

REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Patricia A. McCormack, *Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History, 1788–1920s: “We like to be free in this country”* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2010)

IN THE SPIRIT of full disclosure, I should begin by noting that I am mentioned in passing in the acknowledgements of this book – not because of any deep involvement in the research or writing of this study, but because the author and I share a long-standing interest in the history of northern communities shaped by their fur trade pasts. As a result, I was pleased that this study had been published, especially as it is a much more ambitious undertaking than most previous studies of such communities. Somewhat audaciously, it does not treat Fort Chipewyan simply as a case study, nor does it approach its subject as just a local or community history. Instead McCormack has set herself the task of considering how the history of Fort Chipewyan and its residents fits into – and often challenges – larger Canadian historical narratives of modernization, progress, and the expansion of the nation state.

McCormack explores five broad themes throughout the book. These include the plural nature of Fort Chipewyan society and how the community was brought into the developing systems of Canadian law, economy, resource management, education, and other such “national” concerns. She also places considerable importance on the ongoing agency of Aboriginal peoples in the face of these nation-building

efforts, and the way concepts of progress and modernity affected those who were supposed to modernize and those trying to force the modernizing. Finally she proposes that together these issues point the way towards a “New Northern” history, similar in ambition and scope but distinct in content from other “new” regional approaches, such as the influential “New Western” history of Patricia Limerick, Richard White, and Donald Worster.

The last point may be optimistic and it is hard to see many scholars undertaking the kind of research McCormack has on small, northern communities. Her work at Fort Chipewyan began in 1968 when she was a student and has continued throughout her career as a museum curator and academic. As a result, the book is shaped by over 40 years of contact with the community and a broad range of research from oral history and material culture to more traditional archival and library research. The period covered by the study is also impressive – well over a century – and a planned second volume will complete the study of Fort Chipewyan into the present. This gives the book a tendency to focus on the “longue durée” and broad historical patterns or structures that change slowly, if at all, but McCormack does weave key events such as the signing of Treaty Eight and the creation of Wood Buffalo National Park into her story effectively and shows how such events often had quite unintended consequences.

The early history of Fort Chipewyan is rooted in the fur trade and McCormack begins by noting the many distinct Aboriginal groups who came to trade at Fort Chipewyan and the differences among the traders themselves who might be Canadien, Métis, Orkney, Hebridean and Highland Scots, English, and colonial American in background. McCormack likens fur trade society to “rababou,” a stew of pemmican and any other available ingredients popular at posts such as Fort Chipewyan. The point is well taken and leads directly into her contention that understanding the economic basis of the fur trade requires more careful analysis of how Aboriginal peoples integrated the trade into their larger survival based, or subsistence, economies. She suggests that thinking about the trade solely in terms of domestic and capitalist modes of production is misleading, and she outlines a hybrid “fur trade mode of production” as an alternative way of conceptualizing this distinctive variety of cross-cultural trade. As an economic system, the fur trade mode of production was very stable. It lasted largely unchanged at Fort Chipewyan from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries, in large part because local people controlled much of the means of production and social relations and obligations were expressed through direct face-to-face contact. This ensured that Aboriginal peoples retained significant power and control in economic exchanges, and thus their agency in shaping the trade to suit their ends should not be overlooked.

The book does describe events and factors that led to profound changes in the community after 1899. McCormack suggests the most important of these was a multi-faceted program of internal colonization undertaken in the interest of creating a new nation-state – Canada – and largely directed at the lands and resources, cultures, and social structures

of the Aboriginal peoples of the old fur trade Northwest. McCormack argues that Christian missionaries helped create a “cadre” of Aboriginal leaders prepared to accept a new economic and political order in the North, while at the same time providing valuable, if sometimes culturally destabilizing, services such as health care and education. Even more complicated were the ramifications of government policies and programs in these areas. The process of treaty making that led to the signing of an adhesion to Treaty Eight and the issuing for Métis scrip at Fort Chipewyan in 1899 created significant tensions and divisions within the community. McCormack suggests that although this treaty was the subject of negotiation and it was not simply imposed on local residents, it did not necessarily reflect the needs or interests of northern Aboriginal groups and scrip was largely meaningless, except that it separated the community into those who fell under treaty provisions and those who were excluded – a completely new set of social distinctions. McCormack suggests that the entire treaty and scrip policy was designed to meet issues in the southern, settlement belt of the west and not the specific circumstances of the north. As she puts it, this was a “one-size-fits-all” program that ended up not fitting Fort Chipewyan or other northern communities very well at all.

This was just the start of many federal and later provincial government initiatives in the region that may have been well intentioned – wildlife conservation and national parks hardly seem malevolent policies – but which had problematic impacts in the community. For example, the creation of Wood Buffalo National Park sharply limited the local, largely Aboriginal, community’s capacity to manage and use the land and its resources, and thus eroded the sort of local control of the means of production that had

helped make the earlier fur trade economy so stable and socially inclusive. Park officials consistently valued the opinions of their experts and non-Aboriginal newcomers over local knowledge and resource management approaches, arguably with less than satisfactory results. And this sort of disdain for local knowledge and approaches pervaded almost all aspects of government policy.

Overall, the author's belief in the capacity of the local residents of Fort Chipewyan to understand what it takes "to live free in this country" better than remote governments or outside experts shapes the analysis. It may not convince everyone – especially government policy makers and outside experts – but the study may be on to something. For the most part, the record does not suggest that relying on "one-size-fits-all" programs or interventionist policies has had much success in Canada's North to date, so perhaps trusting the people who actually live in the region to shape and administer the programs that concern them would not be a huge risk after all. This book makes a good case that it is worth a try.

MICHAEL PAYNE
Ottawa

Bettina Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: Lives, Laws, and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Montreal* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

THE TRANSITION of Montréal women from one marital status to another is Bettina Bradbury's central preoccupation in *Wife to Widow*. The book follows two generations of women in Montréal, those who married in the 1820s, and those who married in the 1840s. Bradbury suggests that their lives shed light on the politics, customs, and legal institutions of Montréal. She examines cultural change,

questions of class, property and race, population movements, and family by studying the transitions to widowhood of a large group of women. The city of Montréal is portrayed as a marital and colonial contact zone grounding all other areas of inquiry.

Bradbury employs an approach she calls collective genealogy to study women as individuals and as statistics. She constructs women's lives through the documents they and their husbands produced at key transitional moments. Bradbury draws on census data, parish registers, wills, marriage contracts and other notary records, city directories and city tax records. When possible she also utilizes letters and family papers. The book is painstakingly and richly researched. From all of these sources Bradbury speaks of the demographic profiles of large groups of wives who became widows, tracing the broad picture of the patterns and practices of families as they were changed by the deaths of husbands. But she moves beyond a quantitative cataloguing of patterns to develop more detailed biographies of about twenty women. Bradbury convincingly animates what is sometimes just a scratch of evidence in the archival record: a will, a notice of a husband's occupation, a record of death, or a census enumeration. These stories are intertwined in each chapter.

Glimpsing individual women as they moved from a state of marriage to one of widowhood brings us into their lives in an arresting and intimate way. Sadly, as readers we realize that death will prematurely sever the relationships: seventeen-year-old Caroline Campbell marries in 1824 and by her inclusion in the story we already know that her husband Oliver's death will leave her a widow. In most cases the reader also knows that the marriage contracts signed provided very little property or income for widows, making our foreknowledge all the more

upsetting. Some deaths are to be expected, as when older men married very young women. Others are more shocking, such as the murder of a husband. We know when men failed to provide, when women were abused, and when others lost their babies or turned to prostitution or drink. Even if women left no first-hand accounts, thanks to the deftness with which Bradbury writes their stories we can extrapolate and imagine their grief (or in some cases their relief) upon being widowed.

Bradbury's detailed documentation of Montréal wives and widows is fascinating but what is slightly difficult is keeping track of what provides commonality in the stories of widowhood across a 45 year period. Widows were a diverse group. Some were widowed young. Some remarried, others did not. Some were left wealthy while others lived in poverty. Some signed marriage contracts and others did not. Much differed across the two generations studied and women's lives and marriages were influenced differently by shifting political, cultural, and legal contexts. Whether they married under English common law or under the *Costume de Paris*, whether they were Protestant, Jewish, or Catholic, and whether they married brutes or nurturing partners add to the difficulty of comparison. So does Bradbury's effort to address almost everything else: the particularities and colonial context of Québec, effects of the rebellions, gender and empire, class, legal institutions, and political debates.

However, there are two stable and constant elements to Bradbury's analysis: widowhood as a particular state and patriarchy as an over-riding framework. Focusing on widowhood provides a useful way to approach feminist, gender, and family history. Widowhood is a window on economic, political, and legal change. And patriarchy in many forms, even from

the grave, nicely grounds Bradbury's arguments. If the ambitious breadth of the study sometimes scatters the focus, the patriarchal system that all women had to negotiate is clearly articulated. Bradbury calls her study a feminist family history and one constant is that all wives and widows lived within the gendered limitations of their era. While many marriages may have been what Bradbury calls companionate patriarchy and while love and respect sometimes tempered male power, women in early- to mid-19th-century Montréal belonged to the men they married. Even after they were widowed they were linked to their deceased husbands. City directories marked them as widows of particular men; their rights to property and their level of economic comfort remained linked to their dead husbands; and they were identified based on a relationship of subordination that did not end when the patriarch died.

The first half of the book examines married women: who they married, what they agreed to at the time of marriage, material circumstances, and wills. Of particular interest is the chapter devoted to dower rights as a danger zone. Bradbury deftly explains different notions of property rights and dower rights (what a woman was entitled to upon her husband's death) and how Canadiens and English colonists interpreted dower rights. The Patriotes' quest for individual property rights eroded the dower rights that had afforded some measure of protection for women under the Custom of Paris.

Part 2 of the book is devoted to widowhood, beginning with cultural practices around dying and death and covering the first days and the first year of widowhood. Widows of means garner more attention in the second half of the book: these women, such as Emilie Tavernier, sometimes voted and sometimes left extensive records. Bradbury concludes the book

gloomily but perhaps inevitably with old age and death, examining the institutions where some widows ended their lives and the different economic and familial circumstances of widows in old age.

The portraits of Montréal women who married in the 1820s and 1840s, the lives they led, the legal limitations they faced, and the effects of politics and custom upon their status as widows are all addressed in *Wife to Widow*. Some widows were well protected by marriage contracts. Others were protected because of, or in some cases in spite of, various interpretations of English common law and the French Custom of Paris. Some faced financial ruin while widowhood freed others from husbands who had abused them and failed to support them. While much was in flux, Bradbury illustrates through quantitative analysis and individual stories that death hung over many Montréal households. Husbands' deaths had particular effects on women left behind and those effects changed over time, yet patriarchy (collaborative, customary, or companionate) remained. Through all of this we see Montréal as a character in the story but one that changes and is as diverse as its inhabitants. Happily for the reader, Bradbury tells the inhabitants' stories and memorably animates the time period. We are left with a richly drawn examination of the customs and effects of widowhood in thousands of families, played out across a backdrop of economic, political, legal, and cultural change.

