat. The story of Seattle labour's decline and transformation in the 1920s does not have a happy ending. While "many in my intellectual generation," Frank writes, "continue to take inspiration from stories of [labour's] past victories, our questions also concern defeat." (2) Like many US labour historians who came of age in the 1970s and 1980s, Frank finds explanations of labour's defeats in gender and racial terms.

Frank sets out to explain why the class-conscious white male workers who transformed the unions of the city of Se-

attle into a quasi-revolutionary force in the years before the General Strike of February 1919, were unable to sustain their movement in the 1920s. She recognizes how postwar economic trends, which plunged Seattle's booming wartime economy into depression after 1919, severely eroded the strength of the city's unions. Particularly hard hit were the radical metalworkers' unions in the shipyards, whose efforts to sustain their power precipitated the general Strike of 1919. After the war, government orders for ships ended and the shipyard unions melted away. The pivotal boilermakers union, for example, claimed a membership of up to 15,000 at the end of 1918. By May 1921, there were a mere 30 boilermakers employed in the entire city. Just as the tight labour markets of the war years had favoured workers' struggles, the postwar crisis and the glut of the labour market that resulted gravely undermined the bargaining power of workers at the point of production.

Meanwhile, the government unleashed a coordinated assault on radical labour activists — Socialist sympathizers and especially militants of the Industrial Workers of the World. And capitalists organized an all-out offensive against the union shop. These repressive policies were reinforced by middle-class ministers and university industrial relations professors. They were abetted by the conservative national leadership of the American Federation of Labor, which sought to bring progressive Seattle locals into line with its philosophy of conservative business unionism.

Faced with this assault on all fronts, Seattle labour leaders tried to stem the tide by shifting their tactics away from struggle in the workplace. They sought to use workers' purchasing power, particularly consumer boycotts and buy union campaigns, to advance the cause of unionism. These tactics, along with producer and consumer cooperatives, had long been an important part of labour's organizational activities. But, Frank argues,

they became of paramount importance in labour's defensive strategies during the 1920s.

Frank contends that these consumer strategies failed primarily because male workers could not comprehend the interests of women, especially housewives. Women were charged with the nurturing of the working-class family. But their work in the home went largely unacknowledged in a labour movement that exalted the importance of male work outside it. Women's work as consumers, seeking to stretch the paychecks of men, was slighted in male-dominated consumer strategies designed to bolster union power in the workplace.

In addition, she argues, labour solidarity in the workplace and the marketplace was undermined by racial attitudes. The Seattle labour movement not only discriminated against the small number of female wage workers. It marginalized or excluded the relatively small contingent of African-American wage workers in the labour force. It also ignored or rejected the significant community of Japanese small businessmen and workers who made up the largest non-European ethnic group in Seattle in the postwar era.

Unfortunately, while Frank's careful research into Seattle's cooperative and consumer movement enables her to suggest the potential of gender and racial perspectives on labour's defeat in the 1920s, the material she uncovers does not allow her to substantiate her claim that "[t]he battle between labor and capital would depend, ultimately, on the [labor] movement's gender relations." (108) That may be true in theoretical terms. But finding the historical evidence to demonstrate that labour's consumer tactics floundered on gender bias proves difficult.

Frank's detailed account of cooperative endeavours and consumer tactics of the era, such as the boycott launched by the Central Labor Council against the Bon Marche department store in 1920, uncovers tantalizing information about the atti-

tudes of female homeworkers. (Readers can find these sections by consulting her detailed analytical index under headings like "housework," "housewives," "consumption, women and," and "cooperatives, gender dynamics of.") And the evidence she finds for her thesis definitely has its moments, as when the Seattle local of the International Longshoremen's Association responds to a petition by the newly-formed Lady Barber's Union for a loan of 200 dollars. According to a participant's account, the request was greeted by a long silence, "during which the faces of the men on the platform were just as long. ..."

Finally a clear, emotionless voice from the back of the room said in slow measured tones, 'F—the lady barbers.'  
The president banged his gavel and said, 'So ordered and it shall be done.' (30)

Elsewhere she recounts how this same longshore local, after losing a strike in 1916 (when waterfront employers brought hundreds of African-American strikebreakers in from Kansas City, St. Louis, and New Orleans), decided to admit black longshoremen in 1917. In 1919 the local sent the first and only African-American delegate to Seattle's Central Labor Council.

But the written documents Franks must rely on, many of them held in the rich collections of union documents in the University of Washington library, are themselves overwhelmingly the product of the pens of white male workers. They cannot provide the kind of evidence she needs to illuminate her thesis about the attitudes of female homeworkers. And her analysis of the dynamics of the Japanese community, where Socialist ideas and organizations were strong, is severely constrained by her inability to read Japanese.

Frank's focus on the AFL-affiliated unions of the city itself enables her to describe the activities and attitudes of Seattle's craft workers in unprecedented de-

tail. But not emphasizing the wider regional extractive economy and society in which the city was embedded limits her analysis in important ways. The weight of timber barons in influencing elite politics in Seattle, for example, is absent from her analysis. Similarly, workers outside the manufacturing and service sectors of the city, particularly timber workers influenced by the radical visions of the IWW, remain on the periphery of her account. To Frank's credit, however, she recognizes how such workers radicalized the pivotal shipyard unions and helped transform the consciousness of members of Seattle's craft unions in the years leading up to the general strike. (22-3) She also understands that the massacre of IWW members in the timber town of Centralia on 11 November 1919, and the anti-IWW hysteria that engulfed the Pacific Northwest in its wake, constituted the "dramatic and fundamental turning point in postwar Seattle labor history." (104) The postwar fate of these radical itinerant workers drawn from the hinterland provides the most powerful and elementary reason for the conservative turn of Seattle labour in the 1920s. Faced with extreme political repression and devastating economic depression in the immediate postwar era, thousands of these radical workers simply fled the city to seek work elsewhere.

The inevitable limits of this work do not diminish Frank's extraordinary accomplishment. Tirelessly researched, theoretically informed, masterfully organized, and clearly written, *Purchasing Power* provides a rich understanding of what Seattle labour once was and what it became in the 1920s. Readers interested in the history of Seattle workers who want to maximize their own purchasing power need look no further. This is, far and away, the best book on the subject.

Charles Bergquist  
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Shelton Stromquist, *Solidarity and Survival: An Oral History of Iowa Labor in the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press 1993).

THE HISTORY OF LABOUR in the 20th century has witnessed triumphs and tragedies, sufferings and sacrifices, heroic leadership and leadership betrayal, police brutality and conservative opposition by politicians. Working on the base laid in the late 19th century, labour attempted to mobilize during the first two decades of this century only to suffer bitter defeat and human tragedies such as the Ludlow Massacre in the coal mines of Southern Colorado. There then ensued what Irving Bernstein calls the lean years, the late teens into the early 1930s when seemingly the death knell had sounded for organized labour.

The depression and the New Deal, however, brought about a renewal of efforts to mobilize workers. With the overwhelming support of the Democratic Party, which was the majority party by a wide margin, the National Labor Relations Act was passed in 1936. World War II and the desperate need for workers in defense industries added further impetus to the union movement. By 1960, despite the Taft-Hartley Act and state right-to-work laws, unions were flourishing and workers' benefits were at an all time high. Indeed, the golden age of collective bargaining had arrived. Even minorities and women were gaining acceptance and benefits from the dynamic growth. New problems were developing, however, including the growing passivity of young workers who were ignorant of the fact that the struggle for unionization had been so responsible for the relatively good times they were experiencing. They did not want to pay the price.

This book, using oral history methodology, tells of the transition within organized labour's growth in the microcosm of the Iowa labour movement. In the mid 1970s the Iowa Federation of Labor, under the leadership of then president, Hugh

Clark, and later president, Jim Wengert, appealed to the AFL-CIO to solicit workers to donate a one cent per capita contribution from Iowa workers and other affiliated unions to support the publication of an oral history of 20th century Iowa labour. These dues were further supplemented by donations from other unions including the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters. Clark, Wengert, and the Secretary-Treasurer put together a board of historians, educators, and unionists to supervise the undertaking which would be based on oral interviews with a generation of workers. The oral history technique had grown in popularity in the United States after World War II, but it had been usually restricted to interviews with important leaders.

The individuals who conducted the interviews included Paul Kelso, Gregory Zieren, Merle Davis, who collected over 70 per cent of the sessions, and Dan Holub. Shelton Stromquist, Professor of History at the University of Iowa, was chosen to put together the interviews, most of which were selected from the vast collection compiled by Davis and his encyclopedic knowledge of labour history. The rest of the interviews are stored with the special collections of the State Historical Society in Iowa City.

In *Solidarity and Survival* workers tell of their tireless efforts to first create unions in the mines and on the railroads. Later they relate the way the movement was expanded to include farm equipment plants, packinghouses, and hospital wards.

Immigrants formed the major source of mine labour. John Ducey tells how he went to the coal mines part of the day with his father and passed only part of his tests in the eighth grade. He further adds, "I was thirteen years old then, the oldest boy in the family, and they needed me because the mine didn't work steady back in them days. When they did work, they needed to make enough money so we could all live and enjoy life. So I just worked in the mines and stayed there." Ducey's family

was of English heritage, but the stories he related were repeated by Croatians, Belgians, Hungarians, Italians, Slovaks, Poles, and other ethnic groups.

Harry Boath represented those who moved from the mines to the plants. He found a job with the Ford Motor Company in Des Moines, and dramatically tells of conditions there: "It was a madhouse ... They was hiring people all the time. They'd hire twenty people down there in one day and let them move the next. They'd be trying them out." Numerous examples of dehumanized conduct on the part of employers was recounted, including gross violations of privacy. Inspections of homes took place. There were also demands for reports of total income, late evening meetings, demands for information on workers' wives, enforced contributions to welfare funds no matter whether or not people were broke. One worker recalls walking down Grand Avenue "talking to yourself." Such were conditions in the 1920s.

Those who came from the rural areas were the landless ones who were seeking to escape the horrendous conditions they suffered. Jack Whitaker explains: "I was placed on a farm at about thirteen years of age doing a man's job. I was a state charge and the state was putting us out to work for these farmers for room and board. Thirteen years of age. I stayed there a couple of years. I'd finished grade school and been out a year. I wanted to go back to high school, so they did take me back to the orphan home and sent me to high school for a year. Then they placed me on a farm near Amana, Iowa. I worked there for five years! The first two or three years I got fifteen dollars a month during the summer months, and four months in the winter I got a dollar a week plus room and board. I did that for five years. My twenty-first birthday was not due for five months. We were under contract. Every year the state signed a new contract for us. At the end of the contract term in January, when I was twenty, I said I refuse to sign any contract that extended over into my

twenty-first birthday. So they released me." Whitaker then found a job in the packinghouse. Thus by the 1920s, Iowa had two rich sources of cheap labour — immigrants and ex-farmers. Conversely they were also a source of union organization.

Don Harris, who played a crucial role in the development of the CIO in Iowa, saw firsthand the influence ex-miners had in the growth of industrial unions during the 1930s. "The dominant union was the United Mine Workers, District 13. Of all unions, they had more influence on the organization of the labor movement of Iowa than anybody else. As the mines closed down and locals were closed down. The workers went to work in other places such as Maytag at Newton, and it was the union workers in Maytag that were the instruments, the organizing committee that organized that plant. This happened time after time. It was old United Mine Workers, or it was their kids, whom they brought up in a union family and taught the value of trade unionism and had imbedded it in their minds and souls, if you will. When they got a chance to organize their plant, they jumped in and helped them, I suppose with the help of their parents."

Oftimes the union supporters divided over the issues of membership for women, blacks, and ethnic and racial groups who were forced to face this barrier. The employers took advantage of these divisions based on prejudices. Bruce Nolen, a black worker, explains: "The company had very shrewdly separated departments on the basis of nationality, religion, and held open the kill and the cut — mostly on the hog side. Those departments that were pretty stable or established were the Polish and Lithuanian people. In many cases two and three out of the family worked. This was all done for a purpose. Back in those days that many workers made a pretty good income for that family and made most of these people hard to approach when it came to quarrelling with the boss." By the 1940s,



## 350 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

the barrier of prejudice was beginning to crumble. In some strikes women provided the backbone of militancy that sprang from their own grievances. Donald Diskey participated in a strike in 1949 that was crucial to the process of union building at Zenith in Souix City. Women's anger over their treatment by the company and their aggressive actions on the picket line were decisive as Diskey states: "Once the strike was underway, the women were real faithful to the picket line, I'll tell you. When the police threatened to club them they called in the women and the response was overwhelming. A lot of screaming and yelling. This one overzealous policeman trying to break up a group who were yelling, 'We shall not be moved. We shall overcome', grabbed an elderly older woman who was part of the group. She responded, 'Get your hands off my tits, you son of a bitch.' The cop then threw up his hands and retreated. This is the kind of stuff of which these women were made."

It was Rusell Woodrick who was a driving force in unionization of labour at the John Deere plant in Waterloo in the 1960s. He was both a worker and a scholar who represented the new type of leadership. He did considerable research at the University of Northern Iowa. Due to the diligent work of such people as Woodrick and Paul Larson, John Deere, in the end, provided workers with one of the best salary scales, medical and dental benefits, and retirement plans in the nation by the decade of the seventies.

Time and space prohibit me from reviewing every aspect of this extensive work. However, I can say without reservation that the efforts of Stromquist, Davis, and the other interviewers makes a very significant contribution to our knowledge of labour history in Iowa. Most assuredly scholars, workers, management, and all students of labour history will find the book to be a splendid source of information.

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John J. Abt (with Michael Myerson), *Advocate and Activist: Memoirs of an American Communist Lawyer* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1993).

JOHN ABT was the lawyer Lee Harvey Oswald, the alleged assassin of President John F. Kennedy, told the press he wanted to have represent him, before Oswald himself was shot by Jack Ruby. In this way, Abt had his "fifteen minutes" of fame but these memoirs provide a detailed view into an interesting but singular career. Abt is in the tradition of a handful of "radical" lawyers like Clarence Darrow and Canada's J.L. Cohen, except that Abt remained a member of the Communist Party in the United States (CPUSA) for fifty years, a fact he only admitted on his eightieth birthday.

Abt was born in Chicago on 1 May 1904, eighteen years after workers around the world decided to commemorate that date in memory of the Haymarket Martyrs — seven radicals who were tried, probably unfairly, convicted of throwing a bomb and hanged. Abt was born into a prosperous, German Jewish business family. A grandfather founded a leading men's clothing manufacturer, Hart Abt and Marx and as a result, after a union drive in the industry when John Abt was still a child, he received a parental warning "John, if you don't eat your spinach, Sidney Hillman will get you." (4) His parents both attended leading universities — Yale and Chicago — and when they graduated they worked in settlement houses partly as the result of Jane Addams's influence. Abt and his sister Marion grew up in a comfortable home — filled with books and friends — but not in an especially political or religious environment. John went to school with Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb (the heir of Sears and Roebuck and Company) who in 1924 were convicted of murdering young Bobby Franks, another neighbour of Abt's.

Part of the "lost generation" following World War I, Abt drifted into the study of law at Chicago and after graduation in 1925 made a grand tour of Europe. In 1927, he began to practice law with the firm of Levinson, Becker, Schwartz and Frank. Both the Great Depression — which had no financial effect on Abt — and the meaninglessness of his legal work began to politicize him and he joined the Chicago Civil Liberties Union. His brother-in-law invited Abt to Washington to head up the litigation section in the New Deal's AAA, and like hundreds of others, Abt swirled in the intoxicating atmosphere of Washington in the Roosevelt years where the dominant topic of conversation was how to put millions of people back to work fast.

In Washington, Abt witnessed firsthand the activism of the unemployed, often under communist leadership, became committed to the New Deal but also experienced disillusion when he observed that the large processors and producers carried more weight in the AAA than consumers, small producers and southern sharecroppers. At the same time he recognized that the New Deal was a coalition of interests which included workers and blacks and that the Roosevelt administration was responding to mass pressure for social security, unemployment insurance and job programmes.

Abt made friends: he met Harvard law grads Lee Pressman (who was later Harry Hopkin's counsel at the WPA and then counsel to the CIO) and Alger Hiss, at the AAA after serving as a law clerk to Oliver Wendell Holmes. He met "Beanie" Baldwin who was Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace's executive assistant and later CIO-PAC director. Abt now had interesting work. When the Supreme Court decided that the NRA (and by influence other New Deal legislation) was unconstitutional, Abt had to rewrite the AAA.

The legal staff worked together with a sense of community and purpose. Gradually Abt became aware that there were CP members in the AAA and in 1934

he was invited to join the party by functionalist Hal Ware, which he did as did his sister Marion. Later in 1948, the national media suggested that the "Ware group" was engaged in espionage, which Abt denied, but as insiders of various government agencies they did provide the party with information and political analyses. From 1947 group members were investigated by grand juries, congressional committees, and the FBI but no one was indicted for spying.

As a communist, Abt endorsed the party's shifting strategies in the 1930s and 1940s, when communists participated in workers' struggles to organize industrial unions and build support in the labour movement. From the AAA, Abt moved to become chief counsel to the LaFollette Senate Committee on Education and Labor, whose sensational hearings and investigations into widespread industrial spying educated him, the press and public about the impediments to unionization. Committee members subpoenaed a film of the Memorial Day Massacre and were among the first to view it; as a result they conducted a ten-day investigation into the bloody incident and the hearings again hit the front pages of the press. Abt wrote the committee's lengthy report which concluded "Not only is the workers' freedom of association nullified by the employers' spies, but his freedom of action, of speech and of assembly is completely destroyed ..." The committee's work did not result in legislation but assisted the CIO organizing drives and "it put the private detective agencies out of the labour spy business." (68)

John Abt met and married Hal Ware's widow, Jessica Smith, who worked at the Soviet embassy and was editor of *Soviet Russia Today* for many years. This was an important development as she and his sister remained important influences on him politically. In 1938 Abt worked briefly as head of the trial division in the Justice Department. When he decided to leave government service, he consulted CP leader Earl Browder, who directed him to

union leader Sidney Hillman. As a result Abt was hired as chief counsel to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union (ACW) for a decade. He presents an unflattering portrait of Sidney Hillman as a wily strategist. He worked with Hillman in the "phoney war" period when Roosevelt recruited Hillman to the War Production Board. In the war years Abt defended the Nazi-Soviet Pact; after 1941, like fellow communists, he favoured the all out war effort, but in retrospect he became critical of the CP's "unyielding support of the no-strike pledge" and the lack of support for A. Philip Randolph's "march on Washington for equality." (107) With the ACW, Abt was involved in the American Labour Party (ALP) and later CIO-PAC politics to raise support for FDR between 1936 and in the 1944 election and he worked not only as Hillman's legal advisor but as his "political lieutenant" as well. (92) Abt participated in the Democratic convention where Truman won the Vice-Presidential nomination and he attended a European conference which established the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

The Teheran summit, the termination of the Comintern, the death of FDR and the onset of the Cold War had an enormous impact on the CPUSA and on the career of John Abt. When Hillman died in 1946, Abt stayed on as general counsel "but I questioned my usefulness to the party — my first concern." (127) As CIO unions struck for higher wages in 1946, the labour congress began to be disrupted by internal feuds as president Philip Murray deflected "the anticommunist attacks on the CIO by himself attacking the left." (129) In 1947, the Taft-Hartley Act "the cornerstone of all subsequent anti-labour legislation, aimed at neutralizing if not eliminating the Wagner Act of the New Deal" (132) was passed and Abt designed a CIO-PAC campaign to try to reverse it, which did not succeed. On the defensive, the CIO endorsed the "Truman Doctrine," the Marshall Plan, left the WFTU and expelled its left-led unions.