MELANIE BUDDLE

Trent University

Michel S. Beaulieu, *Labour at the Lakehead: Ethnicity, Socialism, and Politics, 1900–1935* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

WITH HIS RECENT monograph *Labour at the Lakehead*, Michel Beaulieu

challenges scholars and interested parties alike to reconsider the role played by the centre in Canadian labour history. But unlike in many existent works in the field, it is a physical centre rather than a political one that is of importance to Beaulieu's study. Focusing on the twin cities of Port Arthur and Fort William – collectively known as the Lakehead and located close to the geographic centre of the country – this monograph examines the interplay between local experiences and movements of the left, suggesting that for many, ethnicity rather than class was the salient factor which defined their political identities.

Beaulieu has good reason to stress the Lakehead's location. While undoubtedly some immigrants moved to the area to avail themselves of jobs in traditional primary industries (notably logging), many others found work with one of the railways, steamship companies, or dockyard operators who sought to exploit the cities' location at the western terminus of the Great Lakes transportation corridor. Each year ships carrying millions of tonnes of coal and manufactured goods arrived from American ports, returning to the United States laden with wheat and other commodities shipped to the Lakehead by rail from the prairie west. This resulted in a diversified economy unlike any other in Northern Ontario, facilitating not only the transportation of goods between markets, but also the exchange of experiences, ideas, and ideologies along north-south as well as east-west corridors.

By situating his study in this way, Beaulieu challenges Canadian historians to re-think one of the most accepted narratives in our field. Referring to Port Arthur and Fort William as “storm centres in Canadian working-class history,” the author holds that because radicals of both western and eastern traditions were active in the area, the resultant political

culture could be considered as “simultaneously *western* and *eastern*.” (5) In making this argument, Beaulieu seeks to complicate existing theories and understandings of western exceptionalism and its relationship to the left in Canada.

This important study’s reach, however, goes well beyond the geographical arguments outlined in the preceding paragraphs. By undertaking such an intensely local study, Beaulieu is able to examine how the programs of the One Big Union, the International Workers of the World, and in particular the Communist Party of Canada interacted with the workers who were their principal constituents. And it is in relation to the latter that this reviewer believes *Labour at the Lakehead* is particularly revealing.

Beaulieu extensively employs documents from the Communist International in tandem with his deep knowledge of the communities in question to challenge the way(s) scholars perceive the Communist Party of Canada during the Second and Third Period. Specifically, *Labour at the Lakehead* takes issue with the argument that “immigrants, through their unwillingness to assimilate into the Canadian mainstream, prevented the Communist Party of Canada from flourishing.” (10) This study demonstrates, at least in regards to Port Arthur and Fort William, that the opposite was true. Indeed, it was through groups like the Communist-affiliated Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC) that local radicals were able to raise funds for the party, help their acquaintances organize into unions, and build a complex and meaningful local radical culture. It was through organizations such as the FOC that men, women, and children were able to pursue their post-capitalist ambitions. This study makes clear that it was in spite of the actions of the Communist Party of Canada – not because of them – that radicalism flourished at the Lakehead.

Where *Labour at the Lakehead* does fall short is in what Beaulieu explicitly chooses to leave out of this study. (11) While any scholar worth their salt recognizes that there are necessarily things that lie outside the scope of a standard monograph, the author’s choice to focus primarily on institutions such as unions and political parties has prevented an important social and cultural aspect from playing a meaningful role in the narrative he creates. Ironically, by stressing the importance of local ethnic identities within an institutional context, Beaulieu only makes the absence of individual and social perspectives more pronounced. Readers are informed, for example, that because of an economic recession the population of Fort William plummeted from 27,000 in 1914 to just 19,000 two years later. (43) And while the immediate political ramifications of this decrease are touched upon, the implications for individuals’ and communities’ lived experiences (and consequently the influence they may have had on the political aspects of the crisis) are not fully investigated. Likewise, in relation to Section 98 of the Criminal Code of Canada, Beaulieu provides fascinating references to raids that occurred on the premises of ethnic halls, yet beyond the political implications of these events the reader is left with only a peripheral understanding of the community itself. Offering more than a passing glimpse into the lives of individuals, families, and ethnic communities resident at the Lakehead would undoubtedly serve to provide a more holistic contextual understanding for many of this work’s fundamental arguments.

This reviewer was also left to question what it was about local radical culture that made it so impermeable to class-based identities. Why was it that Finns, Ukrainians, and other groups at the Lakehead were finding strength in

ethnically based radical associations while their brethren elsewhere were moving away from the same kinds of identity constructs? Beaulieu posits that there was a “sense of emergent counter-culture” which in part accounts for this phenomenon. This reviewer hopes that future studies will unpack this counter-culture in greater detail. (108)

For some, this study’s localized and institutional focus may also open it to criticism that it is too temporally linear in structure. And while choosing to structure the monograph in this way admittedly results in a highly detailed and focused narrative, the reality is that Beaulieu set out to write an institutional history and has succeeded in doing so with an admirable attention to detail. For readers who may have trouble with acronyms or keeping straight some of the groups in play, the publisher has included a list of abbreviations at the beginning of the book that should alleviate some of these problems.

Despite these concerns, *Labour at the Lakehead* is an important and foundational study that has laid the groundwork for future social, theoretical, and ideological undertakings. For those who lament opportunities lost for the left during this period in Canadian history, Beaulieu’s book confirms what many already intuitively know: unions and political parties alike were massively out of touch with their purported constituents. But more importantly, this study reminds readers of the multiplicity of leftist movements possible in a country as large as Canada. Beaulieu’s intensely local study demonstrates the dignity, determination, and drive that existed in the hearts of men, women and children to make meaningful change in their lives and communities. And though the results of this agency may have varied wildly depending on locale, it’s their very real desire to live otherwise that continues to inspire and

motivate many of us, both in our personal and our academic lives.

KYLE R. FRANZ
Queen’s University

Suzanne Marchand, *Partir pour la famille. Fécondité, grossesse et accouchement au Québec, 1900–1950*
(Québec: Septentrion 2012)

CET OUVRAGE DE Suzanne Marchand constitue en quelque sorte une synthèse des connaissances au sujet des croyances, rites et pratiques populaires entourant la fécondité, la grossesse, l’accouchement et les soins aux bébés qui avaient cours dans la société québécoise dans la première moitié du xx^e siècle. Fondé essentiellement sur des témoignages dénichés dans une large variété de fonds d’archives, mais aussi sur des extraits d’entrevues réalisées par différents chercheurs (ethnologues, sociologues, historiens) et ayant servi à illustrer leurs analyses, le livre se divise en neuf chapitres qui s’attardent successivement au désir d’enfants, à la contraception et à la stérilité (chapitres 1 à 3), aux usages et conventions entourant la période de la gestation et aux espoirs qu’elle suscite (chapitres 4 et 5), avant finalement d’aborder la naissance, tant du point de vue de la mère que de l’enfant (chapitres 6 et 7) et le difficile passage que constituaient les premiers mois de la vie pour le nouveau-né (chapitres 8 et 9). Chacun de ces thèmes fait l’objet d’une brève mise en contexte, statistique ou autres, mais très clairement, l’objectif poursuivi par l’auteur était surtout de décrire les pratiques et les croyances populaires en laissant le plus possible la parole aux témoins de l’époque, comme l’attestent les très nombreuses citations, souvent à la suite, qui jalonnent le texte.

L’une des forces de cette étude est donc d’accorder une large place aux

différentes convictions, perceptions ou coutumes, parfois contradictoires, en rapport avec la maternité, dévoilant leur richesse, tout en abordant des questions plus délicates comme la contraception – y compris l'avortement –, la stérilité, de même que la mortalité maternelle et infantile, brisant ainsi l'image idyllique de la famille nombreuse et heureuse d'autrefois. Il reste cependant que du point de vue de l'histoire sociale, le texte fait trop souvent l'économie d'une véritable analyse de ces différentes pratiques et croyances qui aiderait à les comprendre et à les interpréter. Ainsi, pour ne donner que quelques exemples, le texte ne questionne pas les raisons qui amènent à systématiquement remettre en cause la capacité des femmes à concevoir en cas d'infertilité du couple (81), le fait qu'une grossesse difficile était interprétée comme le signe que la mère donnerait naissance à une fille (136) ou qu'il existait des recettes pour concevoir des garçons, mais, apparemment, pas pour concevoir des filles (145 et ss). Chacune à leur manière, ces différentes convictions témoignent du faible statut des femmes dans la société québécoise de la première moitié du xx^e siècle, sans que cela soit relevé par l'auteur.

Cette absence d'analyse va en quelque sorte de pair avec l'absence d'un questionnement précis qui aurait pu guider la recherche. Plutôt, l'étude a été orientée par une longue liste d'interrogations énumérées à la page 17, mais qui, en raison même de leur foisonnement, ne débouchent pas sur une véritable problématique. Essentiellement descriptif, l'ouvrage ne soutient donc pas une thèse clairement définie qui viendrait en structurer le propos. L'auteur ne situe pas non plus son travail dans l'historiographie, l'énumération d'auteurs (voir p. 15–16) ne pouvant tenir lieu d'un véritable état de la question. Comme mentionné plus haut, pour

faire ce vaste tour d'horizon, Marchand est allée puiser dans différents fonds d'archives et différentes études, mais sans donner une idée claire du nombre de témoignages finalement utilisés, de leur répartition dans le temps ou entre les sexes (on devine qu'il y a plus de femmes que d'hommes), de leurs origines sociales ou géographiques (les ruraux étant fort probablement surreprésentés), bref sans donner aucune indication qui permettrait d'apprécier un tant soit peu leur représentativité. Des témoignages de femmes nées au xix^e siècle, côtoient ainsi les propos de jeunes gens nés dans les années 1950 ou même 1960 (voir p. 143, 188) et qui n'accordaient sûrement pas la même crédibilité aux croyances qu'ils rapportaient et qu'ils tenaient sans doute de leur mère ou même de leur grand-mère.

Au final, Marchand nous livre donc une étude plutôt exhaustive de la manière dont une partie de la société québécoise considérait la reproduction entre 1900 et 1950, ce qui représente son principal mérite. Agrémenté d'encadrés qui permettent de mieux les situer dans le contexte des traditions françaises, américaines ou même occidentales (et qui remontent parfois jusqu'à l'Antiquité), cet inventaire des mythes et coutumes alors en vigueur apprendra sans doute bien peu aux spécialistes ; en fait, si l'ouvrage est doté d'un appareil critique (bibliographie, notes infrapaginales, etc.), l'absence de problématique, d'une réflexion sur les sources utilisées et d'une analyse approfondie des croyances et coutumes examinées donne à penser qu'il s'adresse plutôt à un public de non-spécialiste, qui saura savourer les différents informations, témoignages et anecdotes qu'il contient de même que les nombreuses photographies et illustrations diverses qui le parsèment.

DENYSE BAILLARGEON
Université de Montréal

Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

TAKING UP THE THEME of the year-long students' strike in Victoria, BC from 1922 to 1923, Timothy Stanley offers the reader an authoritative account of the patterns of racism and anti-racism in coastal areas of British Columbia. Guided by political philosopher Harrah Arendt's "texture of life," Stanley provides analysis of the situation and the humanity of those who resisted exclusion. In the process, Stanley pens a complex theoretical framework to support his comment that "nothing about racism is inevitable or is a necessary outcome of human difference." (7) Throughout the text, Stanley makes it clear that racisms and anti-racisms are highly variable. To remind the reader and reinforce the fact that racisms and racializations are fixed and constructed categories, he repeatedly identifies racialized terms such as "Chinese" and "White" with quotation marks, or "scare quotes."

Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians is the culmination of years of bilingual research, teaching, and reflection on the subject. Chinese primary materials are drawn from Victoria's own Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association archives, the University of British Columbia's Chinese Canadian Research Collection, and key articles in the *Chinese Times*. Stanley's monograph joins other works that examine British Columbia Chinese Canadian history, society, and culture. It also joins several new projects financed by the Canadian Historical Recognition Program to acknowledge 62 years of institutionalized racism and to showcase the humanity and contributions of those affected, silenced, and excluded.

Chapter 1 introduces the circumstances of the yearlong student strike in response to forced student segregation by the Victoria School Board. Justifications for segregation were many: the poor English fluency of Chinese students was detrimental to overall classroom learning; Chinese pupils were smelly, dirty, heathenous sexual deviants; and Chinese pupils posed a vaguely defined threat to the children of "white" dominant society. The remainder of the book is organized into two parts on racism and anti-racism. Chapters 2 through 5 are contained in the racism section. Chapter 2, "Anti-Chinese Racism and the Colonial Project of British Columbia," presents the historical context of rapid Chinese migration to BC and questions why and how Chinese immigrants, disconnected from British commercial and cultural interests, were racialized in BC. It outlines the link between racialization and the creation of legislation in BC limiting Chinese voting, land ownership, educational, professional licensing, and citizenship rights. The third chapter explores the race thinking that informed "white" dominant society's imagined, fixed and bound impressions of Chinese individuals, society, culture, and politics. Chapters 4 and 5 establish that fixed impressions further informed attitudes toward education. They also demonstrate organized racist state formation in key British Columbia Chinatowns where Chinese men and women found themselves excluded and segregated in most areas of everyday life.

Chapters 6 through 9 form the second part of the book, which focuses on the anti-racism that shaped Chinese Canadian identity and political involvement. These chapters touch on religious, missionary, and Christian community involvements; and nationalism. As Stanley notes, "Chinese nationalism was the glue that held together first-generation migrants and the locally born; people of

different languages, economic interests, and social classes; the childless as well as those with children directly caught in the dispute. In the face of racist oppression, the excluded had built a collective identity on which to base their resistance.” (188) Chapter 8 sheds light on Chinese cultural education, Confucianism and schooling, while Chapter 9 deals with the varying repercussions of anti-racist efforts by missionaries and others, such as Harry Hastings who, though Chinese, had made the transition into the dominant group.

Among *Contesting White Supremacy's* many intriguing and wonderful contributions are the three perspectives on racisms and anti-racisms outlined in the introduction and developed in each of the chapters. The first of these perspectives is that there is not just one form of racism. There are multiple and fluid forms of racisms and anti-racisms. A person may be racist in one situation or region, for instance in coastal areas of Canada, and exhibit no racism in a different situation or region, for instance beyond the coast. A person may exhibit anti-racism toward one group and racism toward a different group. People also make exceptions and are less racist toward individuals known to them. The second perspective is that racisms may be analyzed according to whether they require racialization. Provincial and national legislation targeted people racialized as “Chinese” to limit various rights such as those pertaining to voting, military service, and land ownership. In this way racialization was required in order to exclude a group. As of 1923, the final version of the Chinese Immigration Act effectively restricted the entry into Canada of almost all immigrants of Chinese descent.

Stanley's final theoretical perspective is that just as there are racisms there are also anti-racisms. He makes it clear that racism and anti-racism created (and

continue to create) opportunities and heartache in everyday life: “As people variously resisted, accommodated, or circumvented particular racist measures as they challenged, internalized, or ignored racist representations, anti-Chinese racism and its constituent ideologies, practices, and patterns also changed. These changes in turn shaped what they were able to do, and where and with whom they were able to do it, variously expanding and contracting their terrains of action, who was included in these terrains and who was not. As the terrains of ‘the Chinese’ shifted, so too did those of other people living in British Columbia.” (5)

Focusing on the four decades leading up to the students' strike and boycott of the Victoria School Board educational system and forced segregation, *Contesting White Supremacy* demonstrates the strategies and tactics employed by differently racialized actors, including those belonging to labour unions and Christian groups, to further racist and anti-racist agendas with sometimes unexpected consequences. Stanley's tome presents detailed Chinese and English source material and analysis to acutely demonstrate that “white” dominant British Columbians used their power to create difference and that Chinese residents drew on community resources, connections, and networks to resist it.

ALISON R. MARSHALL
Brandon University

Dan Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds: Canadian Romance at the Dawn of the Modern Era, 1900–1930* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press 2011)

DAN AZOULAY'S new book is a study of heterosexual romance between 1900 and 1930. Azoulay argues that most other studies on this topic are based on sources that are too few or too élitist, and do not

explain how the late 19th- and early 20th-century great transformation (including social reform, industrialization, and settlement of the West) affected “romantic attitudes and experiences of Canadians.” Azoulay addresses this historiographical gap by examining “what average Canadians sought in a marriage partner; the specific rules they were expected to follow and in most cases *did* follow in their romantic quest; the many hardships they endured along the way; and how the defining event of that era – the Great War – affected such things.” (9)

Hearts and Minds is based on two published correspondence columns, “Prim Rose at Home,” which ran in the weekly *Family Herald*, published in Montréal, and an untitled column printed in the *Western Home Monthly*, published in Winnipeg. Twenty thousand letters appeared in these two columns between approximately 1900 and 1930. The content of most of the letters was romantic, and some writers advertised themselves as prospective mates. Azoulay argues that these columns served as inexpensive and accessible Canadian matrimonial bureaus.

In the first two chapters, “The Woman of His Dreams” and “The Man of Her Dreams,” Azoulay summarizes the gender attributes most requested in the two columns. Men requested that prospective brides be domestic, kind, Christian, refined, feminine, and “made of stern stuff.” Men were likely to state even more strongly what they did *not* want: secretaries, school teachers, or suffragettes, all of whom were associated with militancy and a lack of both femininity and domestic competence. Women were subtler when describing their ideal marriage partner. They did, however, state a preference for good workers and providers, as well as for moral and kempt men. Many women correspondents were particularly interested in Western Canadian men,

Azoulay explains, because Western men were synonymous with courageousness. (78) Azoulay describes the debate that emerged in the Prim Rose column on the pros and cons of “the Western man.”

This book gives rich and ample evidence of what correspondents requested in potential mates, but the analysis could be pushed further regarding the issue of representation among the letter writers. How might the writers have constructed themselves to appeal to the opposite sex or conform to gender norms? Azoulay notes that women were more reticent than men in stating their preferred male attributes; this could be extended by using some of the theory on life writing and autobiography as the newspaper correspondence columns offer great comparisons to diaries and correspondence, both published and unpublished.

In a chapter on “The Dos and Don’ts of Romance,” Azoulay details how the editors of the columns – particularly Prim Rose – responded to questions about romance etiquette. Prim Rose was adamant that any kind of romance was inappropriate before the age of eighteen. Upon the age of eighteen, however, it was appropriate for either sex to have multiple suitors or interests until one became serious, which was most clearly marked by an engagement. There were an almost infinite number of rules that were supposed to govern young men and women’s interaction. For example, men should be closest to the curb or road when walking with a woman, and under no circumstances should a single woman make a social call on a bachelor by herself, whether invited or not, if she had any interest in maintaining a good reputation. According to Prim Rose a chaperone, usually in the form of an older sister or mother, should accompany the couple in public, especially after dark. Azoulay further explained that any physical contact between single women and men was forbidden before marriage.

He quoted Prim Rose: "It is true that many girls in sheer innocence and ignorance of possible consequences think it is 'just fun' to be kissed or caressed by a young man when no one is looking. Unfortunately, the 'fun' often leads to bitter repentance and heartbreakings, and when too late the girl would give worlds to undo the harm wrought in the first moment of folly." (113) Azoulay argues that Prim Rose's advice was primarily about securing a good marriage and that she "advised women to use their bodies as bait to elicit a marriage commitment." (114) The advice Azoulay recounts in this chapter pertains mostly to the middle class. More analysis would be welcome regarding whether working-class and middle-class Canadian youth accepted Prim Rose's advice.

In his chapter on "Courtship Hardship," Azoulay explains how Western men suffered from the dearth of "marriageable women." For women, the biggest challenge was appearing passive – and thus not desperate – when looking for a partner. According to Azoulay, "most women could only wait and hope they would be noticed and pursued." (150) Although he does not discuss women's agency to a significant degree, he includes a fantastic example of an assertive advertisement by a British Columbia woman: "Here is one woman, of good education, not unpleasing appearance, thoroughly domesticated, capable, energetic, used to and fond of country life, companionable and amiable, who would gladly correspond with a view to matrimony. This seems very crude, does it not, Prim Rose, but at any rate it is very much to the point." (152)

In his chapter "Love and War," Azoulay argues that World War I had a huge impact on romance. With so many young men serving overseas, the ratio of young women to men became so unbalanced that some communities stopped having dances and other social activities. At the

same time, serving in the war increased the appeal of some men, as was the feeling of a recent enlistee who wrote to Prim Rose that "it may have been my imagination, as I am by no means a ladies' man, but I thought the girls seemed to regard me more approvingly than hitherto." (187) In other cases, the war offered employment opportunities for women, including in munitions and other factories that put them in direct contact with men and led to potentially illicit romance, especially when the young women became involved with married men. Canadian nurses overseas were also in close contact with men. Innumerable difficult circumstances strained relationships in which men served overseas, and of course romance died for the many wives and girlfriends whose men died in the war.

The epilogue summarizes the 1920s. Azoulay notes the sharp shift in romance mores after World War I and particularly the impact of the "Modern Girl." He notes that fewer people used personal columns after the war, so the columns must be examined more broadly. Whatever the case, the ideal man and woman had changed significantly. After World War I, men stopped emphasizing women's domestic skills, femininity, and refinement, and criticizing women's employment and suffragette activities. Men wanted attractive Modern Girls, young women who knew how to have fun and who were not too focused on marriage. Romance was much more casual than before the war, which seems to have accelerated the arrival of looser romantic practices, although Azoulay is careful to note the continuities of romance in some areas.