In this atmosphere Abt left the ACW to become counsel to the Progressive Party. He worked to secure ballot access for it in as many states as possible in the 1948 presidential campaign in which Henry Wallace was defeated. When the party split over the Korean War, Wallace left it and it declined. By then William Z. Foster and 12 members of the national board of the CP were indicted under the Smith Act for conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the US government by force, the House Un-American Activities Committee had blacklisted left-wing artists in Hollywood and began moving against Progressive Party activists. In 1950 the McCarran Act established the Subversives Activities Control Board and authorized the FBI to arrest and confine all "suspected" security risks as Senator Joseph McCarthy "mad hatter though he was" (170) became the dominant personality in Congress. Faced with such threats at the height of McCarthyism, the CP hired Abt as its chief counsel and the dismantling of the McCarran Act became his "case of a lifetime." He took on no other legal work and it took him 24 years to accomplish his end, using every legal tactic at all levels of the American legal system, including the Supreme Court, to expose the nature of the act which, in outlawing the Communist Party, challenged basic freedoms. Even after McCarthy passed from the political scene, the Supreme Court was not prepared to repudiate the McCarran Act until, in the 1970s, when the political climate was different, the American government ceased its long, relentless anti-communist crusade against the party and its leaders.

In 1956, Nikita Khrushchev publicly detailed the crimes of the Stalin era. The revelations profoundly shocked members of the American and Canadian Communist parties and, dismayed, they left in droves. Abt and his wife had dedicated their lives to the movement and retained a romanticized, congealed vision of communism from the 1920s and 1930s. As a

result, Abt stayed on as counsel to the CPUSA and he and his wife remained party members opposed to those who wanted to move the America CP "to a position more independent of the Soviets." (212) Any doubts they had remained unspoken and even though Abt read transcripts of the proceedings of Stalin's purge trials and later suspected that they were "frame-ups," the information "did nothing to undermine my belief in the superiority of socialism or to question the character of the Soviet state." (213)

By 1970, Abt had gained respect from the "new left" for his defense of civil liberties, even though by age and experience his political culture was very different. He worked briefly with Angela Davis before her trial for her role in an attempt to free George Jackson, in which a jury acquitted her.

On 6 August 1991 John Abt died just before the collapse of the Soviet Union. He believed the CPUSA was finished but he took no joy in this conclusion, having spent 60 years in the party without regret. In the end, he believed that the authoritarian model of Soviet communism was not viable but he criticized American capitalism as unjust and unhealthy. His earlier support of Stalin he considered "indefensible" and he understood the central paradox of his life and career. As he said, "I realize in hindsight that there is no way to square the equation between my lifelong work for democracy and civil rights and liberties at home and defending governments abroad that didn't put much stock in such things." (301) He believed that Marx's critique of capitalism was irrefutable but he was also indignant with those dogmatists who refused to consider a radical revision of the Stalinist Soviet model of Marxism. He had not found anything "that gives a satisfying account of what is needed to make socialism work," but started with the proposition that the capitalist system was racist, corrupt, and undemocratic; he remained loyal to the objectives of socialism of "making life

for the majority more liveable, more peaceful, more fruitful, more free." (303)

John Abt remained an American radical — the last survivor of the New Deal's controversial left wing. He combined unique qualities — a romantic (sometimes blinded) idealism, individualism, humanism. His book is an interesting read, expressing a unique perspective on Cold War America: familiar with its repressive nature, respected in left circles, his perspective was nevertheless increasingly one dimensional and he was marginalized as was the CPUSA.

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Lawrence Gross, *The Course of Industrial Decline: The Boot Cotton Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, 1935-1955* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press 1993).

IN THE 1830S AND 1840S Lowell, Massachusetts won international acclaim as a textile town whose factories had miraculously dodged the perilous pitfalls of industrial advance. While contemporaries wrote disparagingly of England's "dark and satanic mills," Lowell's workers and its manufacturers' paternalism earned high praise. Charles Dickens spoke for many when he observed that Lowell's predominantly-female wage earners possessed the "manners and deportment of young women, not degraded brutes of burden." Here was a city whose labour force and industrial conditions seemed truly exceptional.

Historians of the United States, for their part, have made "Lowell exceptionalism" an enduring theme. In American labour history, no other industrial city has commanded as much attention. While repudiating the antebellum era's celebratory encomia by exposing the harsh economic realities that underlay the Lowell experience, historians, in their abiding interest in the city's past, have nonetheless

ensured that Lowell's "peculiarity" persists.

Lawrence Gross' ambitious *The Course of Industrial Decline* is the latest addition to the Lowell bonanza. Gross explores the Lowell experience through the rise and fall of one corporation, the Boott Cotton Mills. A single-firm approach, Gross contends, permits a close examination of the changing relations among technology, management, and work. In addition, it invites "a new level of attention to the human element," highlighting individual's decisions — rather than anonymous forces — that guide a company's path. (xiv)

Gross' central purpose in *The Course of Industrial Decline* is to explain the reasons for the company's failure in 1955. Gross argues that this collapse was not the inevitable consequence of Southern competition, but the result of a long history of owner intransigence, technological backwardness, and labour subjugation. From the company's founding, its directors pursued a policy of profit maximization that favoured the immediacy of dividends over long-term financial stability. Owners refused to make necessary investments in equipment, rebuilding, and maintenance. The uneven acquisition of new technologies — the decision to modernize only select divisions of the plant, for instance — had, as early as the 1880s, put the company at a competitive disadvantage in the textile market. Whatever gains superficial technological "fixes" might have secured, furthermore, were vitiated by the by the company's chronic mistreatment of labour. From beginning to end, the corporation made its workers its "economic shock absorbers," increasing their workloads while reducing their pay to safeguard profits. Working conditions were abominable; government regulations mandating base amenities were routinely violated. Not surprisingly, worker dissatisfaction followed on the heels of abuse: strikes, high turnover, and low morale formed an integral part of the Boott experience. In the final analysis, the

mill's closure during an industry-wide depression reflected decades of structural and employee neglect: over the years the players might have changed, but old patterns had endured.

Gross' explanation of the company's decline is persuasive. His exploration of textile technology and its impact on work, furthermore, serves as an important reminder of the value of synthesizing the history of labour and technology. In the end, however, Gross presents readers with fragmented snapshots of the company's past, not the integrated narrative he promises. The larger industrial setting in which the mills operated is rarely discussed. In addition, although the study's focus is carefully confined, a detailed analysis of life and labour at the Boott — the employee culture that flourished within and beyond company walls, including the gendered dimensions of work and resistance — is noticeably absent. As we follow the policies and practices that contributed to the mill's decline, we often lose sight of the personalities and spirited struggles that, like the Boott itself, were finally silenced.

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Arthur A. Sloane, *Hoffa* (Cambridge: The MIT Press 1991).

ARTHUR SLOANE RECALLS that when he asked in a bookstore for a volume on Jimmy Hoffa, the clerk told him to look in the "Crime" section. Perhaps the most well-known American labour leader of the 20th century, Hoffa, head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), is remembered as corrupt and dictatorial, more likely to bring to mind Al Capone than Walter Reuther. Twenty years after Hoffa's death, the American labour movement continues to suffer because much of the public projects onto it his ties to organized crime and contempt for democratic procedure.

In this traditional, largely narrative biography, Sloane presents a much more complex portrait of Hoffa. He acknowledges that he "willingly — even proudly" (400) associated with underworld figures, but argues that he remained relatively independent, and that his involvement in wrongdoing has been exaggerated. Sloane portrays Hoffa as a highly effective trade unionist who negotiated "extremely favorable" (406) contracts for the teamsters. No labour leader was as popular with his own rank and file, because of the good wages, benefits, and job security he delivered, and because he remained accessible to the membership. Employers respected him because of his concern for the prosperity and stability of their industry; Sloane considers him an industrial statesman.

Sloane fails to provide much insight into Hoffa's formative period as a trade unionist. He does not indicate whether his father, an Indiana mine worker, was a union activist or even member. He provides only a brief and sketchy description of the Detroit working-class environment in which Hoffa grew up following his father's death when he was seven. He does not mention Hoffa's contacts as a young warehouseman with Walter Reuther, then leader of the United Automobile Workers (UAW) West Side local. Like Reuther, Hoffa was savagely beaten by company thugs, and he bragged that in the 1930s he had a list of arrests for picket line fighting "as long as your arm," (16) and that the police "found out we didn't scare." (15) Sloane might have examined the extent to which Hoffa's antagonism toward George Meany and other AFL-CIO bureaucrats who never walked a picket line was shaped by his streetfighting background and contempt for men whom he felt lacked physical courage.

Sloane comes close to justifying Hoffa's involvement with organized crime, a relationship that began at least as early as 1941. Detroit mobsters controlled many businesses in sectors where teamsters worked, and were often hired to

break strikes. Hoffa defended his liaisons with gangsters as a way of neutralizing potentially dangerous opponents. If he were friendly, they would be less likely to cause the teamsters trouble. Sloane implies the CIO was responsible for Hoffa's establishing relations with the underworld. He claims that in 1941 it hired "scores of ... goons" (31) to strong-arm teamsters into joining the UAW, causing Hoffa to seek protection from organized crime. There is no attempt to explain why organized crime might side with the teamsters against the UAW, and no mention of CIO organizing campaigns in Detroit that Hoffa wrecked with his "brass knuckles" approach.

As Hoffa rose to the top of the IBT, public attention focused both on his expanding ties with mobsters and government charges of corruption, including misuse of union funds. His career nearly ended in 1957, when he was arrested for conspiring to obstruct an investigation into the union by the Senate's McClellan committee. A major factor in his surprise acquittal was his attorney's depiction of his accuser as racist; the jury contained a majority of blacks. The black press praised Hoffa as a "champion of Negro rights," (75) an image reinforced by boxing legend Joe Louis, who embraced him before the jury. Sloane, however, beyond mentioning the IBT's large black membership, provides no explanation for this support, which is interesting given Hoffa's unwillingness to participate in civil rights demonstrations. Sloane should have provided an assessment of what Hoffa achieved for the black worker, and compared his record with that of other labour leaders.

During his presidency of the IBT, which lasted from 1957 until he went to prison ten years later, Hoffa was enormously popular with his rank and file, even though his election caused the union to be branded "the pariah of the labor movement." (104) The AFL-CIO Executive Council, charging that Hoffa consorted with racketeers and had improv-

erly used union funds, expelled the IBT by a nearly unanimous vote. But Hoffa's members remained intensely loyal nonetheless, because he delivered for them "in spades" (127) — greatly improved wages, benefits, seniority protection, vacations, and welfare programmes. His success stemmed in part from his centralization of bargaining, which gave the teamsters an advantage over the small, intensely competitive carriers and prevented companies from moving to lower-wage locations. Centralization culminated in a nationwide contract, signed in 1964.

Sloane devotes considerable attention to Hoffa's downfall, and his struggle to regain control of the union. Convicted of fraud, conspiracy, and jury-tampering, he went to prison for five years. Hoffa's hand-picked successor, Frank Fitzsimmons, had been his "errand boy," who poured the coffee at executive board meetings. But Fitzsimmons turned on Hoffa and thwarted his comeback, backed by mobsters who considered him more pliable than his former boss. Sloane also presents three theories concerning Hoffa's unsolved 1975 murder.

This is a useful and highly readable introduction to the career of the leader of the America's largest union. But the study lacks context and ignores key questions. Sloane provides no sociocultural profile of the teamsters themselves, nor any systematic comparison of Hoffa with other labour leaders. Satisfied that Hoffa was an "enlightened" and "benevolent" dictator, (408) Sloane does not explore the long-term impact of his authoritarianism on the Teamsters' Union, nor the implications of his support for conservative politicians like Richard Nixon.

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Mario T. Garcia, *Memories of Chicano History: The Life and Narrative of Bert Corona* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1994).

WHEN I BEGAN my fieldwork in 1986 for a study on the unionization of undocumented workers in Los Angeles, one of the first persons I interviewed was Bert Corona. I was impressed and helped by his knowledge of labour history and undocumented immigration. Shortly following my conversation with Corona, I recall commenting to a friend that someone should write a book about him. I am pleased to see that someone has. Corona's is an extraordinary life. As David Montgomery writes in the "Foreword" to the book, "Corona's narrative retraces much of the history of our times."

Born in El Paso in 1918, Corona was one of very few Mexican-Americans to attend the University of Southern California prior to World War II. In 1937 he left USC after only one year of attendance to become more active in the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations), and over the years worked with several key figures in the labour movement and on several important organizing campaigns. Corona's condemnation of the CIO's and the Communist Party's failure to assist Latino organizers and labour leaders, such as Luisa Moreno, Tony Salgado, Refugio Martinez, and Josefina Fierro, during the McCarthy era, is instructive and an important reminder of organized labour's and the Left's recurring failure to address adequately race and ethnicity issues. In my own research, most of the Latino organizers I interviewed expressed varying degrees of dissatisfaction and frustration with their lack of mobility in union hierarchies, despite many years, and even decades, organizing in some of the most inhospitable sectors of the economy.

Corona's narrative covers a long span of history and this breadth sometimes comes at the expense of the depth readers may need to get to know Corona more intimately. The considerable significance

or impact he attaches to some of the organizations and events he discusses are open to debate, but few individuals have been in Corona's position to provide first-hand observations of so many important organizations, people, and events in the last sixty years. Active in the *Asociacion Nacional Mexico-Americana (ANMA)*, Corona became involved in a strike immortalized in the film "Salt of the Earth." (He was even given a copy of the script for his comments.) In support of the strikers and other Mexican workers in the United States, he travelled to Mexico and was a house guest of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo. A Target of FBI surveillance for much of his life, Corona participated in the creation of the "Organizacion Maxicana" and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA). Active in the historic campaigns of Edward Roybal and Hank Lopez (which prompted, in part, the formation of MAPA), Corona remained active in electoral politics at all levels for most of his life. Corona discusses in more than the usual detail his strong commitment to Bobby Kennedy's candidacy for President and his feelings for the man and the hope he inspired in him and others.

Corona's comparison of the struggles in the 1930s and 1960s is fascinating, and his thoughts about Chicano nationalism and rejection of the use of the concept of internal colonialism to describe the situation of Chicanos, controversial. Interesting as well are his assessments of important movement leaders, such as Corky Gonzalez and Jose Angel Gutierrez, and 1970s activists he labels the "Young Turks," whom he believed did not appreciate sufficiently the importance of first establishing a strong political base.

Rarely was Corona's role a passive or insignificant one. If the narrative reveals nothing else (and it reveals much more), it is Corona's firm belief that people can and do make history. He certainly has, and continues to. The narrative ends, appropriately, with the following statement by Corona. "Will I ever retire? No. I want

to be able to do more things and see more things. I think we're entering into a very exciting epoch in the 1990s. A lot of things will be happening that I'd like to be around to participate in and to see."

In his "Afterword," Garcia anticipated some of my concerns with the book, and in fact writes the section partly to provide critics with a "partial guide" suggesting how one might consider Corona's narrative. Garcia claims "collective authorship" with Corona. What is not clear from the narrative is how much Garcia probed and questioned Corona's recollections and interpretations. Garcia gives us a clue by acknowledging that autobiographies, in comparison to biographies, suffer from "some lack of authenticating various facts" and that while he and Corona checked certain facts, he did not try to "prove every point" or "authenticate every memory." Instead he chose to present a "collection of memories" selected principally by Corona. "What we get in the end," Garcia writes, "are Corona's views and interpretations of history, reinforced by my own. The facts of these memories are important, but of greater importance is how Corona (and I) have chosen to re-create these memories and the implications of their meanings."

Garcia opted not to write a biography because compiling additional sources would have been too difficult and time consuming, and he believed allowing Corona to tell his own story in his own words was preferable and would allow Corona to enjoy the publication and to respond to issues flowing from his story. I find this explanation wanting, but even then, short of extensive research with primary documentary sources, Garcia could have relied more on secondary sources (which he employs in footnotes to clarify references to people, organizations, and events) to probe and challenge Corona's recollections and interviewed other activists about Corona's life and his accounts of events in which they also participated.

I am, and others should be, indebted to Mario Garcia for conceiving of and



carrying out this project and Bert Corona for agreeing to it, but the portrait that emerges is incomplete. We get a better sense of the times than of the man. Much of the book is Corona's accounts of historical events and too infrequently do we get the depth one expects of an autobiography. No doubt Garcia tried, with some success, and Corona resisted with more success. Corona expressed some disbelief that anyone would be interested in his private life, and Garcia notes that he entered into Corona's private life "with some diplomacy." It is at key intersections of the private and public lives of Corona that the book is at its best.

In his introductory chapter, Garcia asks whether Corona's life is representative of other Mexican-Americans. In some respects, Garcia argues, it is and he proceeds to discuss concisely and skillfully what he perceives Corona shared with other Mexican-Americans. He concludes that his life and careers "parallel those of other Mexican-Americans in a broad historical sense." I agree, as I do with Garcia's characterization of Corona as exceptional, yet "not so exceptional that he stands by himself." Corona himself refers repeatedly to others, Mexican and Non-Mexican, who contributed substantially and sacrificed a great deal to improve the economic, political, and social conditions of Mexican-Americans.

The book reminds us that the history of Chicanos is not just one of victimization, but of struggle as well. Corona's narrative reminds us of the rich organizational and activist history of Mexicans in the United States. The stereotype of the passive and fatalistic Mexican dies hard (even among scholars). Corona, by the way he has lived his life, and Garcia, by providing us with this story, contribute substantially to its long-awaited demise.

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Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America and the Making of a New Left* (New York: Verso 1993).

ON ONE LEVEL Van Gosse's intention in *Where the Boys Are* is to reinstate the Cuban Revolution into the story of "the sixties." On another level, however, the point is broader and more urgent. Gosse argues, effectively and interestingly, that radical politics in the US requires ongoing effort to understand and engage with genuinely revolutionary struggles. In telling the story of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, it turns out that liberals, not leftists, played the main roles. Gosse's important point, however, appears not to be that radicalism in the US was often initiated by liberals, but rather that the "radicals" of the "the sixties" movements were sometimes not in fact radical: they were unwilling to engage in transformative personal and political struggle and hence failed to identify some important opportunities for pursuing and coming to understand real democracy.

Surprising as it may now seem, few Third World figures of any sort have received the sustained, sympathetic coverage from the journalistic establishment in the US as did Fidel Castro in the two years before Batista fell. For instance, the anti-communist, pro-imperialist newsmagazine, *Time*, ran 31 stories on the Cuban revolution during that time, almost all focused on Fidel as the kind of person North Americans can know and respect. Gosse explains the infatuation with Fidel in terms of the US need to see itself as supporting a democrat, to define itself as somehow anti-imperialist, as well as of American fascination with Latin American 'strong men.' (45)

Gosse's concern is largely with developments from the pro-Fidel bandwagon of 1957-58 to a minority movement of support for Cuba in 1960-61, after it had become clear that the revolution was indeed a revolution. By the end of 1959, Castro's immense popularity had disappeared. While there existed pockets

of support throughout 1959, one of the most persistent being that of African-Americans. Gosse notes that it was striking how illiberal were the liberals "who had called for Cuban freedom but who recoiled when the Cubans started acting like a free people." (123) The Fair Play for Cuba Committee arose in 1960. In Gosse's view, it is significant for understanding the "New Left" because of its composition and its operation. The more radical solidarity for Cuba that developed through the FPCC by-passed both the organized Old Left and organized liberalism, and it operated, not through ideology, but "in human connection with the onrushing tide of a revolution in motion." (137)

Where were the anti-Cold War leftists during this time? Gosse suggests that they had lost their ability to judge events on their own terms. Fidel's declarations of humanism, not communism, as well as his immense popularity with the US public, seemed to place the Cuban revolution beyond the theoretical resources of the Old Left. When only die-hard McCarthyites were condemning Castro in 1957-58, "all the existing radical ghettos, from Wallaceite progressives to unreconstructed Stalinists, looked upon Fidel with confusion or suspicion, if they looked at all." (124)

This leads to one of Gosse's central points: the people who did manage to understand what was happening in Cuba, to identify the democratic significance of the Cuban revolution, were not committed to any particular group or political ideology; they were those, above all, who were willing to engage personally with the Revolution and its goals. Consider, for instance, LeRoi Jones. As a pure 1950s Beat poet, Jones was thoroughly antipolitical. But he was persuaded to visit Cuba and, as he describes in his influential article "Cuba Libre," was deeply moved by the "unbelievable joy and excitement," at seeing "people made beautiful because of [a revolutionary idea]." (186) Jones ended up being one of

the first, and perhaps the angriest of a string of writers who acquired and expressed awareness of their own political reality in the US through active solidarity with revolutionary struggles in Latin America and the Third World. (184) As he says in the opening sentence of "Cuba Libre," "If we live all our lives under lies, it becomes difficult to see *anything* if it does not have anything to do with these lies." (184)

Thus, Gosse proposes that the "New Left" is improperly understood as a spectrum running from Tom Hayden to Abbie Hoffman. Instead, he wants to include people like Dorothy Day, editor of the *Catholic Worker*, who stated that she had no choice but to side with the "persecutors of the church" in Cuba, and specifically with Fidel Castro, because he was on the side of the poor. (237) What made the "New Left" new, Gosse argues, is not who is included, as individuals, organizations and social groups, but what they did and how they did it. Gosse describes the "new" left as pluralist and informal. (257) It would seem, however, that the sort of pluralism he has in mind is commitment to personal engagement with genuinely revolutionary struggle and the informality he describes a willingness to revise important theoretical commitments in light of such experience.

Not only does Gosse's fascinating story of the "Fair Play" movement help to dispel certain myths about the 15-20 year period called "the sixties" — for instance, that it was a movement of white students and that there was no effective opposition to US imperialism before the Vietnam war — Gosse also demonstrates that solidarity with Third World revolutionaries is not something the "New Left" arrived at. He proposes that to the extent that the "New Left" has in fact been radical, solidarity with Third World revolutionaries explains such radicalism. Like others, Gosse sees the different radicalisms of "the sixties" characterized by a great "going-out" into the world. Unlike many, however, he does not see this as culminat-

ing in 1969 or 1971. He argues that to the extent that progressive people in societies like the US must resist their own commitments to "the consumption driven alienation of late capitalism" before they can even identify democratic goals, such "going out" must continue to define North American radicalism. The final significance of Cuba and *fidelismo* for the North American left, in Gosse's view, is the theoretical and personal significance of revolution, the suggestion that unless North Americans engage with revolutionaries, especially at the cost, if necessary, of their own self-image, their work and thought will be, as LeRoi Jones wrote after his experience in Cuba, "like bright flowers growing up through a rotting carcass." (187)

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Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1993).

AMY SWERDLOW PROVIDES a timely and important corrective to much of the "misinformation" currently circulating in the popular culture about "the sixties." I looked with delight at the numerous photographs provided in the text of the "ladies" organizing, demonstrating, making speeches, marching, working in offices and imagined how discordant such images would be to my students who conjure up visions of young lunatics, freaks, and hippies when asked to draw upon what they know of the 1960s. With a readable style, compelling anecdotes, and useful analysis, Swerdlow tells the story of the emergence of one of the more recent versions of an organization of women mobilized to promote peace and the general welfare of children and their families, the *Women's Strike for Peace*.

With only the most limited knowledge of their historical foremothers in or-

ganizations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Women's Peace Party, a handful of white, middle-class housewives decided in 1961 to actively object to the dangerous "fallout" from the never-ending Cold War. As a result of the continued above-ground testing of nuclear weapons by both the US and the Soviet Union, a group of women in Washington DC organized a national "strike" of women (contacted through informal networks) in early November of 1961. They protested in large cities across the nation, carrying placards stating, "End the Arms Race — Not the Human Race." From the beginning, the women most actively involved maintained their legitimacy as protesters with the retort that they were "just ordinary" wives and mothers disillusioned with "male" politics, brinkmanship, power plays, and the resulting environmental degradation.

What is most clear from the various insightful biographies Swerdlow provides is that the majority of the most active members of WSP were anything but "ordinary" housewives. Many of the Washington contingent had already cut their political teeth in SANE and had become disillusioned as the politics of the Cold War infiltrated the organization. Many other active members of WSP were involved in other left, progressive political activities as young women, and/or were "red diaper babies." Swerdlow claims that the women involved in WSP had "more options than the women of earlier generations to work outside the home and live independent lives. Yet they made the choice to devote themselves to live-in motherhood." (2) Not only do I chafe somewhat at the use of the word "choice" here, but also I think Swerdlow's account makes clear that even if marching on the picket lines was the first political act for many of these women, it was certainly not their initiation into the world of politics.

WSP achieved a moderate degree of success throughout its history. From its

initial focus on a nuclear test ban treaty and publicizing the effects of radiation generally and Strontium 90, in particular, this essentially structureless, leaderless, and politically neutral (at least during the polarized political climate of the Cold War and US politics) moved on to international disarmament work and Vietnam War draft resistance. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, WSP representatives were taking trips to North Vietnam and meeting to make common cause with counterparts and to facilitate the flow of information about prisoners of war.

Always aware of the importance of media attention, WSP was unusually successful in highlighting their cause. One of the most compelling and hilarious accounts in the book is the chapter on WSP's testimony before HUAC in 1962. Throughout its history, WSP was able to capitalize on the apparent disjuncture or contradiction between the radical demands of the organization (Anti-War, Anti-arms race, pro-draft resistance) and the appearance, occupation (housewife) and class position of the radicals themselves. And this was deliberate. According to Swerdlow, "the majority of the WSP women, in their prefeminist consciousness, believed that being regarded as non-intellectual mothers who made the Red hunter look silly was a small price to pay for the lack of recognition of their political and tactical sophistication." (119) Throughout its vivid history, WSP championed participatory democracy, leaderless and structureless decision making, and speaking truth to power, devising these hallmarks of their movement at almost the same time two other organizations, SDS and SNCC were arriving at similar philosophical and tactical stances. WSP not only succeeded in educating the public and bringing pressure to bear regarding its various causes, but it was also helpful in launching a number of political careers, (most notably Bella Abzug's).

*Women Strike for Peace* is not only an important addition to our understanding of the New Left and "the sixties," but it is

also a deeply personal account of these events. Amy Swerdlow informs us right from the start that she was one of the founding mothers of the organization and participated in many of the most important national and international activities throughout the organization's history. This perspective accounts for the book's major strength and also, I believe, a blind-spot. (Although, I would not have it any other way.) Because of her own participation, Swerdlow's account is rich with personal insights, analysis, and information. I particularly enjoyed how she "broke into" the text with her own voice and perspective. Because Swerdlow did this with such care, it was stylistically a breath of fresh air and added immeasurably to the story.

Yet because of her own involvement and subsequent embrace of feminism and women's history, Swerdlow, in her conclusion adopts what seems to me to be a defensive tone about maternalism as a justification for the political activity of women. This is not only unnecessary, but also obscures other important historical issues. Swerdlow's defensiveness becomes most apparent when she takes exception with anthropologist Micaela DiLeonardo's assertion that, "the moral mother argument is a poor organizing tool ... We must retire moral mothers from the field." (239) Swerdlow contends that, throughout history, arguments based on women's moral difference have, in fact, been excellent ways of mobilizing women from the moral reform organizations of the antebellum period to the WSP. And of course Swerdlow is right, but while defending this historical truth, she is blind to an equally powerful one; the moral mother argument has been used just as often and just as powerfully by those opposed to women's equality and other progressive causes. Anti-Suffragists, Fascist and Nazi organizations of women, women of the KKK, and women of the New Right today also use maternalist arguments not only to justify their political positions, but also to legitimize their de-

parture from what they often consider to be their traditional roles. Like the "ordinary housewives" in WSP, women in the New Right today claim they are doing their work for America's families and children. It is true that maternalism and "moral motherhood" has been an effective way to mobilize women politically. What is not always clear is to what end. Why in the early 1960s, certain housewives left the kitchen to picket for disarmament while, in the late 1970s, different housewives left their homes to picket to defeat the ERA, is the historical question that Swerdlow does not address.

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Felix Driver, *Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System 1834-1884* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993).

FELIX DRIVER'S examination of the workhouse system is the latest monograph from the Cambridge Studies in historical geography series. This has proved a consistently strong stable for original and innovative work on landscape, population and urbanization in Europe and American during the 19th century. Books such as *The Iconography of Landscape* edited by D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels and *Urban Historical Geography* edited by D. Denecke and G. Shaw, both published in 1988, are now established texts in the relatively youthful discipline of history/geography.

*Power and Pauperism* therefore has much to live up to. It differs from the previous texts in this series in its attempt to apply the techniques of historical/geographical inquiry to an established problem of economic and social history, namely the broader social impact of the Poor Law legislation of 1834 on mid-Victorian society. It is also the first volume in the series to seek to use the tools of the new cultural history to enhance under-

standing of the role of the Poor Law as 'state policy.' In so doing Driver reappraises the existing literature on the function and role of the state within contemporary Victorian culture.

This is a hugely ambitious exercise for a slim, 207-page monograph. It is, however, a job that urgently needs doing. Not since the Webbs has anyone attempted to analyze in its entirety the national apparatus of the new Poor Law. Driver's book thus constitutes the first attempt to see the Poor Law as a totality since the publication of their now classic works in the 1920s.

Previous attempts to assess the significance of the Poor Law legislation of the 1830s have fractured along the fault lines that have separated off the various sub-sections of the discipline. Historians of the Poor Law have traditionally segmented the problems involved. In particular there is a long-standing tension between historians of popular movements who see the Poor Law as a trigger for mass protest agitations such as Chartism, and economic historians who have merely examined the problems of social welfare policy involved. Too often this has resulted in a case-study approach that has assessed the application of the Poor Law to a particular region, or its implications for a specific moment of protest. Here Driver's more holistic approach is long overdue.

By far the strongest sections of this book are the early chapters in which Driver attempts to rectify these problems by locating the Poor Law in the context of contemporary arguments about the parameters of state responsibility. Using the theories of Foucault and Anthony Giddens, Driver offers the most illuminating discussion to date of the moral regulation of the poor. He is at his best when dealing with the ways in which theories of 'surveillance' contributed to the notion of 'disciplinary spaces' for the containment of the poor and disadvantaged. As he points out, such considerations dictated the design of the workhouses themselves

and the structures of authority within them. The early sections also provide a useful synthesis of the existing literature on the subject, and summarize most of what we know about the formation of the major Poor Law Unions.

Sadly, the rest of the book fails to live up to this early promise. Despite Driver's aspirations to the 'national,' *Power and Pauperism* rapidly degenerates into the kind of local study he declared it his intention to avoid. Moreover these sections revisit the well-trodden territory of the West Riding of Yorkshire where the strongest opposition to the Poor Law manifested itself. (A quick flick through the manuscript and newspaper sources quoted in the bibliography reveals this West Yorkshire bias.) There is little new to be said about this region. N.C. Edsall made most of Driver's points about the contribution of the Anti-Poor Law Protest to the Chartist movement as long ago as 1971 in his *The Anti-Poor Law Movement 1834-44*.

In short, this book can only be seen as going part of the way towards remedying the many gaps in our understanding of the 19th-century Poor Law system after 1834. There are still whole swathes of the country where we know next to nothing about how the system operated. The West Country is one such area, but there is also a profound ignorance about how the workhouse system functioned in the capital. Driver mentions London briefly in passing, preferring to highlight the opposition that occurred to the Poor Law in Huddersfield and Halifax. Nevertheless, the metropolitan areas provide the strongest evidence of continuing, sustained resistance to the Poor Law system at mid-century, notably at the time of still unresearched riots in 1855, 1857 and 1861. If the poor relief system was breaking down in London it would be useful to know how and why. Such problems cry out for a sustained comparative analysis, region-by-region, rather than the more generalized treatment given them by previous authors.

This research might also be helped by a longer time-frame. Existing work is too compartmentalized. Early studies end in the 1850s, making only passing reference to the Poor Law legislation of the 1900s. Historians seeking the origins of the welfare state see their brief as beginning with the turn-of-the-century reappraisals of the Poor Law inspired by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Driver is no exception to this rule. His closing date of 1884 is rather arbitrary, and in fact he says little about later developments at all.

*Power and Pauperism* is a thoughtful addition to the existing literature on the Victorian Poor Law. No other book identifies so precisely the problems in our understanding of this central piece of 19th-century legislation. For this we should be grateful. But in the end this book simply overreaches itself and in such a short space fails to sustain its early promise. It demonstrates clearly that the definitive general account of the Poor Law system remains to be written.

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Michael J. Childs, *Labour's Apprentices: Working-Class Lads in late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1992).

IT IS A TRUISM that adults take on their various identities as they grow up. It is also true that we have given little attention to how young people actually acquire their sense of gender, of class, and of others of the multiple facets of adulthood. In this fine work, Michael J. Childs describes how, in contrast to their predecessors, working-class boys of late Victorian and Edwardian England grew into "a more homogeneous working class, less fragmented by occupational or regional differences and more conscious of itself as a distinct stratum of society." (158) He does so by taking us to the sites of youth-

ful experiences: home, school, workplace, street, music hall, football terrace, early cinema, and dance hall. In each setting he employs oral evidence in order that we hear the voice of youth "tell us what he thought about this world and why he acted as he did." (xiv)

The process of taking on identities began in the home. As late-Victorian and Edwardian families became smaller, and moved towards the notion of the "family wage," they still resembled their predecessors in that they lived in poverty, their homes were over-crowded, and their children were sometimes undernourished. Although not nearly as problem-ridden as contemporary critics suggested, these families quite naturally devoted most of their energies to their own survival. Parents socialized their sons into the essential role that work would play in their lives. Children took their place in the family economy as soon as they were old enough to help. They continued to contribute to it until they left in their twenties to set up their own households.

Over these years schools of this first era of universal state education came to take up a larger and larger proportion of working-class youngsters and to keep them there for longer and longer periods. There, in a system that emphasized rote learning and often employed brutal discipline, children learned basic literacy and numeracy, and were taught respectfulness towards their "betters." Nineteenth-century educational "reforms" had ensured that the schools available for the working classes "could not, and did not, act as 'social elevators' for working class children." However, by "helping to break down the older barriers between the skilled and unskilled," they provided both a certain amount of mobility within the working class and strengthened its sense of class identity. (47)

Boys left school as soon as they could. Artisans apprenticed their boys to a trade, labourers theirs to whatever paid the highest wages; living closer to the margin these latter parents, reported one

lad, "weren't very interested in ... where you worked so long as you had a job." (17) Childs effectively maps out both the enormous range of jobs into which boys moved and the underlying dead-end nature of all but the most skilled of these occupations. Nonetheless, and despite the drudgery and long hours of their work, for most boys "the years from fourteen to twenty were a high point" in their lives. (93) At first, boys turned over all of their income to the family, but as they grew older, and their income rose, parents permitted them to keep all above the agreed amount turned over to the family. Their growing share of their wages and increasing freedom from home discipline permitted them to find amusement and entertainment amongst their mates.