Although one sometimes wishes *Hearts and Minds* contained more analysis, it is brimming with rich evidence.

HEIDI MACDONALD

University of Lethbridge

Denyse Baillargeon, *Babies for the Nation: The Medicalization of Motherhood in Quebec, 1910–1970*, trans. W. Donald Wilson (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2009)

BABIES FOR THE NATION is an ambitious history of the “medicalization of maternity” in Québec from 1910 to 1970. According to Baillargeon, this involved a socio-medical transformation in the management of pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of young children. In this process, Québec women were convinced that maternity was an event that required the intervention of medical professionals, mainly physicians and affiliated professionals and organizations. While the medicalization of maternity is a common theme in the history of health care, as Baillargeon points out, a central political concern that animated this transformation in Québec was the problem of high infant mortality, reported at times to be the highest among industrialized nations.

The book is grounded in exhaustive research offering up an impressive array of historical detail. A through investigation of medical literature and health policy occupies the first chapters, where Baillargeon shows how maternity was placed at the centre of efforts to preserve and maintain the Québec nation, prompting many players to engage in a “medico-nationalist” discourse and offer solutions for high rates of infant death. As the author notes, the high reported rates of infant mortality might require some interrogation, as Québec reporting was subject to different practices than in other parts of Canada, probably counting stillbirths as infant deaths for a variety of faith-based and ethical reasons. Whatever the count, infant mortality became highly politicized by the turn of the century. Baillargeon links pro-natalism in Québec with growing concerns in many industrialized nations that medical

intervention in maternity was required to develop and maintain a productive labour force, concerns only brought into sharper relief by the two World Wars.

As was the case elsewhere, medicalizing maternity also served the interests of physician organizations, who sought to convince women that medical professionals were the only legitimate and trustworthy source of information about child and prenatal care. The medical profession proceeded on the basis that child health would be won by targeting the childbearing and rearing practices of Québec mothers. Highlighting the unequal gender relations between male physicians and their female patients – and Baillargeon observed the early to mid-century bias against female physicians endemic to the profession in Québec – the author critiques doctors who attributed mortality rates to the ignorance of mothers rather than material want and poverty. Such discourses placed responsibility for the health of French Québec infants squarely in the hands of Québec mothers. In this way, the politicization of maternity, which preceded medicalization, not only blurred the divide between public concerns and private life as it increased the prestige of physicians, it also helped to embed them as experts in the creation and implementation of health policies in the province.

The chapters that follow describe the services implemented and offered by a variety of public and private organizations. These include major players such as the Victorian Order of Nurses from 1898–1947, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company from 1910–1953, and the *Assistance maternelle de Montreal* (AMM), a philanthropic organization aimed at Catholic mothers, founded in 1912. The author offers incredible detail on the variety of services and service structures among towns and cities across the province and between urban and rural areas.

These services were served up alongside a generous helping of advice and health information disseminated through an ever-widening array of media, documenting the plethora of public lectures, radio and television, films, advertising, newspaper and magazine columns, and brochures and pamphlets. We also learn how reliant on the support of women's groups, women volunteers, nurses, and clergy the medical authorities were to ensure the dissemination and acceptance of their precepts, especially before mid-century. While the rising authority of the medical profession is significant, Baillargeon argues that it was the development of these multivariied free services that gave real momentum to the medicalization process. She notes that the interaction among such groups was often contentious and sometimes bitter as the purview and mandate of these organizations often overlapped and competed with each other. Sometimes this empowered women and allowed them to be selective consumers of services. Other times, this overlap required groups to strike alliances. All these players engaged, through the quest for healthy maternity, with the Québec nationalist question.

This analysis alone would have made for a significant book, but Baillargeon's research does not end there. The final chapter presents findings from over sixty interviews with Québec women who bore and raised children from the Depression era to the end of the Baby Boom. This chapter offers some of the most potent insights about the medicalization process. Here we learn that while many Québec women did seek out and accept medical advice and services, they were selective in how they applied that advice and services in their daily lives. Baillargeon finds that some medicalization projects were more successful than others. Women were, for instance, more likely to resign themselves to difficult pregnancies and were less likely to seek out prenatal care than

they were to seek out infant care for their infants and young children. Participation in well-baby clinics, moreover, provided opportunities for socializing and gave women time and space to share their own findings and experiences with child and maternal health, in addition to receiving the expert advice of care providers. And we learn many about many elements of change over time. Ending with an epilogue that discusses the medicalization of contraception, the author notes the concomitant decline in overall fertility and family size over the course of the 20th century. Baillargeon is then able to use her oral histories to document how mothers found themselves better able to provide care to their children and care for themselves during pregnancy and parturition as their families shrank.

This book is among the best scholarly histories to come forth in Canada in the last decade and provides a model for exhaustive well-integrated social history research. It should be of particular interest to historians of women and gender, historians of medicine and health care, and political historians. Social science historians will find Baillargeon's review of demographic data collection in the opening chapter fascinating. Finally, the oral history in the final chapter provides an impressive methodological model for those interested in incorporating such sources into their work, as it is so well integrated into the archival research presented in the previous chapters. The French-language version was the recipient of many awards when it first came out in 2004, including the Lionel-Groulx Prize, the Québec Clío Prize, and the Jean-Charles Falardeau prize. The book's translation into English in 2009 by W. Donald Wilson brings an important work to a welcoming wider readership. A key contribution to Canadian historical scholarship, *Babies for the Nation* shows how the medicalization of

maternity profoundly transformed the experience of maternity and childbirth, but also transformed Québec society in the process.

SASHA MULLALLY
University of New Brunswick

David Levy, *Stalin's Man in Canada: Fred Rose and Soviet Espionage* (New York: Enigma Books 2011)

MORDECAI RICHLER, in his book *The Street* (1969), unwittingly provides a succinct summation of David Levy's new book: "These, remember, were the roseate years when commie traitor Fred Rose, our M.P., went from parliament to prison." (4)

A glowing cover quotation from Chapman Pincher, or Harry as the author refers to him, tells readers of *Stalin's Man in Canada* at the outset that the Cold War never ended for this author. Pincher, the English tabloid journalist who in his 90's is still busy hunting moles in the British Secret Service, opines that this volume "answers many questions about Soviet intelligence in the early Cold War." Readers of this journal will search with disappointment for such new data. I cannot resist adding à propos of Pincher that E. P. Thompson, in his *Writing by Candlelight* (1980), quipped that Pincher's use of intentional government leaks could be best described "as a kind of official urinal."

The author of *Stalin's Man*, according to his publisher's description, is Montréal born (1938) and grew up in Cartier, the federal constituency represented by his subject, Fred Rose, the only Communist elected (actually twice, once in a 1943 by-election and again in 1945) to the Canadian House of Commons. (Dorise Nielsen, an active member of the Labor Progressive Party, as the Communist Party of Canada was named in World War II after the party came under attack during the period of the Nazi-Soviet

Pact, had been elected in 1940 as a United Progressive candidate in North Battleford, Saskatchewan.) Levy holds higher degrees in English and a McGill PhD in Communications (1983) for a thesis on early American cinema. After many years as a lecturer and writer in the US and abroad he has returned to Montréal. On one level the book appears to be an attempt to come to grips with the Cartier of his childhood but unfortunately it gives short shrift to the potentially fascinating social history aspects of the area as described in Richler's stories and novels, with the exception of a repeated return to the Jewish context.

The book is published by Enigma of New York City, which appears to focus on wars and intelligence, primarily in the 20th century. The Cold War, both in fact and fiction, make up a major part of their list. Unfortunately, in this case at least, they have not served their author well, as the book is badly flawed in organization and scholarly apparatus. It is often repetitive and is filled with lengthy digressions that interfere with the book's flow and obscure the author's argument. Although some materials are footnoted, the citations are often inadequate and never contain pagination. There is an index but no bibliography. Unpublished materials, such as Fred Rose's letters from Warsaw to Canada, are paraphrased and quoted at length but their location is not revealed. And there are some major factual gaffes that a modicum of editing would have caught. For example, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation did not exist in 1930 (34) and William Lyon Mackenzie King was not a labour lawyer for the Rockefellers at Ludlow. (51)

This background is an attempt to illuminate what is often a confusing book. The author provides a sometimes interrupted narrative of "Freddy," as the author annoyingly calls Rose throughout, from electoral victories through the

Gouzenko revelations and his subsequent arrest, detention, trial, conviction, and jailing. Gouzenko gets almost as much attention as “Stalin’s Man.” The book is resolutely anti-Communist, not just anti-Stalinist, as some might have hoped. Perhaps its biggest flaw is its dependence on the dodgiest of US and UK Cold War bromides about Soviet espionage. As suggested above, Chapman Pincher and his active campaign to expose Roger Hollis as a Soviet agent are but one sad example. Similar dependence on shaky and sometimes quasi-fictional readings of US events surrounding Krivitsky and Kravchenko, Soviet defectors to the US, weaken this volume. Readers will also find that other staples of the Canadian espionage canon, such as the Soviet use of our passports, the transmission of Soviet funds to allied parties, the question of the military value to the USSR of the formula for the explosive RDX, the possible roles of MI5’s Stewart Menzies and Roger Hollis in the Gouzenko events, and the significance of the Gouzenko revelations themselves, are better told by authors such as Steve Hewitt, Don Avery, Mark Kristmanson, and Amy Knight.

The author does have some useful insights into the early RCMP failures to imagine a Soviet espionage presence in the milieu of Canadian Communism so confident were they in their total penetration of the party, which they perceived solely as a domestic political threat. He also is perceptive in his descriptions of the petty harassment that the RCMP and the Canadian state engaged in both while and after Rose served his punishment. The refusal to take Rose’s jail illnesses seriously, the hounding of his attempts to support himself and his family, the termination of his citizenship, and the refusal to allow him to return to Canada even as a visitor for family weddings and funerals are all outlined in considerable detail. It is not a pretty picture of the Canadian

state’s petty but resolute vindictiveness, perpetrated by Conservative and Liberal governments alike.

Less well told but suggestive is Levy’s account of the CPC’s attitude to Rose post-Gouzenko. Written out of party history, Rose apparently remained an embarrassment to the Tim Buck leadership, according to this account. To be fair Buck’s *Yours in the Struggle* (1977) does contain a chapter on “The Spy Trials.” What aid Rose received from the USSR or its Polish allies is not made clear. Indeed, while the author dwells on the inadequacies of the Roses’ last days in Warsaw, as the Solidarity struggles advanced, we are left with little sense of everyday life before those crises. Inexplicably, the author does not consider the experience of other Gouzenko exiles in Warsaw such as David Shugar and his wife, who were able to return to Canada at will. Indeed on page 206 Levy appears to be uncertain of Shugar’s and Eric Adam’s presence there.