They found their pleasure outside their homes. In what was a subculture of adolescents, childish street games gave way to street corner lounging where boys talked about work, sports, politics and other news of the day, smoked, gambled, rough-housed and fought, watched girls, and eventually began to court. A minority of lads drifted into gangs that fought territorial battles with other gangs, stole, and committed acts of vandalism. While savage repression combined with the prosperity of the new century brought a decline in youthful violence, these developments did not reduce the place that the street played as a fundamental building block "of working-class youth culture and the basic context in which it operated." (117)

On weekends, youth looked to the entertainment provided by the football club, the music hall and, later, the cinema and the dance hall. These forms of entertainment were either new in this era or transformed for it, becoming further agents in the nationalizing or even internationalizing or popular culture. Further, it was youth, with its spending money of a shilling or two each week, that made up a major portion of the patrons for these forms of entertainment. In turn, "the youth in the music hall gallery and on the

stadium terraces was a participant in a process that would lead, after World War I, to a relatively unified and consolidated working-class point of view." (139)

Child's book is a model of how such a work should be written. His careful evocation of the crowded sites of youthful activity, together with their cast of lads, their families, workmates, and friends brings a long-vanished world vividly to life. What he has to say about lads at work is particularly important. While labour historians have told us much about various workplaces, they have paid less attention to the way in which beginners were initiated into the world of work there, and how that initiation constructed attitudes and beliefs as well as behaviours. Technological and organizational changes in these years meant that lads entered a less rigid and stratified workforce than had their fathers or grandfathers, one "more open than that of the past, less restricted by formal apprenticeship, more haphazard and variegated in form." (159) In consequence, they were prime candidates to join the new general and industrial unions of the era. In turn, Childs concludes, "it was precisely this generation, born between the 1880s and the 1900s, that led the decisive shift towards labour politics, itself less a theoretical socialist construct than a populist movement built upon an assumed solidarity of the nationwide community of workers ...." (161)

Childs also takes part in some of the wider historiographic debates about this era. He takes issue, for example, with J.O. Springhall's conclusion that adult leadership in the scouts and similar organizations harnessed youthful energies to their own purposes. Through such devices as the Boys Brigade, the Church Lads Brigade, the Boy Scouts, and local boys' clubs, mostly middle-class volunteers tried to recruit youth away from the behaviours and values of their culture. Scouts, however, actually appealed mostly to the middle classes, and the other organizations to the sons of skilled workers. "In any case," Childs concludes, "the

vast majority of working-class youths completely escaped adult control in their leisure time, and those in boys' clubs who did not escape essentially forced adults to organize leisure on the boys' own terms." (155)

Family rather than Childs' history prompts me to conclude with a minor question that his book does not answer. What, if anything, in their youthful years made a small proportion of Child's cohorts eventually head off to the colonies? I ask this because I found my grandfather amongst Child's lads. Born in London in 1869, the son and grandson of tailors, Will Johnson was apprenticed by his father and stepmother to a saddler. Unlike the vast majority of those who shared his childhood, however, at the age of forty he emigrated to Canada to become, briefly, a grower of wheat; he later gave that up and moved to Vancouver, opening a small shoe and shoe repair shop, a trade related to his youthful training. He settled his family in a working-class neighbourhood made up mostly of recently-arrived English, Irish, and Scottish families. From such a platform of slight prosperity, his children moved into the middle class.

As an old man, however, he showed in many ways that he had grown up in the settings that Childs describes so well and there absorbed a particular culture. He sang me songs that I now know were from the music halls and took me to see exhibition matches — "you'll be seeing some *real* football, lad" — by touring English soccer clubs. He loved the cinema performances of such former music hall stars as Charlie Chaplin, Stan Laurel and George Formby. In a more serious vein, he asked me what my British history text had to say about Keir Hardie (nothing). Although by then a small merchant, he voted for both our CCF parliamentarians, Harold Winch provincially and Angus McInnes federally. He read the overseas London *Daily Mirror* with far less scepticism than he gave to the contents of Vancouver's *Sun* or *Province*. His family was particularly dismayed by his less than



whole-hearted endorsement of its wartime hero, Winston Churchill. In most essential ways, indeed, Will Johnson, and many like him, remained in the new environment essentially what they had been in the old. Of course, we already knew that many British immigrants of this era brought their working-class culture and sense of class solidarity with them. Childs has now shown us where and how they acquired these core characteristics of themselves.

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Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1994).

UNTIL RECENTLY the study of women and war was characterized by a simple binary discourse which more thoroughly obscured than illuminated women's experiences. While some historians argued that wartime participation, especially in the labour force, liberated or emancipated women others, such as Gail Braybon, Penny Summerfield, Cynthia Enloe and Ruth Roach Pierson countered that the experience of war for women was primarily oppressive and disempowering. As Angela Woollacott suggested in *Gendering War Talk*, a book she co-edited with Miriam Cooke, such reductionism conceals more than it reveals. Now, with *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War*, a critical analysis of women's munitions work in Great Britain, Woollacott ventures beyond this historiographic quagmire by rejecting the impulse towards binarism in favour of a recursive approach which carefully blends a variety of contemporary theory and sound empiricism.

At its most elemental level, Woollacott's goal is to discover and interpret the experience of being a female munitions worker in Britain during World War I.

The book, however, is far more than a simple recounting of the process of bringing women into the wartime factories. Woollacott skilfully uses experience as a category of historical analysis. The focus then shifts from the events of wartime to the women themselves; more specifically, the way that women's self identities were altered and the ways in which women recognized and responded to the changes they experienced during the war. From this perspective, Woollacott reveals the way in which gender, class and war intersect. She contends that the war created a space in which gender and class circumstances were challenged and redefined. Her exploration of the actions and reactions of the female munitions workers in response to the changes is thoughtful and original. Less convincingly, Woollacott also suggests that women's munitions work be examined as participation in war, not dissimilar to that of the British male soldier, as opposed to studying it as an aberration of normal employment patterns. While some interesting comparisons can be made between women and men, the strength of her argument lies in the intersection of wartime industry and women's roles in war production not in the removal of them from it. In effect, her distinction between war participation and labour force participation is at best unclear, or more likely inaccurate.

Following a brief discussion of the munitions industry itself and of women's employment, Woollacott turns to a discussion of the heterogeneity of the munitions workforce. Her conclusion that the workforce was not homogenous but composed of women from a variety of class, regional, ethnic and racial backgrounds is not the revelation that she implies. What is more effective is the effort made to address the issue of workers' sexuality and the regional and ethnic tensions which developed between workers on the factory floor and in the rooming houses. The first chapters are concerned with providing the background required for the more analytical chapters of the book. In

some ways, the book might have benefited from a more thorough examination of the workforce and how it changed as a result of the war. Woollacott continues with an examination of the health and welfare of the workers, issues of status, wages, leisure and public censure and class relations. Organizing the text thematically is essential for this style of analysis because it provides flexibility; however, the book is uneven in places and repetitive. As a result, several of her arguments appear truncated. For instance in her discussion of the changes in women's status as workers she suggests that "on the whole, women workers acquiesced in this attempt to restore the prewar status quo." (108) This clearly contradicts her assertion that most munitions workers did not want a return of prewar employment patterns and demonstrated in protest. Clearly, these competing impulses attest to the complexity of the work experience for British women and yet the argument is not fully developed. Similarly, the argument that government and employer supported welfare schemes such as day-care, canteens, infirmaries, and welfare lectures had as much, if not more, to do with a "radical interest in industrial welfare" than gender remains largely unexplored. (76) Perhaps that is an unavoidable consequence in a book with such an ambitious agenda. This is a minor criticism as Woollacott more than compensates in other areas.

*On Her Their Lives Depend* is, without question, an important addition to the field of women and war. It challenges myths about British women munitions workers and provides a much needed corrective. That all women did not experience the war in the same way is a surprisingly simple point. Nonetheless, it is a point that has been overlooked in previous studies which have focused on the question of liberation. For some women World War I was a devastating experience. As Woollacott indicates, some women lost their lives or health in factory accidents (79-88), and some lost their

husbands, fathers, brothers or lovers. For other women, the experience of war was liberating whether as a result of higher wages or a greater sense of independence or self-worth. By divorcing herself from the traditional debate, Woollacott is able to reveal more about the experience of being a woman in munition factories and more fully interpret the impact that participation had on British society. Nowhere is the value of such an approach evidenced more than in Woollacott's discussion of class.

Munitions work had difference meanings and evoked different responses, sometimes conflicting ones, from different classes of women workers. Working-class women, for whom working is more a necessity than a choice, might have found munitions work offered unparalleled economic opportunity. Like the middle-class women who joined the munition workforce out of a sense of patriotic duty, working-class women responded to patriotic impulses. The evidence that women sent notes to the front in shell shipments, entered correspondence with soldiers and contributed money to the war effort indicates this. Woollacott illuminates the differences not only between working and middle class but among the working class as well. The tensions between middle- and working-class women is clearly articulated by an unemployed weaver, "You say glibly that the working women could refuse to nurse and to make munitions — and so stop the war. A working woman who refuses to work will starve — and there is nothing like stark hunger for blasting ideals." (165) These interclass tensions are not surprising; however, the evidence of intraclass tension among working women is. Whether sparked by where women lived, what skills they possessed, or what region they were from, tensions frequently erupted among working-class women. (42-3) Also of value is her analysis of the impact of munitions work on working-class women with regard to health and welfare. The higher wages

available in munitions work meant improved diet for single working-class women. Higher wages also may have meant more disposable income which allowed the women access to more leisure pursuits. These often clashed with middle-class reformers' notions of gender and class. (160-1) Probably as a result of source availability, Woollacott, despite claiming to focus on working-class women, relies too heavily on the testimony of middle-class women. This serves to weaken the point she is making about the differences in response and interpretation of the war. In the chapter on class relations, Woollacott focuses more on the relationship between the workers and the middle-class forewomen, police and welfare workers than on the working-class women. To her credit, Woollacott does give voice to the working class and supports statements by the middle class with other evidence. Again, this is a fairly minor point which is probably unavoidable and does little to undermine the book's conclusions. A more serious problem, and one which Woollacott does not deal with satisfactorily, is the representativeness of munitions workers' experience.

It is surprising that an author who so clearly sees the differences and nuances of the lives of munitions workers would diminish the differences between workers in different industries. While Woollacott is careful to avoid claiming that munitions workers were representative of all working-class women, she does extend several of her conclusions to include them. This is problematic on several levels. Munitions workers were, if anything, atypical. Munitions was and is largely a wartime industry. Its expansion was temporary — a response to the needs of the war. Woollacott must recognize this at some level because she indicates that the intensity of conflict often altered work conditions. (67) The workers brought in as a result of the war emergency were also only temporary. Thus, the higher wages and other benefits of munitions work were not necessarily reflective of

women's work patterns. The issues important to women working in munitions might not have been shared by other women workers. The sisterhood that Woollacott indicates developed among munitions workers, the improved self-esteem reflected in their choices of clothing, and all of the other benefits afforded by higher wages may have been unusual. Woollacott's attempt to define munitions work as war participation, thereby removing it from the realm of labour, is not a sufficient remedy, especially given her emphasis on the workers and the work place. This book is a study of labour and cannot be removed from that context. Women in munitions made up only 10 per cent of all women working by the end of the war. If we accept Woollacott's very broad definition of 'munition worker,' their proportion, at its highest, is still less than 18 per cent. The women in the munitions factories were atypical and must be studied in that context. Accepting that, rather than encouraging reductionism and obfuscation, reveals the complexity of the wartime experience of women.

Regardless of these concerns, Woollacott demonstrates that women in the munitions factories challenged gender boundaries with their sports teams, changing social behaviours and new employment opportunities and that they challenged class boundaries with their increased spending power, mobility and opportunity. She also illuminates that gender and class boundaries were not always breached successfully nor were the spaces opened up by war maintained. These women were symbols of cultural modernity and achievement. Woollacott challenges the boundaries of the study of women and war in ways not dissimilar to the challenge that the female munitions workers posed to British society. This remarkable and innovative work is indispensable for anyone interested in World War I.

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John Turner, *Macmillan* (London: Longman 1994).

JOHN TURNER OPENS this biography by calling Harold Macmillan "one of the most successful actors to reach 10 Downing Street" in this century. It is one of Turner's aims, and a strength of this book, to unmask the actor and reveal the person underneath or, more to the point, the politician. As befits an addition to Longman's "Profiles in Power" series, this is less a biography of Harold Macmillan the man, than of Harold Macmillan the politician. The book centres entirely on Macmillan's public life, tracing his career from the first try for Parliament in 1922 to the retirement from the premiership in 1963. Turner's aim is to explain Macmillan's climb to power in its historical context and dispel the notion that Macmillan was no more than a cynical exploiter of public greed who preferred show to substance.

Turner begins by focusing on Macmillan's long years on the back benches before World War II. This was the period during which Macmillan published many pamphlets and books, most notably *The Middle Way*, which established his reputation as a leading contributor to the much heralded "middle opinion" of the 1930s and the attempt to forge a balanced alternative to the extremes of either free-market capitalism or socialism. Yet, as Turner adeptly shows, Macmillan's views were hardly revolutionary or original, and his commitment to planning and a corporatist approach towards economic problems were rooted in his political ambition, not in any deep-seated ideological position. In short, the competition for ministerial office was intense, and Macmillan was seeking to forge a name for himself. What is striking, given the later reputation of both Macmillan and his inter-war writings, is the extent to which Macmillan's early career was in fact a profile in failure; his progressive views isolated him from the mainstream of the Conservative party and frustrated his attempts to achieve even junior office. It was only through his

opposition to appeasement and his reconciliation with Churchill that Macmillan gained Cabinet rank. This is not to take away from his achievements. As Turner makes clear, Macmillan was a successful diplomat during World War II because he was adept at managing power. His triumphant stint as Minister of Housing in the 1950s and his success at distancing himself from the debacle of Suez resulted in his holding the premiership from 1957 to 1963.

Turner's treatment of Macmillan's years as Prime Minister is very comprehensive, though the abandonment of the chronological pattern of narrative followed in the earlier half of the book at times makes this section confusing to follow. The author seeks to explain Macmillan's perspective on his own initiatives and tries to demonstrate that there was continuity in his thought and consistency in his actions. In other words, it was not all show. Turner succeeds to a point, but has to acknowledge the key role which questions of political expediency as opposed to principle played in determining the course of action adopted by Macmillan, particularly in regard to economic policies. Attempting to refute the view that Macmillan's economic policies were as bad as his critics have charged, Turner is nonetheless compelled to define Macmillan's economic views as "inchoate." (250)

In terms of foreign policy, Turner credits Macmillan for his recognition that, while safeguarding its interests abroad, Great Britain had to alter its commitments to match limited resources. At the same time, Turner also shows how unrealistic was the philosophy underlying some of the Prime Minister's assumptions; for example, Macmillan's belief that Great Britain could play Greece to the US in the American counterpart to the Roman Empire. As Turner makes clear, Macmillan attributed far more to the 'special relationship' than was there. Thus, although Macmillan perceived himself as a realist, Macmillan's assumptions re-

garding how power worked in the post-1945 world were actually unrealistic. This is a profile in power that highlights the waning of British influence and the problems this entailed for British politicians.

According to Turner, Macmillan's greatest achievement "was to lead the Conservative Party so far towards places which it never knew it wanted to visit." (2) In particular, Macmillan is credited with a forward thinking policy on Empire (symbolized by his Winds of Change speech) and on British membership in the Common Market. While Macmillan clearly tried to lead, at points he was following a segment of the party (with respect to Empire for example), and it remains questionable how many were willing followers of these initiatives. The policies proved divisive, a point well underscored by Turner's conclusion that by the time Macmillan retired his "attitude to the Conservative Party had nearly come full circle: the rebel of the 1930s was a rebel still." (274)

A major strength of the book is the comprehensive analysis provided by Macmillan's major initiatives, for example, his attempt to take Britain into the European Community. By surveying Macmillan's views from the 1920s onward, Turner dispels the notion that Macmillan's support for greater European integration can be accounted for solely in terms of a *politique* explanation. There was consistency and depth behind the decision. As Turner shows, by the time the application was made, for Macmillan political and economic motives were in fact inseparable. Political interests were always paramount. Herein lies the key to the man; at all points Macmillan was profoundly concerned with the exercise and retention of power, his own but also that of the nation.

It must be a daunting task to write a biography of an individual who published his own memoirs in six volumes and has been the subject of several studies, including the recent two-volume official bi-

ography by Alistair Horne. However, Turner has made an important contribution to the published record. By drawing on archival sources not cited in the official biography, most notably British government records and the private collections of British politicians, Turner has filled a void in terms of our understanding of the period and of Harold Macmillan the politician.

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Ronald Gosselin, *Les almanachs républicains: Traditions révolutionnaires et culture politique des masses populaires de Paris (1840-1851)* (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval 1992).

THOSE OF US WHO have laboured long in the vineyards of 19th-century French history appreciate the significance of almanachs in the history of publishing, especially during the July Monarchy and the Second Republic. As a mode of communication with the popular classes, whose level of education made reading difficult and writing often impossible, but whose thirst for knowledge and political sophistication had grown enormously since 1789 and more so after 1830, almanachs exceeded the press and the lecture hall many times over. Whatever their political content, they were filled with useful information: the obligatory calendar, often elaborately detailed with special dates commemorated; weather reports; and useful addresses of government agencies and names of public officials. They also printed short stories, poems, songs, and graphic art. Christian almanachs highlighted biblical parables with commentaries. Those with a political orientation naturally promoted their ideas, printing constitutions, famous speeches, candidates' names and platforms, and so forth. In my work on Cabet as a propagandist, I was impressed by the stock that he put in the *Almanach icarien*.

His agents sold it all over France, and by 1844, 10,000 had been purchased. It is probable that he reached more people, particularly in rural and small-town France, through this means than through *Le Populaire*, his weekly newspaper.

Ronald Gosselin is the first historian to systematically explore even one of the types of almanach from this era. By the Second Republic, of course, the almanach républicain had become the standard, superseding both religious and general information publications, and while he naturally examines the republican almanach as an oppositional force under the previous regime, his main purpose is to study it as a way of understanding the breadth, depth, and shifting contours of republicanism during the Second Republic.