The book is surprisingly ambivalent in its conclusions about Rose. “More Fullerbrush man than deadly, espionage operative,” “Freddy” becomes a somewhat pathetic victim of his ideological commitments. The sympathy displayed by the author at the end sits uneasily with his staunch anti-communism and his unreservedly Cold War ideological efforts to inflate Gouzenko and his revelations.

GREGORY S. KEALEY

University of New Brunswick

Alan Filewod, *Committing Theatre: Theatre Radicalism and Political Intervention in Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2011)

ALAN FILEWOD’S *Committing Theatre: Theatre Radicalism and Political Intervention in Canada* is a landmark entry in Canadian theatre and cultural history. Filewod’s study is the first

to construct a genealogy of theatre in Canada that shows a continuous, if diverse and at times fractious, culture of politically committed theatre in all regions of the country over the past two centuries. In so doing, he challenges conventional and official theatre histories in an intellectually rigorous yet highly readable analysis of the cultural field of interventionist theatre.

One of Filewod's most important contributions here is that he revises and expands conventional definitions of the theatrical generally and political theatre specifically. In Chapter 1, "Purposeful Performance and Theatrical Refusals," Filewod explains that the theatre (largely indoor, scripted, organized performances on stages) is only one part of theatrical culture, although it is often the most recoverable and institutionally sanctioned. It is therefore unsurprising that theatre history has been dominated by dramatic plays, yet Filewod shows there is much more to the story. Theatrical culture, more broadly imagined, includes a whole range of performances that – in their very contingency and ephemerality – are much more difficult to recover as knowable objects of study. This is precisely the task Filewod sets himself and, in the rest of the chapters, he reconstructs both specific plays and a broader culture of political performance and active spectatorship central to Canadian culture over the past two centuries.

Another important intervention here is that Filewod conceives of political theatre as that which "works to be useful, that has a purposeful intent." (1) Consequently, not all of the examples that follow are left-wing or socialist theatres; indeed, one of his methodological breakthroughs is to show how such political theatre as William Aberhart's 1920s radio broadcasts, World War II shows, and contemporary military reenactments need to be understood as

part of "the instrumentality of theatre as a social practice." (1) Political theatre emerges here as a medium available to a range of movements and ideologies, and its history becomes much broader and richer as Filewod casts his net beyond the predictable.

The historical analysis begins in Chapter 2, "Class, Spectatorship and the Unruly Nineteenth Century." This is a particularly welcome addition to pre-20th-century theatre studies and Filewod uses a variety of case studies to show how 19th-century Canada enjoyed a broad culture of spectacle in playhouses, from scripted performances that ran the gamut from Shakespeare to melodrama, to the morally instructive plays of the temperance movement, to the political interventions of journalistic drama and suffrage mock parliaments. The chapter closes with examples of "spectating performers" to locate these organized theatrical performances within a larger network of theatre culture emerging in workers' political and fraternal organizations at communal events such as banquets, concerts, parades, and even within the more unruly, often satiric, public performances of crowds, mobs, and mummers.

The next two chapters move onto perhaps better-known ground in Canadian theatre history when they pick up on the development of agitprop and the radical leftist theatres of the 1930s. While some of these details are already available, Filewod brings a unique perspective to the material through his knowledge of the international allegiances, both political and aesthetic, of Canadian radical theatre activists, his personal reflections on the legacy of some of the key players whom he had the opportunity to interview, and his insistence that we understand this explicitly committed theatre as part of a larger and longer theatre culture in Canada and elsewhere. Chapter 3, "Mobilized Theatre and the Invention of

Agitprop," begins with a welcome discussion of non-English theatrical cultures before World War II, such as the Ukrainian and Finnish dramatic societies, and the complex representation of Aboriginality in pageants staged both on and off reserves. Chapter 4, "Six Comrades and a Suitcase," analyzes the contexts and outcomes of the collaborative production and thwarted performances of the 1932 play *Eight Men Speak*. The culmination of his decades-long research and publishing on this play, this chapter offers the definitive study of this notorious contribution to the performance culture of the Communist Party of Canada.

Those who think radical theatre ended with the outbreak of World War II are well advised to keep reading. In Chapters 5 and 6, Filewod studies mid-century radicalism and the evolution of agitprop into the 1970s to show how radical theatrical culture evolved over these decades but retained a sense of those earlier leftist innovations. In a compelling historiography of how the mid-century has been written out of national theatre history, Filewod argues that we need to revise the dominant mythology of cultural discontinuity: "The myth of the empty pre-national 1950s enabled a narrative of self-discovery in the 1960s and 1970s, when the counterculture 'rediscovered' the principles of activism, radical aesthetics, collectivity, and theatrical mobility. Like the narrative of nation-building, and professional canonicity that it shadowed, this narrative required any theatre-building to take place on a depopulated, empty ground." (151) Filewod fills this seemingly empty ground with research into postwar socialist and labour plays and 1960s and 1970s activist and agitprop groups. From the Toronto Play-Actors of the 1950s, to the Vancouver Street Theatre of the 1960s, to the Ottawa (ironically named) Great Canadian Theatre Company in the 1970s, Filewod shows how 1930s agitprop

evolved for decades after into new forms of radical street theatre, including puppetry and the carnivalesque, that continue today.

The historical scholarship here is rigorous yet accessible. Filewod's descriptions of performances gleaned from newspapers, letters, police bulletins, oral histories, and many other sources are lively and vivid. As the chapters move closer to the present, they become more first-person; the research is supplemented by Filewod's personal archive and memories, from his participation in the well-known Newfoundland Mummerys' Troupe of the 1970s to a 2007 student agitprop documentary about a potential faculty strike at his own institution, the University of Guelph. This is a welcome strategy, as the scholar becomes memoirist and the political becomes personal.

His insider knowledge is particularly useful when he discusses the (sometimes inevitable) implosion of radical theatre groups once they gain a measure of success. Likewise, he draws on his own and others' personal experiences to analyze key players and does not shy away from the impact of difficult personalities on the success and sustainability of radical theatre groups. This is no hagiography of theatre radicals, as Filewod maintains an even hand throughout to show that one link in this genealogy is the ideological and artistic problems of success. Chapter 7, on the Mummerys Troupe of St. John's (1973–82), is a fascinating recent history of a familiar story: time and again, unruly radical theatre activists have had to confront individual and collective desires to professionalize and discipline their troupes, just as they have had to acknowledge the emergence of new ideological positions and radical movements that view them as the old guard.

But, once again, Filewod refuses a narrative of conflict and discontinuity when he goes on to show how the lessons of

previous decades' successes and failures led to the popular theatre movement of the 1980s. Influenced by Brazilian activist-theorist Augusto Boal, whose Theatre of the Oppressed techniques were established in several Canadian companies by the mid-80s, this popular theatre movement was pluralist, culturally diverse, and represented a range of responses to the problems of sustainability and funding, from institutional partnerships to political dissent.

The book ends with a short chapter on digital performance cultures that brings the argument full circle by showing that older and newer forms of committed theatre can coexist. As he suggested playfully at the beginning of Chapter 1, "film no more killed theatre than television killed film, or home video killed cinemas, or video killed the radio star." (3) This is another refreshing approach that resists either alarmism or anxiety about the ubiquity of digital media and its dominance in youth culture. His approach throughout, in its echoes of Raymond Williams' distinctions among residual, dominant, and emergent cultural forms, allows Filewod to construct his genealogy as a network of ideological confluences and revisions rather than a series of generational conflicts or disavowals.

This book is essential reading for anyone interested in Canadian theatre and history. Throughout, Filewod offers new research on long lost plays and performances by working-class, unemployed, immigrant, youth, women's, leftist, religious, and even military communities who mobilized theatrical culture to intervene in everyday life and political affairs. As Filewod reminds us, the role of theatre in these political movements was as much about participation as it was about spectatorship: the act of committing theatre was, and is, a form of political agency. *Committing Theatre* is a welcome intervention that will start

new conversations about both the performance cultures and the historiographies of Canadian theatre.

CANDIDA RIFKIND
University of Winnipeg

Carmela Patrias, *Jobs and Justice: Fighting Discrimination in Wartime Canada, 1939–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2012)

A CRITICAL THEME in any history of human rights is the role of organized labour and left political movements in mobilizing for social change. Carmela Patrias' wonderfully written account of racial discrimination and resistance in Canada during World War II is well timed. The author is among an emerging cohort of historians in Canada, as well as a growing number of scholars internationally, who have begun to develop a scholarship on the history of human rights. Canadians' fascination with human rights has led to the creation of a new national museum – the Canadian Museum for Human Rights – that will open soon in Winnipeg.

In *Jobs and Justice*, Patrias documents the nature and extent of racial discrimination in employment. There was an acute labour shortage during the war and yet many employers refused to hire racial minorities. In fact, the experience of war intensified racism. Patrias explores the social construction of race to demonstrate the fluidity of racial classifications, for example the way eastern Europeans were defined as racial minorities. Her study places a particular emphasis on Jews, African Canadians, Asians, and Aboriginal peoples.

Patrias' account of the role of the state is especially fascinating. The federal government officially banned racial discrimination in employment while simultaneously colluding with employers to marginalize racial minorities. State

officials did so believing that it would contribute to social peace and prevent a disruption in the economy. And yet the state could not completely ignore the plight of racial minorities, who constituted an indispensable labour pool at a time in history when they were badly needed.

Rather than portraying racial minorities as victims, Patrias examines how they used the labour shortage and the state's wartime rhetoric to advance human rights. *Jobs and Justice* is not only about how people experienced discrimination, but also how they mobilized in opposition. Eastern Europeans, for instance, placed a great deal of faith in the labour movement and in the principle of reorganizing society along socialist principles. They understood racism as a product of class divisions, and overcoming racism was essential to creating a more egalitarian society. Organized labour became one of the principal advocates for human rights during the war. Their activism, among other things, made visible the contradictions and inconsistencies in racial discourse.

The book is essential reading for any historian interested in the study of labour and working class history, human rights, anti-discrimination law, social movements and race in Canada. Several chapters are dedicated to specific racial groups in an attempt to highlight the contradictions in constructing racial categories. Another chapter makes a significant contribution to the study of discrimination and resistance by Aboriginal peoples, which is an issue that requires further study. One chapter, written in the form of an intellectual history of racism, is dedicated to a series of biographies of notable social conservatives. Given the dearth of studies on social movement history in Canada, Patrias' book fills an important gap in the scholarship on mobilization and collective action. Another critical contribution, albeit not addressed

directly in the book, is to reinforce recent studies in human rights history that date the emergence of the modern human rights movement before the creation of the United Nations and the postwar settlement. The failure of movements in the 1930s and during the war to secure substantive changes in state policy often obscures the significance of these movements, and has led far too many historians to presume that the human rights movement emerged after the war.

One of the central arguments in the book is that Jews, as well as organized labour and the political left (including Communists), were among the most influential proponents of state policy to ban discrimination. This is entirely accurate. Although they would be overshadowed beginning in the 1960s by newly emerging social movements, during the war they were among the few collective voices advocating tolerance towards racial minorities. Still, the author's critique of these activists is muted, and too easily obscures the contradictions and inconsistencies within these movements. Only in the conclusion does the author discuss briefly the utter failure of Jewish activists, if not the labour movement overall, to acknowledge sex discrimination. In fact, it would be another generation before the labour movement mobilized around gender equality. The Jewish Labour Committee – perhaps the most influential human rights organization during this period in Canada – did nothing to address sex discrimination. Patrias' is justifiably critical of social conservatives and laudable of the left, without giving due credit to progressive liberals who were influential in challenging racism in newspapers, magazines, civil liberties associations, politics, books, and on the radio. The alliance among liberals and social democrats during and after the war was far more central to changing state policy than Communists who were

increasingly marginalized within the labour movement. True, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was the most visible political force promoting tolerance, but there were also influential elements within the federal governing Liberal Party and its provincial counterparts. Unlike Australia, where almost every single human rights policy innovation in the 20th century emerged from the Labour Party, human rights policy in Canada has a long history of cross-partisan support.

The book does not address the situation facing women and French Canadians. Patrias' readily acknowledges these lacunae. According to the author, the former requires an entirely separate study, whereas the latter did not fit because French Canadians constituted a unique classification. There are several other critical topics not fully explored in this study: regional variations and provincial government policy; international influence on Canadian movements and policy; why some minorities were more successful than others in mobilizing resistance; the intersectionality of race/sex/class; and the role of the courts in legitimizing employment discrimination. But acknowledging these omissions is not so much a criticism of this book rather than a testament to the need for future studies to enrich the existing scholarship on human rights history in Canada.

DOMINIQUE CLÉMENT
University of Alberta

James Pritchard, *A Bridge of Ships: Canadian Shipbuilding during the Second World War* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2011)

THE HISTORY OF Canadian shipbuilding deserves a second look, according to historian James Pritchard. Neglected in

North American studies of shipbuilding and dismissed within naval and political histories of Canada, Canadian shipbuilding during World War II offers historians an opportunity to reexamine the interplay of labour relations, naval policy, and state-capital partnerships. *A Bridge of Ships* attempts to correct several interpretations of Canada's wartime policies and contributions to the Allied fight while asserting that shipyard workers played a much larger role in that struggle than has been previously acknowledged.

Covering a wide range of issues facing shipbuilders, *A Bridge of Ships* is a multilayered history of labour, national policy, and industrial expansion in the 20th century. Pritchard sets out to capture all facets of Canadian shipbuilding during World War II, not only to show the impact of shipbuilding on other industries but also to challenge other interpretations. Farmers, bush workers, and coal miners came to the shipyard and built the vessels required but their story has been only partially told, and then only relegated them to marginal and incompetent roles. Poorly trained and often more poorly paid, they left no lasting legacy on Canadian history. The question of legacy is partially filled by heavy gleanings of statistical and qualitative reports from imperial and Canadian documents. Given Canada's small pre-war shipbuilding industry it is not surprising that shipyard workers did not capture Canadian consciousness. Although those familiar with shipbuilding historiographies will compare *A Bridge of Ships* with Frederic Lane's classic text on US shipbuilding, *Ships for Victory*, the juxtaposition of two comprehensive analyses would be appropriate only up to a point.

In each chapter Pritchard encapsulates and analyzes the competing demands of labour and Canadian defence policy while challenging past interpretations of shipyard efficiency, governmental

coordination, and US influence. Chapter 1 introduces pre-war Canada's rather small shipbuilding capacity and sets the stage for World War II's impact on the industry. Chapters 2 and 3 explain the significance of Canada's first national shipbuilding program, disproving previous studies that emphasized inefficient administrators and blamed allegedly incompetent workers. In comparative perspective, Pritchard addresses both the West Coast where wages were higher and the East Coast where most of the ship production took place. Slow development marked the early days of Canadian production; weak coordination between the Departments of Munitions and Supply and Defence and the Royal Canadian Navy were further complicated by the Crown's shifting priorities and resources over on-the-ground knowledge of the shipyards and their abilities. While the Canadian government remained less than enthusiastic regarding British naval demands, Canadian shipbuilding production achieved several goals. In the early months of Canada's shipbuilding effort, despite impossible delivery schedules imposed by the government, Canadian corvettes were produced at a rate that rivalled larger and more established British shipbuilding companies at the time.

Chapter 4 reveals that the partnership between shipbuilders and the government created a new shipbuilding industry with little resemblance to the past "country of little boats." In Chapter 5 Canadian repair work, an area that in the shipbuilding historiography is often dissected for its inefficiency and workers' bungling of designs and production schedules, receives a great deal of Pritchard's attention. In actuality, Canadian repair work represented a major achievement, not a failure. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 present the most intensive labour analyses in the book as Pritchard unravels the lack

of union power in the face of state policies. Chapters 8 and 9 represent two industries that were changed dramatically as a result of the Canada's wartime shipbuilding program. Chapter 10 expands shipbuilding history generally, not just its Canadian sector, by including small vessels. As significant as this aspect is, it should have been incorporated into the larger story of naval and cargo vessels to give it its proper due. The linking of construction and repair work allows Pritchard in Chapter 11 to address many of the criticisms of Canadian shipbuilding, particularly in comparison with its partners in the United States. Finally, Chapter 12 sums up the legacy.

A record of achievement not failure unfolds as Pritchard addresses Canadian ship production. The positive legacy is partially based on unrecognized production and, equally important, according to Pritchard, on overcoming multiple managerial and physical obstacles. Whereas past treatments of Canadian shipyard workers have largely held them responsible for poor quality and low production, Pritchard demonstrates that most contemporary accounts of the shipyard workers acknowledged their ability to make the most of swift training, limited supplies, and high governmental demand. Even the weather did not cooperate, as harsh Canadian winters thwarted and delayed vessel construction.

Shipbuilding historiography intersects several research streams: maritime, business, military, labour, and foreign policy interests all played a role in shaping modern shipbuilding. Pritchard avoids (happily) regular comparisons with US shipbuilding. However, where appropriate he notes US interference with Canadian efforts as in the case of repair work. US naval authorities monitored Canadian shipbuilding but were often incorrectly critical of organization and productivity in the Canadian shipyards.

In the larger context of Canada's economy, shipbuilding finally takes its rightful and complicated place in Canada's latent industrialization. At the beginning of the war, with fewer than ten per cent of the population engaged in industrial work, Canada seemed an unlikely candidate for contribution to the arsenal of democracy. Quite to the contrary, Canada's ships – cargo, naval, and smaller vessels – became the means by which Canada fostered greater heavy industry. At the very least ship construction stimulated Canadian manufacturing and steel production to such an extent that both industries expanded greatly to meet shipyard demands. Wartime shipbuilding ushered in Canada's transition to greater manufacturing in the postwar period.

One of the strengths of *A Bridge of Ships* is Pritchard's ability to situate Canadian industry in the larger wartime historiography and to give a comparatively small shipbuilding industry appropriate attention. Given the balance of wartime studies devoted to North American wartime studies, which privilege US activities over any others, this Canadian narrative forces a new consideration of government-business partnerships in all wartime studies.

This is an ambitious and comprehensive work, drawing on several historiographies. Although his focus is on Canadian shipyard workers Pritchard necessarily delves into the working lives of steelworkers, coal miners, and fishermen. His intention appears not to have the final say on Canadian shipbuilding but to recover lost narratives, to offer new interpretations, and to encourage further research and debate. To that extent Pritchard has delivered a sound scholarly vessel worthy of the historical journey.

ROBIN DEARMON MUHAMMAD
Ohio University

Peter Clancy, *Offshore Petroleum Politics: Regulation and Risk in the Scotian Basin* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

PETER CLANCY'S interesting and valuable book "delineates the economic fortunes of the Scotian Basin" over a fifty-year period. He casts the analysis as a "political and economic history of an offshore petroleum formation in contemporary times." (2) He tells the reader on page 1 that the Scotian Basin "remains a promise unfulfilled" when compared to other offshore petroleum developments such as those in the North Sea and elsewhere. Among the forces and factors that he examines are business strategies including globalized business, state authorities, the political complications of federalism, issues regarding Crown title, and various phases of administrative development. To get at this story and to answer key questions, Clancy then argues that it is necessary "to explore the complex interplay between regulation and risk." (2).

The value of the book is that unlike many political scientists writing about complex policy and governance fields over longer time periods Clancy resists the temptation to deploy an explicit simplified analytical framework into which one attempts to shoehorn the explanatory story. This book is instead a genuinely good historical analysis and is told as such, but it certainly goes well beyond the aforementioned "regulation and risk" theme (about which more will be said below). Instead of deploying one framework the author has many analytical vignettes in the various chapters that make up the total story. Moreover the book necessarily examines fiscal and equalization politics and dependencies as well as regulation.

One of these analytical vignettes, and a crucial one not normally a part of energy policy analysis by social scientists, is

Clancy's examination in Chapter 2 of offshore basin development. He examines its discrete sequence or cycle of events, and its geological and related investment and political links in a defined basin, and indeed in defining the uncertain boundaries of a basin offshore but also partly onshore as well. This quite literally grounds the book as whole in an extremely effective and telling way. In a similar manner, the analysis of the provincial state in Chapter 5 (Nova Scotia and neighbouring provinces) is linked to notions of its "entrepreneurial impulse," a much more tentative and interesting way to discuss and characterize the state in business itself and the state interacting with businesses, including global and local firms.

Thus, the book in many ways makes quite original and interesting contributions not only to the regional Nova Scotia and Atlantic Canada energy and resource political-economic story but also to Canadian energy policy and politics, and to comparative offshore oil and gas analysis. The book is also one of the first in Canada to examine some early aspects of the role and potential of liquefied natural gas (LNG). In addition, its examination of Aboriginal issues in offshore petroleum politics and also the coastal fishery is well handled.

What then of the book's treatment of the "regulation and risk" subtitle themes, including the interplay between the two? My main criticism here is that the book falls short of the standard set in the rest of the book, largely because it is not anchored in any reasonably broad and recent literature about regulation and risk, particularly the risk side of the relationship. What is missing is a reasonable attempt even briefly to relate the offshore and oil and gas aspects of risk to the larger challenges of risk regulation, including not only risk assessment, risk management, and risk communication features, but also risk-benefit features.

Also, somewhat surprising is the book's lack of treatment of climate change as a factor or issue in the total story. It is possible that compared to national and western Canadian oil and gas policy and politics, climate change issues simply did not resonate in the recent Nova Scotia story as a whole. If they did not, then some explanation of why this happened would help complete the political-environmental narrative.

Finally, in this reviewer's view, the author is remiss in the way he underplays the discussion of Canadian national energy politics since 2006 when the Harper Conservative Government came to power. There is little that picks up on Harper as an Alberta-based pro-market Conservative politician leading a government that has characterized Canada as an energy superpower and as a producer of ethical oil. Again, it would be helpful to know why this does or does not play out in the Nova Scotia offshore petroleum story.