He makes three main arguments. First is to prove almanachs' importance as instruments of propaganda, which he does with each, citing numbers, titles, press run figures, indicators of response, and, especially in 1849 and beyond, nervous police reports and censorship efforts. Unlike the press, almanachs were difficult to police because their overt purpose was not political. They were thus more effective in times of repression such as the later republic. There can be no question that the resolute forces of opposition studied by John Merriman and Ted Margadant were influenced by democratic-socialist almanachs. Gosselin's second point is to use the almanachs as an indicator of the shift in republican opinion from a "straight" constitutional republicanism to démoc-soc ideology as the Second Republic wore on. Radicalization was palpable. And, in a carefully researched analysis, he proves that the social base of editorial staffs shifted significantly from moyen bourgeois to working class (understood largely as the *artisanat*). Although many were no doubt Rancière's aspiring proletarian literati, Gosselin's work underlines the fact that democratic socialism had deep roots in working people's France and that the doctrine encour-

aged workers who could do so to take up the pen in its defence. The third argument, and the centrepiece, concerns the content of démoc-soc though as seen at its most popular level. And that focus was above all the reappropriation of the French Revolution, now as the harbinger of democratic socialism. It was of course the Republic of '93 and a resuscitated Robespierre that provided the bridge, but most fundamental was l'idée révolutionnaire toute court. As Emile Littré wrote in his almanach, *La République du peuple*: "depuis 1789, à chaque crise révolutionnaire, l'idée révolutionnaire est entrée dans les croyances, dans les moeurs, dans les volontés du pays; à chaque crise, elle apparaît plus vivante, plus agissante, plus puissante. ... Voilà depuis l'être nouvelle, depuis 1789, notre bilan. Le passé est l'histoire de l'avenir. ... Chaque génération arrive plus révolutionnaire qu son aîné." (232)

This is also a very handsome book, beautifully printed and replete with illustrations and annexes reproducing the imagery and voices of the age. It is a wonderful tribute to the heroic struggles of that democratic and socialist left whose history in 1994 seems more relevant than ever before.

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Dan S. White, *Lost Comrades: Socialists of the Front Generation, 1918-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1992).

THIS IS A STUDY of the political careers of those the author calls "the most promising and original personalities to emerge within the socialist movement during the interwar decades." (2) The core of the group included the Belgian Hendrik de Man, Germans Carlo Mierendorff and Theodor Haubach, the British Oswald Mosley, and France's Marcel Déat. Though acting separately in different na-

tional contexts, they shared a common military experience during World War I that proved formative for their subsequent political careers — hence White's choice of the term Front Generation, a label that many of them chose for themselves.

According to White, Front Generation socialists emerged from the fighting profoundly disillusioned with war and the bourgeois society that had produced it, and fired with an idealistic determination to create a just and democratic post-war social order. In the trenches, they had discovered the enormous importance of the irrational and passion in human affairs — of the motivating role played by comradeship, will, and loyalty to the nation. Of middle class or aristocratic origin, the war provided their first real encounter with the popular classes; and they concluded that the ordinary trooper had admirable courage and practicality but little genuine understanding of the cause he was serving. They finished the war convinced of the importance of elite leadership and little inclined to idealize the working class.

The Front Generation's voluntarist activism and emphasis on emotion led it to reject the rationalist mechanistic economism of prevailing social democratic orthodoxy. Front Generation socialists argued that socialism must be renewed through an appeal to idealism and a universal passion for justice rather than relying in fatalist fashion on narrow economic calculation rooted in class interest. Socialism must undergo this moral revival or face marginalization as a political movement of blue collar workers. They were no happier with the orthodox conviction that, short of supposedly historically inevitable total capitalist breakdown, neither socialist gains nor amelioration of capitalist crises were possible. The alternative to such passivity was to abandon the Marxist preoccupation with ownership in favour of a mixed economy based on national economic planning. In formulating these views, Front Genera-

tion socialists rejected Kautskyite Marxism, drawing inspiration instead from contemporary liberal social and economic theory.

White argues that, confronted by the Depression and fascism, the Front Generation urged a revitalization of socialist politics through appeals to emotion, propaganda, promotion of a strong state and an emphasis on leadership. The aim was to beat fascism on its own ground. In Germany, Mierendorff led the anti-fascist Iron Front, a social democratic mass organization based on the same preoccupation with symbols, uniformed members and mass ceremony that Hitler had adopted with such success. Déat, disgusted by the immobilism of the SFIO, broke away in 1933 to found the Parti Socialiste de France, establishing uniformed paramilitary groups, and proposing an elite of technicians to manage an activist state.

White shows that Front Generation socialists saw planning as a way out of the Depression which could serve as a mobilizing myth to galvanize a popular alliance against the fascists. In his *Plan du Travail* (1933) de Man proposed a corporatist mixed economy involving job creation through public works and state control of the banks and monopolies. His ideas were partially implemented in his native Belgium, and in France both the PSdF and the trade unions promoted them.

The Front Generation's version of the politics of emotion made little headway against the fascist juggernaut. Moreover, White recognizes the danger that a preoccupation with the irrational, planning and the strong state could lead to an imitation of fascism rather than simply borrowing from it. Mosley was the first to succumb, abandoning Labour in 1932 to found the British Union of Fascists. After the Nazi victories of 1940 both de Man and Déat became collaborators, coming to the grotesque conclusion that, by overcoming the paralysis of parliamentary government, Nazi dictatorship had laid the

groundwork for socialist transformation. In contrast, Haubach, Mierendorff and many others became resisters. There was, White concludes, no inevitable trajectory from Front Generation thinking to fascism nor is there any clear reason why one person collaborated and another did not.

White's book is closely argued and written with great care; and it certainly presents as strong a case for the importance of these men as is likely to be made. No doubt Front Generation innovations did address important weaknesses in contemporary social democratic theory and practice. Further, White makes a strong case the Front Generation socialists continued to be inspired by their principles even as collaborators. He never fully conveys, however, the horrific meaning of collaboration and of the revolting anti-semitism of a Déat or Mosley. To refer to such characters as "lost comrades" is altogether too polite. And when he describes Hitler's vicious attack on organized labour as an effort "to redefine the status of the ... unions" [!] (134) it is clear that his sources have unhinged his judgement.

From the beginning Front Generation socialists were given to elitism. They underrated the working class capacity for self-organization and it did not occur to them that popular democracy might be essential to socialism. They were arguably as far from the revolutionary and democratic activism of a Marxist like Rosa Luxemburg as were the orthodox leaders they scorned. This brings us to the real tragedy of the 1930s, which was not, as White implies, that the Front Generation failed to rejuvenate social democracy. Rather, it was that the socialist movement was weakened by the split between Communists and social democrats, and that the socialist leadership was not committed either to socialist democracy or to taking advantage of the revolutionary potential the Depression years granted. Social democrats clung to a thoroughly constitutional parliamentarism, while the Communists promoted a Popu-

lar Front committed to restraining popular radicalism. And then, as today, what was missing was a clearly defined socialist democratic alternative to either reformed capitalism on the one hand or Soviet style bureaucratic planning on the other. None of these fundamental problems was addressed by socialists of the Front Generation who, in this crucial respect, showed no more promise or originality than their orthodox opponents.

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Stanley Pierson, *Marxist Intellectuals and the Working-Class Mentality in Germany, 1887-1912* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1993).

STANLEY PIERSON, the author of two earlier books on the intellectual history of British socialism before World War I, *Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism* (1973) and *British Socialists: The Journey from Fantasy to Politics* (1979), has now turned his hand to a similar study of German Social Democracy, narrating the history of the relationship between the SPD's Marxist thinkers and the party's programme, strategy, and politics in the period before World War I. This provides partly a particular lens for viewing the SPD's familiar intellectual history of the period, beginning with the revolt of the *Jungen* in the late 1880s and early 1890s, and continuing through a series of specific controversies in the mid-1890s (such as the one over the agrarian question) to the protracted and embittered fighting around Eduard Bernstein's ideas and the revisionist controversy between 1887-8 and 1903. But Pierson's book is also organized round the thematics of the intellectuals' tense and difficult relationship with the party rank-and-file in a more structural sense. His main argument finds the SPD's intellectuals largely isolated from the lives and concerns of ordinary workers, and sees the effort at creating a



socialist mentality in the working class as a failure.

The book is weakened by a lack of theoretical definition. What Pierson means by the category of the intellectual remains blurred. He approaches it in a wholly illustrative way via the intersecting biographies (presented in varying degrees of completeness) of some thirty or so key individuals. He focuses mainly on the cohort of academically trained writers, speakers, and theoreticians entering the party as young radicals in the 1880s and 1890s, who played a big part in defining the SPD's public profile during its relegalization after the end of the Anti-Socialist Law in 1890. Of course, the founding generation of leading Marxists — Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein, Franz Mehring, but also the Co-Chairman August Bebel himself — also figure centrally in Pierson's account. There were also later recruits, like the Naumannites Max Maurenbrecher and Gerhard Hildebrand, who joined the party from a liberal reforming background after the *National-sozialer Verein's* dissolution in 1903; or radicals like Anton Pannekoek and Rudolf Hilferding, who migrated to the SPD from elsewhere in Europe after the turn of the century. Various individuals wander in and out of the account. But on the whole Pierson is interested in the generations born in the 1860s and 1870s, reaching full adulthood just as the SPD embarked on its period of legality and mass growth, making their lives and careers from paid employment in the public sphere of the movement — as journalists, public speakers, party educators, writers and, of course, parliamentarians.

Pierson's cast of characters includes a cluster of individuals inspired by the ethical militancy of the *Jungen* (Paul Kampffmeyer, Conrad Schmidt, Hans Müller, Paul Ernst); a group of reformists who became a vital right-wing nexus in the SPD's Reichstag fraction by the end of the 1890s, including Richard Clawer, Wolfgang Heine, and Eduard David; defectors from the radical wing of liberal

reform (Paul Göhre, as well as Maurenbrecher and Hildebrand mentioned above); Joseph Bloch and his collaborators on *Sozialistische Monatshefte*; the advocates of radical pedagogy such as Otto Rühle and Heinrich Schulz; radical women such as Rosa Luxemburg and Lily Braun; and so on. The influence of Neo-Kantianism, partly through the leading architects of the Marburg school (Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp), partly through the philosophical writings in *Neue Zeit* and elsewhere of people like Franz Staudinger, was also a strand in this story. Two individuals who occupied a special place in the fierce disputations around the party programme in the 1890s and after, Heinrich Braun, a contemporary of Kautsky's from Vienna (who also married Lily Braun), and Max Schippel, one of the SPD's leading journalists in the 1890s, were slightly older (born 1854 and 1859 respectively), and do not quite fit the generational pattern mentioned above.

The centrepiece of Pierson's book is clearly the revisionist controversy (occupying three substantial chapters, 121-85), and by concentrating on the involvement of the "academics" as a distinct category of participants in the debates, he brings the social tensions between "workers" and "intellectuals" convincingly to the fore. After Bernstein's initial intervention, there is a sense in which the affair turned very quickly into a protracted series of heated exchanges among the SPD's formal intellectuals in this way, through which the Bebel-Kautsky leadership successfully identified the reformist temptation with the suspect backgrounds and inadequate class credentials of their opponents. After the first climax had passed during 1900-01, this logic increasingly took over with Braun in particular seeking a rallying-point unencumbered by the Bernstein affair *per se*, and the SPD leadership hammering relentlessly on the charge of class unreliability. As Pierson shows, this confrontation was anticipated in 1895-6 in debates over the problems of

building a socialist culture with academic renegades from the bourgeoisie, and at the Gotha Congress (1896) working-class delegates were already denouncing such intellectuals as intruders seeking substitutes for their "shipwrecked" conventional careers. Things came to a head in the first half of 1903, centred to a great extent on an article published by a young protégé of Braun, Georg Bernhard (not an academic, interestingly, but a bank clerk by occupation), in the non-socialist periodical edited by Maximilian Harden, *Die Zukunft*. The leadership's big guns were predictably brought out against this "betrayal," accusing Bernhard and his supporters of doing the enemy's work. At the Dresden Congress (1903) the revisionists were finally routed, and orthodoxy became restored by limited but decisive administrative purges at *Vorwärts* and other organs of the movement. As Bebel had said: "At Dresden I will preach the most intensive distrust of all those who come to us as academics and intellectuals." (159)

Substantively the debates had focused on the importance of the SPD emerging from its historic and disabling class-political isolation (as the revisionists saw it) to seek electoral allies in the sympathetic strata of the middle class, or of reaffirming its classical faith in the ultimate majoritarian victory of the proletariat (as the upholders of orthodoxy preferred), a conflict which also turned increasingly on the issue of patriotism and the SPD's putative accommodation to defense policy and other aspects of Germany's Great Power status in the world, particularly after the party's disappointing performance in the 1907 elections (in which support for the government's colonial policies had become a key issue). Braun and Bloch had been arguing the case for a politics of rapprochement with the liberal parties for some time, and while a limited electoral pact was actually achieved in the next elections of 1912, this confirmed the SPD's left wing in their deeply held conviction that the reformists

were waiting to sell the party down the river. As Pannekoek baldly said, invoking the counter-wisdom of the radical left: "Our strength lies in our isolation from bourgeois thought." (237) On the eve of World War I, therefore (for some reason Pierson chooses to end his account in 1912), a fairly extreme confrontation had begun to reappear, further overdetermined of course by many other issues, including the continuing fallout from the famous mass strike discussion of 1904-6.

Pierson does a reasonable job of laying this story out. Potentially the most interesting parts of the account are those dealing with the coalescence of an organized counter-public within the SPD, when first Heinrich Braun and then Joseph Bloch sought to mount a sustained political challenge to the movement's accepted ideas. We have known from Roger Fletcher's work, *Revisionism and Empire: Socialist Imperialism in Germany, 1897-1914* (1984), that Bloch imagined this project via his journal *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, pursuing a broad reformist consensus among the opinion-makers of the party, building bridges to a similar non-socialist milieu, and arguing for the larger goal of working-class national integration around an avowedly anti-Marxist and imperialist outlook. Pierson covers some of the same ground, but without Fletcher's richness of illustration. Similarly, Braun nursed similar ambitions after the turn of the century, enjoying excellent relations with non-socialist intellectuals and left-liberal politicians of one tendency or another, which descended in part through his journal, the *Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*, launched back in 1888. During the early 1900s Pierson refers briefly to the political salon organized by Braun and others on Thursday evenings at the *Cafés des Westens* in Berlin (a circle including the Brauns, Bloch, a network of regular writers for *Sozialistische Monatshefte* such as David, Kampffmeyer, Schmidt, and others, Bernstein, newcomers such as Friedrich Stampfer and Hugo Haase, and non-

socialists like Werner Sombart and Maxilian Harden), but this line of analysis is not developed any further. In general, the book is weak on the institutional and social contexts of inner-party life, which might have grounded Pierson's intellectual vignettes and potted biographies in a more useful structural account of the party intelligentsia and its conditions of existence.

In the end, *Marxist Intellectuals and the Working-Class Mentality* is far too attenuated in its approach. The surrounding context of SPD history and historiography, and of the *Kaiserreich* at large, is thinly developed, with inadequate use of the important supports the existing literatures can provide. The unwillingness to take on the subject of intellectuals in a more theoretical and systematic way, to provide a structural account of the place of intellectuals of different kinds in the labour movement, is disappointing, and falls beneath the level some other recent accounts have led us to expect (see, for instance, Carl Levy, ed., *Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914*, [1987]). The references to Gramsci in particular (when we finally get to them, in the unsatisfactory four-page Epilogue) are misleading and jejune. Finally, Pierson repeats the familiar view that the SPD's formal Marxist culture was irrelevant to the lives of the ordinary working-class party members, but this is backed up neither by evidence nor by a theoretical account of how popular ideologies are formed and do their work.

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José Gotovitch, Pascal Delwit et Jean-Michel DeWaele, *L'Europe des communistes* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe 1992) (coll. "Identités politiques européennes").

CE PETIT LIVRE est un pari. Partant de l'idée que pour comprendre notre époque

il faudra comprendre le communisme, deux politologues et un historien se sont fixés pour objectif d'évaluer la signification de ce que fut le communisme en Europe occidentale qui, de tradition sinon de coeur, était loin du communisme soviétique. Le présupposé revendiqué est l'existence d'identités nationales significatives dans la construction et l'évolution des partis communistes occidentaux. L'approche est interdisciplinaire et ouvre des chantiers de recherches dans la lignée des travaux du laboratoire d'histoire et de sociologie du communisme de l'Université de Paris X (Nanterre) et du groupe de recherches de l'Université libre de Bruxelles. La question centrale concerne l'utilité des PC d'Europe occidentale.

Cette traversée du siècle commence avec la naissance de l'Internationale communiste (IC) en 1919 et se termine avec la suspension du Parti communiste d'Union Soviétique en 1991. Les partis communistes sont nés pour détruire le capitalisme et pour faire rempart à la révolution russe naissante. Le congrès constitutif de l'IC, en mars 1919, entérine la scission du mouvement ouvrier à la suite de la révolution bolchevique et de l'attitude des socialistes avant et pendant la Première guerre mondiale.

*L'Europe des communistes* nous entraîne dans le va-et-vient des idées et des hommes entre l'Internationale et les partis nationaux. La clef des tensions à venir est là. Confrontée à des groupes révolutionnaires disparates, l'IC prend dès 1920 des mesures de resserrement tant au plan idéologique qu'organisationnel. Les 21 conditions d'adhésion ont pour but de créer un parti prolétarien international mais elles rencontrent beaucoup de difficultés d'application tant au plan politique que syndical. Le centralisme autoritaire, le suivisme inconditionnel, l'assujettissement des syndicats aux partis, toutes ces exigences heurtent les traditions du mouvement ouvrier. Les partis communistes réussissent cependant à naître dans ces divisions.

Le soutien au régime soviétique remplace rapidement l'espoir révolutionnaire. L'IC restera marquée par ses tendances contradictoires, la centralisation autoritaire d'une part et la nécessité de développer de grands partis nationaux d'autre part. Elle aura à cœur de préserver l'unanimité du monde communiste vis-à-vis de l'URSS et de l'orthodoxie idéologique, tout en lui offrant en contrepartie la force d'une affiliation internationale et la référence à un modèle social réel né du processus révolutionnaire. Les replis sectaires alternent avec les phases d'ouverture, de repositionnement dans le contexte national et de politique unitaire mais la polarisation de la guerre froide vient anéantir le crédit de participation à la Résistance et l'insertion dans la vie politique nationale.

Le mouvement international et les partis nationaux sont ensuite touchés par plusieurs crises graves: le XXe congrès et l'écrasement de l'insurrection hongroise en 1956. Les partis nationaux y réagissent différemment, c'est la fin de l'unanimité dans le monde communiste. Bientôt certains PC prônent une voie nationale au socialisme et la notion de polycentrisme prend forme. En 1968, l'éclosion d'un vaste mouvement de revendications qualitatives qui se développe hors des PC et les dépasse sur leur gauche, et l'écrasement du «printemps de Prague» marquent une rupture nationale et internationale. Les rapports avec l'URSS ne seront plus jamais les mêmes.

Ici se fait jour le véritable défi pour les PC occidentaux, les évolutions sociales qu'ils appréhendent difficilement. Après 1968 et une période de turbulence et d'activisme parfois forcené, le communisme occidental sort cependant revivifié même si les premières initiatives naissent hors de lui. Cette période de renouveau trouve son expression dans l'eurocommunisme mais, au regard du siècle, cet aboutissement se révèle une courte parenthèse. La crise économique de la fin des années 1970 et la reprise de la guerre froide signalent la fin des illusions. Les PC perdent

l'initiative et la majorité, grands ou petits partis, ne réussit pas à s'adapter aux grandes mutations sociales et culturelles des années 1980.

Avec l'effondrement du socialisme à l'Est, s'effondre aussi un des piliers de l'identité communiste, la référence au modèle soviétique. Les PC sont déstabilisés. Le renouvellement du projet politique n'est toutefois pas impossible. Le PC italien se propose d'ouvrir une troisième phase dans l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier occidental. S'avisant de la mondialisation et de l'interdépendance accrue de chaque problème crucial, le PCI conclue que les réponses nationales sont vaines. Ses thèses majeures d'intervention sont l'écologie, les rapports Nord-Sud, le désarmement, le mode de développement, l'individu plutôt que les masses comme sujet nouveau du communisme, le féminisme. Le modèle de développement qu'il envisage est basé sur la défense de l'environnement et la croissance qualitative.

Le PC jouent un rôle politique considérable pendant tout le siècle. Ils incarnent des valeurs, une conception optimiste de l'avenir, une utopie. Ils ont été porteurs et moteurs des luttes sociales, éléments importants de la riposte au fascisme; ils ont été un creuset d'intégration des immigrants; ils ont revendiqué et été les gardiens des acquis sociaux; ils ont pesé sur la ligne des partis sociaux-démocrates. Ils ont développé une culture spécifique, hors de la socialisation scolaire, axée sur l'action, la propagande, le recrutement. Ils ont toutefois été incapables d'entamer profondément les organisations sociales-démocrates fortement structurées. Leurs liens avec l'URSS étaient des signes distinctifs par rapport aux sociaux-démocrates et aux groupuscules gauchistes. Le mythe de la révolution russe, ébranlé en 1956 et 1968, s'est écroulé avec la perestroïka. Si le système communiste est mort, les questions posées et les faits dénoncés par le mouvement communiste restent d'actualité.

*L'Europe des communistes* nous restitue la complexité de l'histoire des PC occidentaux. Autant il est utile de comprendre les causes de la diversité d'implantation d'un grand parti de masse comme le PCF ou d'un groupuscule comme le PC anglais, autant il est essentiel de constater que chaque parti vit deux chronologies simultanées et distinctes. Il y a celle du mouvement international et ses grandes dates charnières, et il y a celle du parti national. L'intégration de pratiques politiques différentes influence les relations à l'intérieur et les relations avec les autres partis du mouvement communiste international. De grands combats à caractère transnational, tel l'antifascisme, puisent aux traditions de lutte nationales. C'est tout cela que ce livre expose.

Il montre aussi que les communistes n'ont pas pu, tout comme les socialistes avant eux, conserver une homogénéité théorique qui s'est sans cesse heurtée aux réalités historiques. Si, aujourd'hui, le renouvellement du projet politique semble échapper aux contraintes nationales, c'est bien parce qu'il s'appuie sur des réalités qui y échappent elles-mêmes. Cela n'a toutefois pas empêché les PC d'avoir des objectifs politiques et sociaux, un rayonnement culturel et d'agir, avec plus ou moins de succès, selon leur statut, leur poids politique, leur esprit d'indépendance.

*L'Europe des communistes* présente un bilan largement positif de la signification du phénomène communiste. Ce bilan s'articule sur des phases nationales mais il concerne surtout les grands partis et des objectifs qui, pour la plupart, intéressaient toute la gauche. Il serait utile de connaître le bilan de l'utilité des PC par rapport aux mouvements ouvriers nationaux dont ils sont issus, par rapport à la social-démocratie, car la tendance unitaire à la base a toujours été présente dans le contexte national. Cela aussi fait partie de la signification du communisme en Europe occidentale.

L'originalité de cette étude réside toutefois dans la tentative de donner au public francophone un aperçu d'ensemble des partis communistes d'Europe occidentale. Il permet une première prise de contact accessible pour un large public à un sujet très vaste. A chaque étape de développement, les ramifications nationales sont présentées. Une bonne bibliographie de sources secondaires, qui ne néglige pas les sources anglo-américaines, permet une mise à jour tout à fait bienvenue dans ce champ de recherche. Les petits partis, souvent négligés par le passé, reçoivent ici un éclairage adéquat dans une présentation claire de leur cheminement parallèle. Il aurait cependant été souhaitable de pouvoir lire le texte des 21 conditions de 1920 car elles tiennent en quelques pages et elles focalisent la volonté de centralisation autoritaire de l'IC et les réactions hésitantes des partis de gauche partout en Europe.

Au départ, ce livre se fixait comme objectif de comprendre la signification du phénomène communiste dans ce siècle en distinguant ce qu'il devait aux conditions nationales spécifiques de son développement. En donnant à réfléchir sur le poids des traditions et sur la diversité européenne dans ses formes politiques, il a globalement tenu son pari.

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*Les Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1993).

LES SWITZER has written a highly readable synthesis of the considerably body of scholarly work focusing on the Ciskei region of the eastern Cape of South Africa. Following on the work of Shula Marks, he is concerned with "the ambiguities of power and resistance in the struggle for South Africa." (4) One of the most heavily missionized areas of south-

ern Africa by the early 19th century, the Ciskei had produced by the late 19th century — courtesy of the need for the largely Protestant communicants to be literate — an articulate and increasingly politicized African elite intent on securing and expanding its civil rights. While the political centre of black politics shifted to the gold-producing regions of the Transvaal in the early 20th century, political activists continued to find fertile ground in the Ciskei through the 1970s. Switzer's study ends with the granting of "independence" by the South African apartheid state to the puppet government of Lennox Sebe in 1981.

Switzer's point of departure is Antonio Gramsci's concept of the hegemonic state. While Switzer's brief introductory chapter is notable for the clarity with which he explains the subtleties of Gramscian, instrumentalist, and structuralist theories of the state, and their relevance to South African history, scholars of critical theory (to whom Switzer specifically addresses himself in his introduction), may be somewhat disappointed by the balance of the book. Though the "vanguard of the Xhosa polity," the "vanguard of the Mfengu elite," and the "vanguard of the educated elite" all make appearances, Gramsci himself rates a further scant two mentions.

The theoretical framework is thus implicit, rather than explicit in the text, and given that the University of Wisconsin Press is marketing the book for classroom use, Switzer's service to two masters will ultimately benefit students, who should find this book accessible. Read as a companion to a broader general history of South Africa, Switzer's book adds tone and depth to the central issues of power and resistance in this historically troubled land.

In examining the history which ultimately produced Sebe, and his ambiguous position within the South African state, Switzer takes the long view. The book is divided into three parts. The first part examines the pre-colonial period, and the

early interactions between the Xhosa and the Dutch in the 18th century and then between the Xhosa and the British settlers who arrived in the early 19th century, as well as the interactions between the Xhosa, the Dutch, the British, and other Xhosa-speaking peoples (including the Mfengu and the Thembu) in the Ciskei. The second section of the book explores the creation of a capitalist colonial economy, and the interconnections between this new economy, the missionary enterprise in the Ciskei, and the beginnings of African nationalism. The churches and their mission schools produced both the African petty bourgeoisie who dominated the arena of political activism through the early 20th century, as well as their harshest critics, the millenarianists, who sought to represent the interests of the far-larger peasant and proletarian classes, drawing their constituency from both practising Christians and new converts. It was these men (and occasionally women) who, in the 1920s and 1930s, rejected both the African petty bourgeoisie and white society in favour of a revitalized African "traditionalism."

The third part of the book specifically examines state repression and political activism in the Ciskei. Though elite African politics continued to be dominated by mission-trained activists — this was the case with the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) founded in the early 1940s, as well as with the Africanists who rejected the ANC in the late 1950s to establish the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) — there was also a strong strain of broader popular activism, beginning with the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), which enjoyed considerable support in the eastern Cape's port city of East London in the 1920s. While the apartheid state's attempts to control African labour after 1948 had a devastating effect on the Ciskei reserve, as more and more "surplus" people were dumped on its overworked and congested land, it was ultimately labour activists, Switzer argues,

who were best positioned (courtesy of the growing consumer and economic clout of essential industrial and mining workers), to take advantage of the hegemonic crisis faced by the South African state in the 1970s and 1980s. For Xhosa-speakers trapped in the Ciskei, however, the story was one of despair, especially after Sebe accepted independence in 1981, and then maintained power through a state structure easily as repressive as that of the greater South African state. Here one might have wished for a chapter on the nature of corruption in Sebe's independent Ciskei, although such research may have been difficult to do until quite recently.

For specialists in the field, much of the book will seem familiar. All the well-known debates are here — the Colin Bundy/Jack Lewis debate about the size of the peasant farming class and its prosperity in the mid-to-late-19th century; the Alan Webster/Julian Cobbing hypothesis questioning the nature of the Mfecane and its implications; and the Charles Simkins/J.B. Knight-G. Lenta disagreement over the time frame for the decline in the productive capacity of the Ciskei. Switzer has, however, also done original research, most notably in chapter seven, "The Underdevelopment of an African Reserve," which relies mainly on content analyses of major African newspapers and missionary journals, as well as of the meetings of the Ciskeian General Council (created under government auspices in 1934 to represent local African interests), and of government studies of land use and population pressure in the Ciskei reserve. An extensive set of annotated endnotes compensate for some of the necessary compression in the text, but there is no bibliography — a regrettable oversight in a work of synthesis. As a work of synthesis, however, *Power and Resistance* is an impressive and welcome addition to the field of South African studies.

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Dan La Botz, *Mask of Democracy: Labor Suppression in Mexico Today* (Montréal and New York: Black Rose Books 1992).

AS THE NORTH American Free Trade Agreement comes into effect, complete with Parallel Agreements, labour educators, activists and researchers continue to look for ways to understand and contest the realities of continentalization. In this context, Dan La Botz has provided an important contribution to our understanding of the recent history of trade union experiences in Mexico. His book, *Mask of Democracy: Labor Suppression in Mexico Today*, provides a good overview of Mexican labour law and labour history. He offers detailed accounts of the recent experiences of Mexican workers and trade unions in the steel, nuclear, fish, airline, petroleum, mining, telephone, brewery, rubber and automotive industries and writes a devastating account of the working experiences in the *maquiladora* industries in northern and border cities.

La Botz does not provide the reader with a complete recent history of the labour movement in Mexico, a topic on which he has published an earlier, 1988, volume. Rather, his intention is to present a selection of cases in which the rights of workers have been denied. The author wishes to bring international public opinion to bear on the Mexican government and hold it accountable to the International Labour Organisation's conventions on labour rights to which it is signatory.

This is an important book for two reasons. First, La Botz offers excruciatingly detailed historical accounts of the experiences of specific trade unions and in so doing instructs the reader on the workers of Mexican corporatism in a very concrete manner. With the use of newspaper files, interviews, union documents, academic research, and other sources, the reader is introduced to the labour boards and the courts, the official party and official trade unions, the democratic trade union movements and their diverse strate-

gies. The cases are linked to the broader export-oriented development strategy pursued by the state over the last 15 years, and they demonstrate that labour rights have been weakened, not strengthened, as a result of the state's liberalization strategy. The reader is given evidence that oppositional labour movements have a long history in Mexican social and political life and, for them, demands for autonomy and democracy are central issues in their conflicts with the state. In a very accessible manner, La Botz provides necessary information for the reader who wishes to understand the conditions Mexican workers face as they are brought into NAFTA in 1994.

Among the left in Mexico, there is an ongoing debate with respect to the possibilities and probabilities of labour law reform. Some argue that labour law, as it is written, is at the heart of corporatist social control and therefore ought to be abandoned. Others argue that if the law were to be applied as it is written, the situation for workers would improve tremendously. La Botz is sweeping in his indictment of Mexican corporatism. He is often unclear, however, as to whether he holds labour law, the lack of respect for labour law, the official party structure, the logic of international capitalism, or all of these responsible for labour rights abuses. La Botz argues that trade union rights are not respected in Mexico, due to the "systematic infringement of constitutionally granted workers' rights by the everyday practice of labor relations as exercised by the states, the judicial system, law enforcement agencies, employers and official unions." (3) Through a discussion of the labour relations regime, he portrays the crisis of labour in its attempts to confront the structures of power in Mexican society. Seen in its complexity through the series of experiences and defeats for labour as presented by La Botz, it appears that the issues continually return to the state-society relationship.

Yet in La Botz's work we see explicit reference made to the importance of the

international regulation of labour rights and this is the second reason why his book is particularly important in the present conjuncture. Not only is this question raised in the introduction by Ray Marshall of the International Labour Rights Education and Research Fund, but it was a central issue in the debate over the Parallel Agreements to NAFTA among labour organizations throughout North America. Mexican activists proposed that NAFTA be linked to ILO conventions with respect to labour rights, and organizations throughout the continent raised demands that capital be prevented from engaging in "social dumping," exploiting the lack of effective union representation, democratic participation or living wage rates, to compete in international markets. La Botz's book provides the kind of evidence that the anti-free trade organizations utilized during this debate.

Currently, throughout the continent, we see a rethinking of internationalism among different elements of national labour movements. After reading the evidence of the defeats of the Mexican democratic labour movement presented by the author, one is compelled to ask questions about the relationship between the international and national levels of political activity. The strategy which demands that trade-related labour standards be instituted on a continental basis is one that is shared by labour activists in Canada, the United States and Mexico, but it would be a mistake to assume that Mexican labour has no recourse but to go to the level of international politics to better position itself to confront labour rights abuses; no more than the US labour movement can deal with the suppression of labour rights and democratic representation in its own context by appealing to supra-national institutions. These are concerns that will have to be addressed at the national level. The argument could be made from La Botz's own historical data that Mexican democratic labour movements develop international relationships and strategies in order to put pressure on their own gov-



ernment in effect, widening the legitimate space in national politics by gaining credibility for demands internationally. Even when supra-national regulatory provisions are up for discussion, Mexican activists are concerned to push for fundamental changes in national social and political life.

*Mask of Democracy* could have benefited from some careful editing. It is not apparent why the history of trade unionism does not appear until chapter three, nor why the "chronology of Mexican labour laws" is not placed with the chapter on labour law, nor why the special case study on the steel industry is set apart from other similar studies in the body of the chapter on privatization during the mid-1980s. It might have been easier for the reader to draw conclusions from the cases, if, at the end of each, La Botz had made a clearer indication of which ILO conventions were broken. Apart from some unevenness, which leaves the telephone workers story uncharacteristically weaker than the others, the book covers a remarkable amount of territory and does so very well. La Botz is concerned with the historical complexity of Mexican labour movements and questions are raised with respect to labour internationalism making *Mask of Democracy* an important contribution to our understanding of the implications of continentalization for the lives of Mexican workers.

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Sarah C. White, *Arguing with the Crocodile: Gender and Class in Bangladesh* (London: Zed Books 1992).

Govind Kelkar and Dev Nathan, *Gender and Tribe: Women, Land and Forests in Jharkhand* (New Delhi: Kali for Women 1991).

THE GREAT WAVE of "multiculturalism and diversity" in the US, partly a product of postcolonialism, emerged, interest-

ingly, when "cultural fragmentation" under global capitalism was also taking place. One result is a spurt of studies on "other" women, including Third World, and their cultures. The two books under review are dealing with women's status in different local situations of Third World countries, something postcolonialists and multiculturalists are propagating for. It is of course very important that Third World sensibilities should be brought into play repeatedly in order to counteract the cultural imperialism of thinkers and historians who universally apply concepts of First World derivation without giving a second thought to the social differences that must qualify those concepts historically and contextually. Since the 1970s, the vernacular of poor countries has translated into an international language of aid discourse and "diverse realities across the world are reduced to 'key' indicators which can serve as the basis of comparison." The international agencies, mainly inspired by the idea of population control, are targeting women of Third World countries, demonstrating a clear connection between subordination of these women and international domination.

The ability of a country to respond effectively to the new constraints and opportunities of internationalization depends not simply on the policies they implement, but on the character of this interaction with the international economy in the preceding period. With this dependence comes the necessary deprivation for dictating agendas and accommodating more and more the agenda of donor countries. In this context "Bangladesh government is in fact capitalising on the opportunities afforded by the 'discovery of women' by the western aid community." Since only women have the biological capacity to reproduce, they must be recognized as the main clients in population programmes. As a result, the programmes are distorted to fit the funders' political needs. "Women" have a symbolic significance both for international aid agencies and for various groups that compete for

power within the Bangladesh nation state. Thus the "international aid agencies got the right to intervene in Bangladesh's (an Islamic state) most private place, its women's bodies." (White: 13-4) which Islamic tradition holds should be kept behind Purdah, beyond the gaze of outsiders.

The fact is that women became of interest because they represented new sources of labour and capital formation (through rural savings schemes) and new potential consumers of capital inputs. In order to connect these new discoveries about Bangladeshi women to their agenda, these studies have unfortunately created further confusions. Whereas, going out to work is considered as a sign for lower status within the local imagery, the population programme promoters observe it as an indicator of higher female status. These studies widely note the contradiction that female status is higher in poorer households, thus suggesting a tension between the interest of gender equality and economic advancement. One obvious implication to be drawn is that poverty is good for women. Therefore, there is no need to take these women out of their poverty. No wonder development programmes are failing, neglecting to improve the condition of these women. White gives the example of an NGOS newspaper which in 1989 "featured a picture of women squatting at the roadside breaking bricks in the burning sun for a pittance" and this was heralded as a sign of progress. (25)

White claims that virtually every text on women in Bangladesh has been funded by foreign aid. Studies are predominantly descriptive, substantiating a selection of key themes. To get funding familiarity with the international discourse is of far greater importance than familiarity with Bengali language. This means studies which are mostly in the English language can be read only by a small elite of Bangladesh society. It restricts opposition to the aid discourse orthodoxies, which are less likely to be challenged by indigenous

voices with different perspectives. Bangladeshis are at a disadvantage, as they have not had the same ease of access to publication, research funds, forums, or international conferences and journals, where the issues are discussed. (17)

Compounding the problem, the Bangladesh government created a ministry of women's affairs, a National Women's organization, and increased the number of jobs and official positions reserved for women. The result was not more power for women, but the promotion of other party agendas. Thus, the changing imagery of Bangladeshi women in fact originates in the aid community, rather than in Bangladeshi society itself.