Overall, however, this is a book well worth reading and which tells a compelling and important story. It also contains many analytical vignettes its author has happily not been afraid to deploy as a part of his historical analysis.

BRUCE DOERN

Carleton University and
University of Exeter

Jean-Charles Panneton, *Pierre Laporte*
(Québec: Septentrion 2012)

COMME LE RAPPELLE Gilles Lesage dans sa préface, Pierre Laporte est indissociable de la Crise d'octobre qui secoue le pays en 1970. Par contre, Laporte est plus qu'une victime. Lors de son enlèvement par la cellule Chénier du Front de libération du Québec, Laporte est un acteur important de la vie politique du Québec. Avant d'être élu député de la

circonscription électorale de Chambly, en 1961, puis ministre dans les cabinets des premiers ministres Jean Lesage et Robert Bourassa, Laporte était un journaliste pour le quotidien *Le Devoir*.

D'emblée, il faut signaler que la biographie de Laporte n'apporte rien de neuf sur les circonstances de sa mort. L'auteur de l'ouvrage, Jean-Charles Panneton, utilise le rapport de la commission d'enquête Keable et le reportage du journaliste de la Société Radio-Canada, Guy Gendron, diffusé dans le cadre de l'émission *Tout le monde en parlait*, le 24 septembre 2010. Cette situation s'explique par une des difficultés importantes dans la préparation de la biographie : l'absence d'un fonds d'archives Pierre Laporte. Cette biographie est frustrante pour le lecteur, mais aussi pour Panneton puisque nous n'avons pas droit aux états d'âme de Laporte lorsqu'il travaille au *Devoir*, à ses réactions aux critiques du premier ministre Maurice Duplessis à la suite de ses reportages accablants sur son administration, à ses impressions sur ses collègues lorsqu'il siège aux cabinets des premiers ministres Jean Lesage et Robert Bourassa, ou encore à ses réflexions sur la défaite des libéraux provinciaux en 1966 ou sa course à la direction du parti libéral provincial. Faute d'accès aux documents personnels de Laporte, Panneton utilise les écrits publics de Laporte, notamment ses articles dans *Le Devoir* ainsi que ses discours et lettres retrouvés dans divers fonds d'archives.

Malgré cette faiblesse, la biographie mérite d'être lue, ne serait-ce que pour rappeler la carrière journalistique et politique de Pierre Laporte. L'ouvrage est divisé en six chapitres, qui correspondent à divers moments de la carrière de Laporte. Trois chapitres sont toutefois courts : le premier traitant de la naissance et de l'éducation de Laporte, le troisième sur son passage à la direction de la revue

nationaliste *L'Action nationale* et le dernier sur la crise d'octobre.

Ce sont les chapitres consacrés à sa carrière de journaliste et d'homme politique qui sont les plus substantiels. Le second chapitre porte sur sa carrière journalistique. Après un bref passage au *Canada*, Laporte amorce une longue carrière au quotidien *Le Devoir*, en 1944. Quatre ans plus tard, il occupe le poste de correspondant parlementaire à Québec. Cette fonction lui permet d'applaudir les bons coups du premier ministre Duplessis, tels que la défense de l'autonomie de la province et la création d'un impôt provincial, mais aussi de critiquer durement d'autres aspects de l'administration duplessiste, tels que la politique d'exploitation des ressources naturelles et le scandale du gaz naturel. En plus de la couverture de la politique, Laporte s'intéresse aux communautés francophones en milieu minoritaire. Il participe aux voyages organisés par le Conseil de la vie française en Amérique. Ces voyages, notamment celui en Colombie-Britannique, l'incitent à lancer une campagne de cueillette de livres en français pour les francophones de cette province. Lorsque Laporte deviendra le ministre des Affaires culturelles en 1964, il appuie avec enthousiasme la politique québécoise à l'égard des groupes francophones en Amérique du Nord.

Le quatrième chapitre aborde son passage en politique active. Candidat nationaliste indépendant en 1956, il est battu malgré l'appui tacite du parti libéral provincial. C'est en 1961 que Laporte devient député libéral, pour faire suite à sa victoire dans la circonscription électorale de Chambly lors d'une élection complémentaire. Réélu un an plus tard lors des élections générales, Laporte devient ministre des Affaires municipales. Il pilote le projet de fusion des municipalités de l'île de Jésus qui forme la ville de Laval. Le ministre songe

à faire de même avec l'île de Montréal, mais il ne force pas la main aux élus. Suite au départ de George-Émile Laplame, Laporte devient le ministre des Affaires culturelles. Durant son passage à la direction de ce ministère de 1964 jusqu'à la défaite des libéraux en 1966, Laporte pilote l'élaboration d'une politique culturelle, qui demeure toutefois à l'état de projet.

Le cinquième chapitre traite des années dans l'opposition officielle. Laporte occupe alors les fonctions de leader parlementaire de l'Opposition officielle. Par contre, ses prises de position, notamment son appui à la loi 63 reconnaissant le libre choix des parents en matière d'éducation et à Pierre E. Trudeau lors des élections fédérales de juin 1968, lui attirent des ennuis, comme il le constate lors de la course à la direction du parti libéral. Malgré l'appui de 18 députés, la campagne de Laporte connaît de nombreuses difficultés. D'abord, l'establishment du parti lui préfère le jeune économiste Robert Bourassa. Ensuite, le financement de sa campagne cause des maux de tête à ses organisateurs. Enfin, les militants lui préfèrent Robert Bourassa. Les sondages le donnent d'ailleurs perdant. Meurtri, Laporte se résigne pendant à demeurer membre du parti libéral du Québec.

Réélu en avril 1970, Laporte accède au cabinet en occupant les postes de ministre du Travail, de la Main-d'œuvre et de l'Immigration ainsi que celui de leader parlementaire. Il connaît un été mouvementé avec la grève dans l'industrie de la construction. Quant aux événements du FLQ, Laporte est kidnappé et meurt le 17 octobre. Le dernier chapitre permet à Panneton de rétablir les faits au sujet des prétendus liens entre Laporte et le monde interlope. Il cite les conclusions de la Commission de police du Québec qui affirme, en 1974, qu'il n'y a aucun lien entre Laporte et le

monde interlope. Par ailleurs, Panneton précise que ces accusations naissent au moment de la course à la direction du parti libéral du Québec. Alors que Laporte cherche désespérément des fonds pour sa campagne, quelques-uns de ses organisateurs contactent un membre de la mafia. Ce dernier indique aux organisateurs qu'il est impossible de financer cette campagne, puisque Laporte n'a aucune chance de devenir le prochain chef du parti.

Rédigée dans un style clair, la biographie intéressera ceux qui veulent découvrir ou redécouvrir l'homme. Par contre, elle n'apporte rien de nouveau sur l'épisode tragique de sa mort.

MARCEL MARTEL

Université York

Edgar-André Montigny, ed., *The Real Dope: Social, Legal, and Historical Perspectives on the Regulation of Drugs in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2011)

RECENTLY A FEW professors on the campus where I teach complained about the marijuana smoke that drifts into their department hallways while they are teaching or working in their offices. *The Real Dope* is an effort to explain how we came to have such a complicated attitude to pleasure that some students have to hide out in stairwells to enjoy one drug, while others can congregate in campus pubs to freely consume another.

The editor's goal was "to bring together a broad range of recent writing on as wide a range of drugs as possible." (x) The result is a collection of ten chapters, seven of which are historical and three of which address contemporary public policy. It is not clear whether these are all original essays. Of the ten main contributors, four have already published full-length monographs on the subjects they are discussing

(Catherine Carstairs, Sharon Anne Cook, Erika Dyck, and Jarrett Rudy) and two will soon have books out (Dan Malleck and Greg Marquis). There is certainly usefulness in presenting excerpts from all that scholarship in one volume, even if most are only small slices of the larger studies. Two chapters are concerned with tobacco, two with alcohol, two with LSD, one with heroin, and one with an assortment of “club drugs.” Oddly, until lawyer and legal scholar Alan Young adds his “Afterword,” there is no extended discussion of the mostly widely used “illicit” recreational drug, marijuana. Nor does this collection consider the innumerable over-the-counter and prescription drugs that have made huge numbers of Canadians pleasurable high for many years (starting with the alcohol-laden patent medicines of the distant past and running through drugs like oxycodone of the early 2000s).

Ed Montigny’s introduction sets up the issues. When it comes to regulating the consumption of drugs, Canada has an irrational legal code. Some that are unquestionably harmful to the consumer (tobacco in particular) are merely controlled, while others with no significant harm evident in their normal use (marijuana above all) send thousands of Canadians to court every year. As the historical studies in the book attest, concerns about the impact of various drugs were not based primarily (if at all) in the properties of the drugs themselves, but rather in the kind of people who used them. The problem of drug use was (and is still) presented as cultural definitions of immorality among diverse disreputable populations. The early 20th-century racist attacks on Chinese opium use set the framework, which continued to operate with socially marginal heroin users in the 1940s and 1950s, hippies trying LSD and marijuana in the 1960s, and “ravers” and night-club patrons stoned on ecstasy

at the turn of the millennium. The issues in each case were the hedonistic behaviour patterns of each group that defied the conventional moral expectations of industry, sobriety, and self-discipline, and that various social forces – usually some combination of militant interest groups, law-enforcers, politicians, and the media – set out to demonize. In these essays, the media play a major role in whipping up raging public panics.

Some of the essays here address the moral panics related to drug consumption that have exploded across the 20th century. They remind us that the propagators of the panics did not always succeed in repressing drug use. Rudy tells us how the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was constantly frustrated with its inability to stamp out tobacco sales, and Cook traces the growing acceptability of smoking among young women by the 1940s. Malleck argues that the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) was not prepared to crack down on non-Anglo-Canadian ethnic behaviour provided it fell within the LCBO’s expectation of order in the province’s beverage rooms. Martel tells us that the criminal sanction against LSD was left lighter than that against marijuana, and that the sale of airplane glue for sniffing was never banned.

Other writers raise the issue of who gets to decide what is harmful. At the centre of those debates were doctors, who were usually insisting on their professional competence to determine whether using a drug was a risk. Marquis shows how medical practitioners became central to the redefinition and treatment of drug and alcohol addictions in the 1960s and 1970s, but, as Dyck and Martel explain, LSD posed a particular dilemma, since some parts of the medical community saw that drug’s therapeutic possibilities and unsuccessfully opposed criminalization in 1969. More generally, as Kyle

Grayson's discussion of club drugs notes, medical research on the effects of banned substances is difficult, and frequently gets muddled with lurid, moralistic narratives of danger.