The author's contention is that this has had a highly significant impact on the kinds of issues that are identified, the way they are treated, and the solutions that are proposed. To rectify this problem Susan White bases her study on class analyses, while concentrating on three main questions; first, she looks at connections across different aspects of Bangladeshi village life: how the activities of men and women relate to class and gender divisions and how closely the economic and social are intertwined; second, White considers debates on women's work and status and questions how well they represent people's priorities and their interpretation of what they do. Third, arguing for a shift of focus from 'women' to gender, she sees gender as a 'contested image,' the content of which is not fixed but variable, continually being defined and redefined by context and interest. This is a commendable work on Bangladeshi women, a work flying in the face of a large number of studies funded by population programmes which are pushing their own distorting agenda.

At the same time, we should be aware that by focusing on a local situation or struggle in isolation, offering blind support to community-based claims and rights, there is always the possibility of undercutting women's liberation. The case of the Jharkhand movement in India

is important in this regard. In recent years community-based claims for rights and justice have gained momentum. Drawing upon memories of "collective pain" and "secretion of victims" communities create a new text in which the biography of the individual self is completely subsumed by the equally imaginary biography of the group. The individual is thus subjugated to the group and becomes hostage to a created past. Group demands for the protection of 'ways of life' may even conflict with individual rights, which generally happens in the case of women's rights.

It is this context of women's rights which are addressed in *Gender and Tribe*. Due to the specific composition of the leadership of the Jharkhand movement, rights to reclaim forests are more important for the top section of adivasi society than gathering rights, which were traditionally women's domain. The Jharkhand movement is a product of the denudation of India's forests and the subsequent policies made under the guidance of ecocentrics and international development agencies. For the World Bank, women have become the means by which environmental ends are achieved and part of this has involved the manipulation of meaning in the vocabularies of gender and development analysis. According to this analysis poverty is the cause of environmentally unfriendly behaviour.

But based on a gender perspective, Kelkar and Nathan explain that environment issues and women's status can be understood only by looking at the historical context of the mode of production of these tribal societies. "Mainstream" Indian civilization was set up by "subjugating the forest dwellers and clearing the forests for settled cultivation." (112) In the interaction of Jharkhandi society with the state formations of the plains — initially with the Mughal raj and much more so with British colonialism — this society has evolved in the direction of a patriarchal class society. But more important, movements of the adivasis that tried to

meet the challenges of the colonial and post-colonial states, also sought to increase male control and take the society in the direction of establishing patriarchal systems of male-female relations. "The absence of any seclusion of women in the tribal situation, the free mixing of adolescents of both sexes, the choices of women and men with regard to their marriage partner, the ease of divorce, the practice of widow remarriage — all come under severe attack in the period of formation of caste society," note Kelkar and Nathan. (113-4) In the Jharkhand movement women are excluded from adivasi politics, their rights to gather and sell forest produce deemed the least important practice to save. This happened, as Kelkar and Nathan argue, because the top section of tribal society has adopted the practices of non-tribal castes, where women are withdrawn from marketing and thus isolated from the market as a place of social interaction. The domestication of women's lives requires women to become good wives and mothers, necessitating the narrowing of gender roles. These ideas, mostly adopted from non-tribal communities and also based on the concept of modernization and ecocentrics, are an integral part of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) movement.

As communal property dissolves and the ownership of land is constricted as an individual right with no mediation of and control by the community, tribal women are reduced to full non-owning workers. The resulting degradation of women's rights was necessary to the establishment of patriarchy, curtailing access to forests. Ownership and labour are combined, not separated, but women in tribal society relate to communal property only as workers and not as owners. While owners are workers too the reverse does not hold. Communal property itself is based on the appropriation of the labour of non-owning producers, in this case in married women, by the corporate community, or by those who act on its behalf and monopolize its economic, and political posi-

tions. Thus the non-owning status of women (which means patrilineality) along with patrilocality ensure that women are the only non-owning producers, whose labour is accumulated and appropriated by men. The emerging phenomenon of witch hunting in these tribal societies shows that women once had a relatively high status, but now that status is being degraded in the process of establishing patriarchy.

Having understood the gendered context and character of the Jharkhand movement, Kelkar and Nathan correctly point out that ecological balance cannot be a mere re-statement of the old systems (expressed in taboos and religious practices) of forest production or a re-creation of the past, which in any case is not possible. "The aim of ecological balance will have to be re-established on a new basis that includes, along with production for direct use, also production for exchange" (136) and women's rights. Fortunately, with the beginnings of a separate organization of Jharkhandi women, the picture has begun to change and the political movement for Jharkhand has begun to address itself, however, partially and fitfully, to the question of how to strengthen the position of women in Jharkhandi society.

The authors of these two books are able to provide important insights and appropriate suggestions to improve Third World women's lives, because, unlike the postcolonialist approaches, they do not separate their studies from the historical context of global capitalism, the role of international agencies, the place of nation states within neocolonial links, modes of production, and class struggle. Questions come to mind. If local studies of 'other' cultures, specially centred on women, are displaced from their larger context, as is often the case in postcolonialist literatures, how can we ever know that these studies are formulated and supported by capitalist forces which pursue their own agenda? How can we ever hope to develop a strategy to liberate these women or truly improve their status and not as

capitalist and patriarchal forces would like to define them for us? One wonders if postcolonialist approaches are in fact helping to promote inequality and increased subordination of weaker sections of societies by decontextualizing their local histories and local struggles from wider colonial and neocolonial capitalist relations. This separation can only consolidate new international divisions of labour and increased exploitation of the new "discovered" women of the "Third World."

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Alan M. Wald, *The Responsibility of Intellectuals: Selected Essays on Marxist Traditions in Cultural Commitment* (New Jersey and London: Humanities Press 1992).

HAVING READ James T. Farrell: *The Revolutionary Socialist Years* (1978) by Alan Wald, I was eager to read his recent collection of essays. In most ways, the title of this new book — taken from Noam Chomsky's 1967 *New York Review of Books* essay — says it all. Wald's central concern in both books is to ponder and explore the dilemma facing the "responsible" left-wing intellectual in both academic and political life, using his own life as his first example. Wald begins: "The single most important and treasured fact of my political, intellectual and personal life to date is that I had the good fortune to be a college student during the 1960s." As a consequence, Wald believes that his scholarly essays are "critical extensions of the theory and practice absorbed and lived in that decade [the 1960s]." (xi) The book, however, avoids being preachy, and although sober, it is not dogmatic. Wald's research is thorough, and can't help but influence his thinking as time goes by. Thus priorities change as the essays are written (from roughly 1978 to

1991), particularly in the 1980s when he focuses his political work on anti-racist activism and education. Nonetheless Wald's commitment to anti-stalinist Marxist thought remains the same. He writes: "'Anti-Stalinism' as a political posture had progressive political potential only so long as it was linked to a positive vision of revolutionary socialism (which for me includes some of the key elements of Trotskyism). ... I ... argue that the early stages of the cultural politics of this tradition embody a highly significant component of the socialist legacy." (xvi)

Wald, then, is concerned primarily with the anti-stalinist left and with the history of American Trotskyism. As such, his essays consist of a number of portraits of Trotskyist intellectuals and cultural workers, including lesser known figures. "Part I: Trotskyism and Anti-Stalinism" includes five related essays, four of which could be considered a form of political life writing whose aim is to recollect the heroes of American Trotskyism, blemishes and all (and these blemishes include the sexist practices of otherwise politically correct men). The list: the sculptor, Duncan Ferguson; the writer and activist, Victor Serge; the "Black Revolutionary writer," C.L.R. James; and the Trotskyist lawyer, Michael Smith. Each of these characters plays a key part in the drama of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or its press (Serge's "fugitive pieces" in the *New Internationalist* 40), and in the history of American revolutionary art, writing and politics.

Part II of Wald's book is titled "Communism and Culture." This section focuses on controversial writers and critics in the early Communist movement. It is primarily a collection of book reviews turned into political essays, including an incisive review of Cary Nelson's *Repression and Recovery: Modern American Poetry and the Politics of Cultural Memory, 1910-1945* (1989), a book Wald applauds because its theory "derives from an extensive encounter with the excluded 'others.'" At the same time, however,

Wald is critical of "the methodological foundation of the book," which, for all its attractiveness is "but the seat of many ambiguities," adhering as it does, he says, to "the dubious 'post-Marxism; of the likes of Chantal Mouffe or Ernesto Laclau. Again and again, Wald uses histories and lives in order to clarify his call for political responsibility. "Post-Marxism" is obviously not responsible enough. Wald's censure is conspicuous. Post-Marxism is "arguably a return to a pre-Marxism, based upon a caricature of classical Marxist texts." (128-9)

The most invigorating section of the book is Part III, "Race and Culture." In six separate essays Wald investigates concepts of cultural difference, unveiling class, race and ethnic prejudice in the university, and in certain schools of thought — such as the "Ethnicity School" (133-42) and the methodology which informs the theory of "internal colonialism." (168-79) Wald reclaims early Black nationalist scholarship in the United States, such as Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folks* (1903), and criticizes well-meaning contemporary theories of ethnicity such as Werner Sollers' otherwise "coherent cultural analysis," *Beyond Ethnicity* (1986), largely because it must privilege the category of ethnicity — primarily European — over race. For Wald, this is not the most responsible posture.

Wald's major concern in Part III — and repeated elsewhere in the book — is that "we [scholars] deepen our familiarity with the distinctive features of the texts themselves" (179) in order to avoid forcing a methodological unity as flawed as "American Culture." (178) He makes some programmatic suggestions as to how to supplement cultural criticism with immediate campus anti-racist actions in the essay "Free Speech and the Campus Anti-Racist Movement ..." In particular he illustrates the fundamental error in the conventional usage of concepts such as "free speech" and "academic freedom" (184-5); "free" and "freedom" are already determined by relations of power and ma-

terial conditions. Once again Wald outlines the position of responsibility of left-wing intellectuals: "Socialists should struggle to redefine the content of 'free speech' and 'academic freedom' so that they change from unchallenged weights of domination, basically ratifying the status quo (and readily curtailed in time of war), to active instruments that give voice to exploited people in society who are shut out by the present relations of power. (185)

In Part IV, "Commitment," Wald is inspired by the examples of artists and intellectuals who make a conscious political choice about a clear issue (such as racism in South Africa) in the face of a socialist and, in the case of Nadine Gordimer, a feminist awareness of "the problematic nature of commitment itself." (213) Wald admires *Burger's Daughter* for its subtlety, and then in contrast documents the "unproven hypotheses" of New Left Telos guru, Russell Jacoby, author of *The Last Intellectuals* (1987). (215-6) Again Wald takes the opportunity to proclaim his central and interconnected theses about commitment, one practical, and one analytical: first, "the central issue for radical intellectuals should be," he writes, "their relationship to oppositional social movements — not only the labor movement, but also movements of women, oppressed minorities, ecologists, anti-interventionists, and anti-nuclear weapons activists" (217); and second, this relationship should be varied because, Wald notes, efforts (such as Jacoby's) at "homogenization of Left intellectuals, especially on the grounds that they are too inward-looking, have been disastrous in the past. Such calls have become instruments for populist authoritarianism." (217) In other words, the value of the methodology of this book is that its Marxism, while committed, is still flexible and cautious about universal postulates.

The primary value of this book is, I think, different. The scholarship is historically detailed and text-specific, but the tone, although varied, remains com-

passionate. This balance is revealed most poignantly in the concluding essay, which is not a formal conclusion; the essay, "Remembering George Breitman," is a memorial essay, an essay which cleverly acts as a counterpoint to the life writing we encounter in the Introduction ("A History of a Literary Radical: From Old Left to New"). What better way to illustrate the responsibility of intellectuals than to uphold the committed life of George Breitman, a leader of the SWP and one of its most prolific ideologues? Too prescriptive to be a dispassionate conclusion to the four parts of the book, for me it affirms the romance of what has become one of the legacies of communism, anti-stalinism, and celebrates the man (there are few women in the book) as the herald of responsible scholarship (237) and living.

Mariene Kadar  
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Jane Jenson and Rianne Mahon, ed., *The Challenge of Restructuring: North American Labor Movements Respond* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1993).

THERE IS AN URGENT NEED for a book which assesses strategies for North American labour in the current era of capitalist restructuring. This volume, a collection of nineteen essays originating in a 1989 conference at Harvard, is an attempt to address that need. Yet, while much useful information and analysis can be found in these pages, the book disappoints when it comes to the question of how the labour movement is to rebuild and remobilize in an period in which traditional post-war strategies of accommodation and compromise have provided bankrupt.

This is not to minimize the amount of helpful material one can glean from these essays. There is interesting discussion of the transition to the "post-Fordist work-

place and labour market" (Jenson and Mahon, 83 and 6-7) where capital undertakes to break established patterns of collective bargaining and regulation of labour in order to create a new flexibility that is conducive to restructuring. A number of essays have suggestive historical reflections on the divergent paths between the American and Canadian labour movements since the 1960s. And three contributors tackle the importance of the increasing presence of women in the workforce and in the unions. Especially noteworthy in this regard is Julie White's insightful essay on the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.

The editors are also to be commended for paying particular attention to the unique experience of the working-class movement in Québec. Four chapters are devoted to this topic. If anything, however, the authors of these and other essays tend to restrict their focus to Québec and thus neglect the enormous impact that Québec labour's upsurge of the 1960s and 1970s had on the Canadian working-class movement as a whole — especially in driving forward unionization in the public sector.

A central concern throughout is with accounting for the contrast between the decline in levels of unionization in the US over the past 25 years and unionism's greater resilience in Canada. Several authors rely on a simplistic counterposition of "economistic unionism" (the US) and "social unionism" (Canada) to account for this divergence. (e.g., Robinson, 19) Fortunately, two of the strongest papers (Wells, Swartz) challenge the tendency among those who use this model to understate bureaucratic economism in Canada's union movement.

But it is when we look at the prescriptions for rebuilding organized labour that the greatest weaknesses emerge. A recurring theme throughout is the idea that labour should pursue a strategy of coalition building with other social movements. No one could object to the idea of promoting the tightest possible unity be-

tween unions and progressive social movements. But the "coalition-building" perspective tends to obscure the crucial difference between the labour movement — and its million-strong potential power at the points of production, distribution and exchange — and other social movements.

Sadly, there is little or no attempt to draw together some of the great historical examples of advances by North American labour. One author does point out that the unionization of Canada's public sector was won largely through a series of illegal wildcat strikes during the 1960s. (Robinson, 30) And another notes that whatever success the Canadian Auto Workers has enjoyed in fighting for improved severance agreements in the case of plant shut-downs has come through factory occupations. (Yates, 349) But there is no attempt to draw strategic conclusions about mass defiance of the law and the need to challenge the sanctity of the employer's property as crucial elements in any perspective for breaking from the bureaucratic conservatism that strangles trade unionism on both sides of the Canada-US border.

Indeed, most contributors simply do not question the bureaucratic structure of labour relations as it has emerged in the post-war period. None seriously discusses the way in which the development of a large layer of full-time career union officers and staffers has conservatized the labour movement by creating a cadre whose interests lie in this bureaucratic structure itself. One contributor (Swartz, 393) does fault the leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress for failing to support the postal workers' union in its historic 1978 strike against wage controls (which resulted in back-to-work legislation, RCMP raids on union offices, and the jailing of the union's national president). But this important criticism is not integrated into a general critique of bureaucratic business unionism.

Yet, it is hard to see how one can discuss future strategies for labour without

discussing this issue since it looms especially large in the 1990s. After all, the CLC's abandonment of the postal workers in 1987 was no aberration. In the fall of 1991, about 150,000 workers — members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers — were simultaneously on strike against the immensely unpopular Tory government of Brian Mulroney. But when leaders of the two unions went to the CLC executive requesting a general strike against the Tories, the labour brass once again backed off, squandering a glorious opportunity to revitalize the whole of the working-class movement. If North American labour is adequately to respond to "the challenge of restructuring," then the whole legacy of business unionism will have to be confronted. Unfortunately, this book does not rise to that task.

Neither is another debilitating legacy of business unionism confronted: nationalism. In fact, there is a persistent tendency to equate nationalism in English-Canada with its counterpart in the oppressed nation of Québec. Québec nationalism, as the expression of an oppressed people's desire for self-determination, has a progressive edge which fed into the labour upsurge of the 1960s and early 1970s. Nevertheless, nationalism always has severe limits for working-class movements (some of which Carla Lipsig-Mumme, 419, points to in the Québec case).

Don Swartz's essay, "Capitalist Restructuring and the Canadian Labour Movement," has the merit of at least highlighting some of the ways in which nationalism constrained the CLC's 1988 campaign against free trade with the US. He rightly scorns organized labour's "tendency to glorify the decency and beneficence of the Canadian welfare state," and points out that the CLC's alternative amounted to little more than "a better managed capitalism." (398) It is unfortunate that these insights were not developed in the direction of advancing a genu-

inely anti-capitalist perspective for the workers' movement.

But where the nationalist horizons most seem to contain the author is with respect to their frame of reference: national labour movements. The editors do suggest in the opening essay that the labour movements in Québec, Canada and the US "have to rethink the spatial horizons of action." (13) But there is almost no discussion of the important initiatives that have been — or could be — undertaken by a handful of unions (or individual union locals) in Canada, Mexico, and the US to forge coordinated action in the face of NAFTA and continental restructuring. And completely absent are the vital lessons that could be drawn from an internationalist perspective which encompasses the experience of the new workers' movements in countries like South Africa, Brazil and South Korea. This is not to suggest that this book could have done justice to those experiences in their totality. It is to suggest, however, that the experience of North American labour should be seen in a wide international context.

There are many reasons to read this book. Little like it is available elsewhere. And a number of the essays are both insightful and instructive. But those committed to rebuilding the fighting power of organized labour in the current era of restructuring will find that it offers little as a guide to action. It is, in short, largely a book for academics, not activists.

David McNally  
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Leslie A. Pal, *Interests of state: the politics of language, multiculturalism, and feminism in Canada* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1993).

CANADIAN POLITICS dull? Not in Leslie Pal's study of the interaction between the Canadian state and 'social movement or-



ganizations' representing official language minority groups (OLMGs), minority ethnic communities and feminism. His thoughtful treatment of crucial issues in Canadian politics over the last twenty years throws fresh light on debates about the new politics of new movements; identity, political discourse, equity, diversity and unity. It becomes, despite itself, in an anguished liberal voice, 'an exploration of Canada's soul.'

Starting from a concrete puzzle (*why* the Canadian state funds advocacy organizations that then criticize it, and with *what effect*) and a theoretical interest (the debates on state autonomy and agency), the study has two main historical sections. The first, a useful history of the office of Secretary of State, draws on legislation, publications and internal documents to trace four phases of citizenship policy: war time mobilization; a return to mere registration; reluctant and then enthusiastic social mobilization in the 1960s and 1970s as central to Liberal strategies to counter Québec nationalism and popular mobilizations; and once again marginalization by successive Liberal and Conservative governments 1974-1989.

The second section devotes a chapter each to OLMGs, multiculturalism and feminism, considering funding programmes and patterns, internal programme evaluations and case studies of nine national advocacy organizations. Although each chapter covers familiar ground for specialists, together they permit a comparison of groups within a highly diverse voluntary sector. While otherwise sociologically and historically distinct, all the organizations received most of their funds from governments which in turn preferentially supported such large associations. As well, all have addressed federal political agendas, helped shape policy, supported expansionary state programmes and become authorized representatives of communities or interests in the eyes of both media and government. These similarities derive from the way in which state actors —

bureaucrats and politicians — have successfully shaped 'the associational system' and established basic rules for the political game.

For Pal, these groups were not simply coopted, in the sense of being directly tied to partisan ends. In part, constantly changing SOS personnel, policies and administrative practices were too confused and regionally diverse to tie ongoing funding to criteria for project evaluation. Although groups sometimes supported federal government agendas (the Canadian Charter of Rights), they also sometimes forged alliances to oppose other initiatives (free trade or the goods and services tax). Pal, like Cairns and Charter critics, sees an increasing legalization of politics, but he also shows how federal funding of 'national' organizations helped disperse 'nationalized' versions of political concerns to local and provincial levels, promoting state-oriented strategies at the expense of possible local or extra-parliamentary solutions. In the end, Pal offers an eclectic view of the state as a distinct structure of normalized rules and practices, which force issues down particular channels and serve the progressive linkage of systems of power. A reflection on the debate about hegemony, power and cooption which introduces the book would have been welcome.

Pal is more concerned about another outcome of state/society relations in this period: a pervasive divisiveness in the political soul of a nation-state uniquely preoccupied with unity. Despite their explicit objective of promoting national unity, SOS citizenship programmes, along with the actions of constituency groups they fostered, contributed to a remarkable emphasis on identity politics and collective rights as central to political discourse in such a way as to promote and amplify fragmentation.

Liberals embarked on citizenship participation in 1969 "not primarily to foster a radical regeneration of Canadian democracy, but to foster greater allegiance to national institutions through a feeling

that those institutions were open to popular forces .... [as] a matter of both justice and national unity." But these goals held separate implications for political action. Justice meant involving disadvantaged individuals more fully 'in their own institutions' and implied dissent and even confrontation. National unity, however, sublimates difference in 'collective orientation,' 'shared characteristics,' and 'larger harmony' and needs to accommodate the poor politically only if 'their dissent threatens national unity.' (251) Thus, by extending a politics of collective equity first articulated in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to ethnic groups and women, by representing this kind of equity as essentially Canadian, and by funding groups which take up their distinctness, in that politics, federal policy since 1970 promoted fragmentation over unity and helped institutionalize Canada's perpetual identity crisis. If SOS policy did not create divisions, it "amplified and legitimated a much richer diversity of identities and claims than would normally have been possible." (251, 255)

Here lies a key source for current popular definitions of Canadian identity: a mosaic (not American melting pot) 'united through diversity.' Pal dismisses these as "banal if not desperate incantations" against a "reality ... overdetermined by division and difference." (257) In particular, new and old ethnic groups demonstrated reluctance to wait their turn for state resources and recognition in attempts to instate a special constitutional status for Québec during patriation (1980-81) and the Meech Lake Accord (1987-90). If this looks like a symbolic struggle, it is important nevertheless because politics happens in the realm of 'talk' where symbols serve to institutionalize the framework for state actions and political accountability.

Although fascinating, there are some questions the analysis, like any study, does not consider. Like much work that takes up 'new' movements as worthy of

study, it elides class in balances of power. Nor does it consider the effects of a global political-economy on state restructuring by both Liberals and Conservatives. Was it only a lull in Québec separatism — misread perhaps as an end to the *pequiste* threat — that accounts for the coincidence of Trudeau's retrenchment in citizenship mobilization with what some analysts see as the beginning of the end of the "Fordist welfare state" compromise, with its promise of economic redistribution if not justice? And did conciliatory Conservative federal-provincial strategy require hollowing out the federal state in opposition to an alliance of cultural workers, unionists, feminists and nationalists?

Finally despite it challenges to conventional political science, the study leaves some terms disappointingly unproblematicized, sometimes with political implications that leave even its author apparently uneasy. Pal's argument that umbrella groups — lumping together National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Canadian Parents for French and Canadian Ethnocultural Council — cannot really represent their paper membership rests on a limited electoral and individualist (one person, one vote) criterion for 'representation,' a term whose multiple meanings have been at issue in activist and theoretical writings. Granted that this may be special pleading from someone whose workplace belongs to NAC, but NAC's consciously adopted policy of respecting the internal democratic norms of its extremely diverse member groups has forged what may well be an internationally unequalled policy consensus and movement solidarity in 'representing' women's interests. And while 'unity in diversity' may have become a buzzword in 'identity' politics, its 1991-92 implementation by NAC (after the period of the study, to be sure) was a deliberate attempt to represent or construct a counter-hegemonic discourse of 'nation' able to encompass Québec, aboriginal peoples and 'visible' or linguistic minorities and their claims. Overambitious or esoteric

perhaps, but not banal. Whatever my disagreements, I found Pal's study a useful resource, a challenging examination of conventional wisdom and unconventional data, and an engagingly good read.

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William B. Gould IV, *Agenda for Reform: The Future of Employment Relationships and the Law* (Cambridge: The MIT Press 1993).

THE DECLINE of unionism and the stunted development of labour law are central themes in this broad-ranging analysis of the American industrial relations system. The primary focus of this book is the failure of American labour law to respond to the needs of both unions and individual employees. It is no secret that American collective bargaining law has been in a state of arrested development for some time. Somewhat more surprising is the fact that the other branch of American labour law — employment law — has been slow to respond to the legitimate claims of individual employees, except in the case of American civil rights legislation.

The present parlous state of American collective bargaining law can be attributed to a number of causes. Perhaps the most important factor, however, is that unlike the case in Canada, in the United States there has been no systematic legislative revision of collective bargaining law for many years. As the result of this obvious lack of legislative maintenance, American labour law has become fossilized in a 1950s pattern even as it faces the economic and social conditions of the 1990s. Even worse, this fossilized legislative structure has now become entrenched with the practices and decisions of the National Labour Relations Board and some unfortunate judicial precedents that have been inimical to the interests of American trade unions. As a result,

American unions face protracted representation votes, restrictions on the scope of bargaining over plant closures, and the prospect that strikers may be permanently replaced by other workers. Even when unions have a strong presence in the workplace, the National Labour Relations Act has been interpreted in a manner that inhibits forms of union-management cooperation that are common in other industrialized countries.

Equally puzzling to a Canadian reader is the fact that American labour law still provides only begrudging protection to the employee who has been wrongfully dismissed. In common law the prevailing legal doctrine is still the notion of employment at will, although this doctrine has been recently eroded by a number of important exceptions as American courts in the 1980s became more sympathetic to the plight of the discharged worker. By comparison Canadian courts have long required employers to provide reasonable notice when terminating the employment relationship except where cause can be established, and in the past few years have shown themselves to be quite generous in defining what constitutes reasonable notice.

This book provides a perceptive diagnosis of the present ills of the American labour law system, reflecting a clear understanding of how American labour law has failed to keep pace with the labour laws in other industrialized countries. Given this detailed diagnosis, the agenda for labour law reform is itself surprisingly vague. In this book the problems are much more clearly defined than are the solutions. The solutions, however, may be revealed in a different forum. The author is a member of the Clinton administration's Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations and has been nominated by that administration to chair the National Labour Relations Board. For the sake of American unions and workers it is to be hoped that the author will be able to implement solutions

to the problems that he so clearly defines in this book.

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*Maeve Quaid, Job Evaluation: The Myth of Equitable Assessment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1993).

WITH THE RISE of the pay equity movement, the technique of job evaluation as a method to reduce gender wage discrimination has been the subject of considerable controversy. This book, which analyzes the implementation of the Hay job evaluation system in a provincial government bureaucracy in Canada, is a contribution to that debate. Quaid argues that various claims made about job evaluation rest on unexamined assumptions concerning the 'technical powers' of job evaluation to rationally order the organizational hierarchy, set differentials between jobs, and determine pay levels. Her case study findings reveal that job evaluation does not operate as a scientific, rational process but rather functions as an 'institutional myth' to justify job hierarchies.

Quaid begins the book with a brief history of formal job evaluation which explains why the technique took hold in the US and was later exported to the UK and Canada. She emphasizes the importance of the law in historically constituting the belief in job evaluation as a legitimate technique for establishing fair pay structures. The growth of job evaluation stemmed from various legislative initiatives starting in the 19th century to establish a job classification system in the US federal public service. With the passage of the US Wagner Act in 1935 job evaluation was implemented to either ward off unionization or to rationalize wage structures after unionization. During World War II the National War Labor Board "recommended job evaluation as a framework for solving pay problems" (34) In

the current context, she argues, pay equity laws worldwide invariably require quantitative evaluation systems to measure job worth, entrenching job evaluation as a mechanism to solve gender wage inequities.

Quaid's discussion of the origins of job evaluation lays the foundation for her critique of three dominant approaches to job assessment. The personnel-management, industrial-relations and feminist perspectives have, according to Quaid, "oversold and misunderstood the properties of job evaluation. (49) The limitations of the personnel-management perspective is that it accepts uncritically the ability of job evaluation systems to objectively evaluate job content, determine the relative positioning of jobs in the organizational hierarchy, and establish an internally equitable pay structure that is externally competitive. Both the industrial-relations and feminist approaches which adopt many of the assumptions about job evaluation from the personnel-management perspective also make unrealistic claims about the technical powers of job evaluation, according to Quaid. She disagrees with the industrial-relations view that job evaluation restricts collective bargaining, arguing the assigning of pay rates is a separate and distinct function which takes place in negotiations. The feminist school is criticized for assuming that technical adjustments to job evaluation systems can purge gender bias and thereby eliminate sex-based wage discrimination.

While some may accept Quaid's interpretation of the personnel-management literature, many will take exception to her treatment of the industrial-relations and feminist perspectives. Labour unions have traditionally been opposed to job evaluation because managers, not employees, control the process. Quaid herself recognizes the importance of managerial control in the job evaluation implementation; it is this 'management right' that interferes with unions' responsibility to freely bargain wage rates. Her discus-

sion of the feminist school misinterprets the feminist political strategy to achieve gender wage equity. Feminists do not blindly accept job evaluation as a rational or objective exercise, but view it as a political tool to demonstrate that female-dominated jobs should be paid the same as male-dominated jobs of equal worth. What is judged to be 'equal worth' is, in itself, a political question. It is simply inaccurate to claim that feminist advocates are unaware of the pitfalls of job evaluation; rather, the technique is used as an instrument to uncover sexist ideology. Quaid's comment that, "the recent critiques aimed at sex bias contained within job evaluation have deflected our attention from the real critique ... which is that, in the first place, job evaluation does not and cannot live up to its rational claims" (76) misses the important point that the feminist struggle over wage equity is to counter sexist values that underpin wage-setting practices.

Having critiqued the job evaluation literature, Quaid documents the process of implementing the Hay job evaluation system in a small Canadian province she calls 'Atlantis.' Quaid's analysis is strongest when she identifies the contradictions between the stated objectives of job evaluation articulated by Hay Associates against its practical implementation. For instance, while the purpose of introducing a new job classification system in the provincial government was part of an 'efficiency strategy' she finds the exercise, perhaps predictably, to have been costly, time-consuming, and the outcome to have largely replicated the old wage structure. Most revealing is her discussion of job evaluation committees wherein she describes how the committees deviated considerably from the established Hay methodology for assessing job worth. A well established tenet of job evaluation requires evaluators to assess job content, rather than evaluating individuals performing the jobs. However, in Atlantis Quaid found committee members dispensed with reading job descriptions

and relied on individual names as the basis for assigning job value. "Instead of reading the job description, it became accepted practice for some committee member to call out to a deputy minister of the department in question: "Tell us about this one. Now, how does this fit in with the others?" (142)

Quaid concludes from her case study data that job evaluation is an inherently subjective and political process. In a number of places Quaid mentions the fact that the most significant change in the job hierarchy pertained to the upgrading of female predominant jobs in the Health Services area, which she attributes to political lobbying by women pay activists. The author explains that job evaluation "permits prevailing belief systems to be enacted in organizations." (215) Unfortunately, she is unable to connect this analysis to the struggle for pay equity. It is precisely because job evaluation is about defining values that feminists can apply pressure to change existing cultural assumptions or beliefs concerning the importance of job characteristics associated with women's work. The fact that female-dominant jobs in the provincial bureaucracy received pay raises attests to the success of this type of strategy.

Quaid argues the political forces contained in the process of job evaluation eliminate claims to objectivity or rationality. Therefore, she concludes, the only way to understand job evaluation is from the point of view of 'meaning management.' Readers hoping to encounter a post-structuralist analysis of job evaluation will be disappointed. Quaid adopts Berger and Luckman's (1966) social-constructionist perspective to argue that job evaluation functions as an 'institutional, rationalized myth.' "Job evaluation itself fits the definitional requirements of myth to the extent that it is a process in which people believe. The idea that job evaluation can measure the relative value of jobs is 'believed,' by workers practitioners, consultants, and academics alike. It is true because it is believed." (232) Job

evaluation as myth is undoubtedly an aspect of the job evaluation process, but I think Quaid takes her analysis too far. She discounts or underestimates the awareness of actors participating in the process to recognize job evaluation as a political exercise that legitimates, or minimally alters, the status quo. Evidence from her case study indicates that both managers and employees, on occasion, saw through the myth. As mentioned previously, feminists recognize job evaluation as part of a social, not a rational, process that defines gendered job hierarchies.

Quaid's account of implementing the Hay job evaluation system in a small government bureaucracy is an interesting case study. Her analysis reveals that claims of 'scientificity' associated with job evaluation hold little or no validity. The book suffers, though, from a misreading of the feminist literature on pay equity. Had the author focused solely on the case study materials to demonstrate the 'irrationality' of job evaluation it would have been a better book.

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Christoph F. Buechteman, ed., *Employment Security and Labor Market Behaviour: Interdisciplinary Approaches and International Evidence* (Ithaca: ILR Press 1993).

FOLLOWING THE VICTORY of Thatcher in the UK, market deregulation became the catchcry of politicians and their economic advisers during the 1980s in western industrialized countries. One stream of deregulation was the removal of restrictions on labour flexibility. This included the dismantling of protective measures covering wages and conditions.

Within this context this edited book focuses on one particular theme — the issue of employment security and its impact on labour market behaviour and economic efficiency. The volume arose from

a conference in May 1990 organized by the Social Science Center Berlin in conjunction with International Labour Office and the International Institute for Labour Studies. It contains 27 essays, including an introduction and epilogue.

The lengthy introduction written by the editor provides a comprehensive overview of the issue of employment security. One view, which underlay the extensive European legislation, saw employment security legislation as increasing social equity, mitigating cyclical unemployment and increasing economic efficiency by reducing employment uncertainty. The alternative view, encouraged by the end of the postwar boom in western industrialized countries in the 1970s, argued that employment security regulations were a source of labour market rigidity, reducing international competitiveness by increasing labour force inflexibility and labour costs. After setting out these arguments, Buechteman looks at the empirical evidence and the theoretical implications.

The remainder of the book is divided into three parts. Part I looks at the conceptual frameworks employed to analyze employment security policy. Robert Boyer tries to place the issue within the Fordism/Post-Fordism paradigm, while others adopt microeconomic perspectives. Part II looks at the evidence concerning effects of employment regulation. The evidence relates primarily to the United States, Germany, United Kingdom, France and Italy. Two essays do compare the US and Japanese experience. While the book at the outset lumps the US and Canada together on the grounds that they share "less elaborate or less comprehensive systems of market regulation," Ronald Ehrenberg and George Jackubson indicate that Canadian provincial and federal legislation concerning notice requirements for the termination of employment were more extensive than in the US before Congress passed the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act in July 1988 and more liberal after. The UK essays by Richard Hyman and Brian Towers

provide not only specific insights into employment security but also general insights into the impact of Thatcherism on UK industrial relations. An important point made in several essays is that the repeal of protective legislation doesn't 'deregulate' the labour market. There is still the common law and collective agreements.

Part III addresses the future of labour market deregulation in industrialized market countries. Guy Standing notes the trend towards labour market fragmentation and growing inequality. Standing identifies seven strata, 'each defined by its distinctive relations to regulatory policies.' The top strata is the 'elite,' who earn money through profit sharing, the purchase of subsidized shares and a growing range of fringe benefits. The seventh strata is the very familiar 'underclass' or 'lumpenproletariat,' which has lost attachment to any regular economic activity. Claus Hofmann argues that there is still great potential for labour market flexibility, which may help European countries find sufficient jobs for those who want them. In the epilogue Gunther Schmid, while pointing to the need for a

continued focus on labour market flexibility, calls for collective wage funds to provide employment security for so-called 'economically marginal groups' such as disabled workers and increased investment in public infrastructure.

The book incorporates a variety of methodologies and viewpoints. Many essays utilize econometric techniques, which can be underpinned by rather questionable assumptions. For example Daniel Hamermash makes the traditional neoclassical assumption of constrained profit maximization. While Sanford Jacoby on US labour management practices is cited and there is reference to historical constructs such as Fordism, sustained historical examinations of the issue of employment security are absent.

Overall the book provides a comprehensive, if overwhelming, survey of the issue of employment security. As with many edited collections of conference papers, the book provides many insights but no unifying vision.

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