No one ever paid much attention to what the users of most drugs other than tobacco and alcohol thought. While Rudy's male smokers managed to keep their beloved tobacco off the hit list, and LCBO officials left Malleck's non-Anglo-Canadian drinkers to engage in orderly drinking in their social clubs and even loosened the constraints on all booze consumption in Marquis' period, no legislators were swayed by the pleasures of shared heroin consumption. Nor were youthful users of other "illicit" drugs able to win support for their indulgences from the 1960s onward. In fact, like Carstairs' heroin-using "hypes," they seemed to delight in the anti-authoritarian defiance and rebellious spirit of their disreputable fun.

The essays are also attentive to the kinds of regulation that the state imposed and advocates debated. Line Beauchesne lays out a useful typology: legal moralism, legal paternalism, and legal liberalism. The WCTU and the repressive legal regime put in place in the early 20th century, and the penal system's persistent connection of illicit drug use with addiction and crime, typify the first kind of regulation. The second was best exemplified by the 1972 Le Dain Commission on the Non-Medical Use of Drugs, which recommended decriminalization but not legalization, since, by its reasoning, society should protect citizens from harmful substances. The third is a more recent approach that rejects repression and focuses on harm reduction.

Legal moralism has patently not worked – as Beauchesne notes, a quarter of Canadians surveyed in 1994 had used an illicit drug at some point in their

lives – and, as with alcohol many decades ago, prohibition has produced a dangerous underground economy with global dimensions, largely impervious to any "War on Drugs." The central thrust of this collection of essays is sympathetic to more liberalism. The students hiding out with their joints in York University stairwells would agree.

CRAIG HERON
York University

Pamela D. Palmater, *Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity*
(Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Limited 2011)

CANADA HAS ALWAYS discriminated in its policies towards First Nations in order to reduce the number of "status Indians" for which it accepts responsibility under the constitution. Active gender discrimination against a First Nations woman who "married out" – that is, married a non-Indian male – was part of federal legislation by 1869, and was incorporated into the 1876 Indian Act. That legislation added a number of other negative provisions over time. In the 20th century, the Department of Indian Affairs used its power to decide who was a registered or status Indian to extend its discrimination even more widely. The underlying purpose of all these measures, as *Beyond Blood* points out, has been "cost reduction." (47) The explanation is simple: the fewer Indians there are, the fewer people who are eligible for programs designed for First Nations, and the lower the federal government's costs.

The discriminatory provisions of the Indian Act dealing with Indian status are particularly important for the author of *Beyond Blood*. Pamela Palmater, an academic at Ryerson University, has suffered the effects of Canada's economy-driven

regime. Although she identifies as a member of the Eel River Bar First Nation of Mi'kmaq in northern New Brunswick, she is not recognized as a status Indian by Ottawa and has been prevented from participating fully in the political processes and economic benefits of her community. She eloquently explains how she was motivated by her experience to seek higher education in order to understand and combat the policies that she found so damaging. Along the way to a doctorate in law she discovered that one of the pernicious effects of discriminatory government policies has been that First Nations internalized the invidious practices of the Indian Affairs department. The result has been division and discord in many First Nations.

Beyond Blood explains in considerable detail the problems that lurk in the federal legislation concerning recognition of status. It points out that resistance to the gender discrimination in the Indian Act by First Nations women and the implementation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Charter) in 1982–85 forced Parliament to address the problem. Unfortunately, Bill C-31, the measure Ottawa adopted to solve the problem of legislated discrimination, both perpetuated and exacerbated it. The measure's bizarre and Byzantine rules continued to discriminate in favour of males by granting them and their offspring a better brand of status than that for which women who had lost status and now applied for it to be restored could qualify. Moreover, another provision of Bill C-31 known as the second-generation cut-off effectively strips offspring of status. "Marrying out" still has its costs thanks to policies refined when Bill C-31 was passed. Finally, C-31 introduced a novelty in federal Indian policy: the distinction between Indian status and band membership. Ottawa administers the former,

but the latter is in the hands of individual First Nations.

Beyond Blood is at its most effective when explaining how persistent and pernicious discrimination on status has been since passage of the measure that was supposed to solve the problem in 1985. It explains carefully how Bill C-31 has operated in practice, using in particular the work of demographer Stewart Clatworthy to demonstrate that the long-term fate of Bill C-31 Indians, as those with restored status are usually known, is precarious. Its second chapter does an excellent job of reviewing the jurisprudence dealing with status and related aspects of Indian policy over the last quarter century. The fourth chapter is a chilling dissection of the membership codes that individual bands use to determine if people with restored Indian status qualify for band membership. For example, the Eel River Bar First Nation rules on qualifying for band membership amount to "the formula for its own extinction within a few generations." (155) About one-fifth of the Eel River Bar band has restored Indian status under Bill C-31, and it has an out-marriage rate over fifty per cent. The combination of these two factors practically guarantees that Eel River Bar band will decline in numbers.

Palmater's solution to these inequities in Canadian Indian policy is a thoughtful program of doubtful feasibility. She argues strongly for a system that balances the rights and aspirations of individuals with the welfare of First Nations communities, that respects the Charter, and that strongly emphasizes people's commitment to the culture and traditions of the First Nations to which they seek to belong. She advocates such an approach in the full knowledge that some First Nations leaders see an irreconcilable conflict between the individualist ethos of mainstream Canadian society and

the communitarian values of Indigenous peoples, and in some cases also reject the applicability of the Charter to sovereign First Nations. Palmater's case for her preferred approach to restoring and recognizing Indian status is implicitly that it is a fair and reasonable one that will eliminate discrimination and reduce divisions within the First Nation community in general. She does not so much make a case for the adoption of her proposal as argue for its fairness. In short, the plea for her solution is largely one that is asserted rather than shored up by argument and evidence.

As laudable as the case that *Beyond Blood* makes for healing the running sore of persistent discrimination about Indian status is, it has major problems. Given the damning case that the book has made for the malignancy of federal Indian policy on status over the last century and one-half, why expect that Canada, the country that has tolerated this wrong so long, will change policy just because it is the right thing to do? More pointedly, what reason is there to believe that Stephen Harper and his government will act because of a persuasive argument that the policies it has inherited and administered are morally wrong and need to be changed? There is nothing in Canadian history to suggest that exposure of a wrong is sufficient grounds for a governmental response. Phil Fontaine exposed the problem of abuse in residential schools on national television in 1990, but it was not until 2008 that the prime minister apologized for the schools. And then, notoriously, the leader who apologized on behalf of all Canadians went right back to administering policies harmful to the interests of First Nations.

The frustrating thing about *Beyond Blood* is that there is evidence that could have been presented to strengthen the case it argues. For example, when First Nations were in control of their own

membership and status they frequently incorporated non-Aboriginal people into their ranks and treated them the same as everyone else. Furthermore, no First Nation has ever been defeated militarily by the government or knowingly surrendered its sovereignty. These important historical facts could have bolstered Palmater's case by demonstrating that when left to their own devices First Nations do not discriminate on racial grounds, and that they have retained the right to control their own affairs, including membership.

Beyond Blood provides a powerful critique of historical and contemporary Canadian policy concerning Indian status, but it does not make as strong a case as it needs to – and could have – that it should be changed.

J. R. MILLER

University of Saskatchewan

Patrice Corriveau, *Judging Homosexuals: A History of Gay Persecution in Quebec and France*

(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

ADAPTATION DE LA thèse de Patrice Corriveau, *Judging Homosexuals* est la version anglaise de *La Répression des homosexuels au Québec et en France*, paru en 2006 aux éditions du Septentrion. Légèrement remanié et avec une trentaine de nouvelles références, l'ouvrage retrace l'histoire de la répression et de la gestion pénale des comportements homoérotiques au Québec et en France, du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours. Malgré quelques lacunes, on peut se réjouir que ce livre unique et bien documenté puisse désormais bénéficier à un plus large lectorat.

En quelques décennies a lieu un renversement total de la rationalité pénale à l'égard des homosexuels.

Corriveau s'interroge : comment est-on passé de la peine de mort pour sodomie à la décriminalisation des mœurs homoérotiques, aux lois condamnant l'homophobie et, ultimement, à la reconnaissance des unions de même sexe? À travers l'analyse comparative des sociétés française et québécoise, l'auteur s'intéresse aux processus de construction et de déconstruction de la déviance et du crime. Il examine le rôle joué par la famille, le clergé, les médecins et les juristes dans la définition et la gestion de la personne homosexuelle. Ce faisant, il met à l'avant-plan les discours institutionnels qui ont légitimé sa prise en charge, son contrôle social puis sa normalisation subséquente.

Pour commencer, Corriveau dresse un bref portrait de l'évolution historique des conceptions de la sexualité et des interdits sexuels en Occident. Le chapitre 1 survole une longue période qui s'étend de l'Antiquité gréco-romaine, où l'homoérotisme est toléré, à la Renaissance, où les catégories et les modes de régulation de la sexualité se transforment profondément. Il y présente notamment les différentes interprétations quant au rôle du christianisme dans la montrée de l'intolérance envers l'homoérotisme. L'effectivité des interdits sexuels permet, à partir du Moyen Âge, aux autorités civiles et ecclésiastiques d'augmenter progressivement leur contrôle sur les sodomites, souvent associés aux hérétiques.

L'auteur enchaîne avec l'analyse comparative de la France et du Québec, deux sociétés apparentées culturellement, mais dont les traditions légales ont divergé. Le chapitre 2 porte sur la période qui s'étend de la Grande Ordonnance (1670) à la Conquête britannique (1760). La gestion des mœurs homoérotiques est alors analogue dans la colonie et sa mère patrie. À l'époque, les lois répriment un comportement et non une personnalité

caractéristique. Acte contre nature, transgression de l'ordre divin, la sodomie est durement punie. Néanmoins, la répression pénale demeure extrêmement rare et les poursuites surviennent généralement lorsque d'autres crimes violents s'ajoutent au délit sexuel, auquel cas le châtement exemplaire du fautif contribue à la démonisation du sodomite. La nécessité de passer sous silence ce crime jugé innommable, car sa seule mention risquerait de scandaliser, d'inciter au péché, expliquerait l'écart entre la sévérité doctrinale et l'application des lois.

Entre 1760 et la fin du XIX^e siècle, il existe un écart de plus en plus marqué entre la métropole et son ex-colonie. Au chapitre 3, l'auteur contraste un Canada français dominé par l'Église catholique à une France marquée par la Révolution, où le droit se sécularise et où la médecine, d'abord mise au service de l'appareil juridique, élabore graduellement divers systèmes de catégorisation des pervers sexuels. La Conquête britannique entraîne l'implantation du système criminel anglais qui châtie sévèrement les comportements homoérotiques masculins. À partir de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, l'Église catholique augmente son ascendance idéologique sur la population québécoise qu'elle encadre plus étroitement. En France, le Code pénal, désormais exempt de toutes références religieuses, n'interdit pas explicitement les rapports homoérotiques et limite le champ d'intervention judiciaire en matière de sexualité à la sphère publique et aux actes d'agression sexuelle. Alors que les figures du pédéraste et de l'inverti s'imposent peu à peu en France, dans la colonie, le sodomite domine toujours les représentations.

Le chapitre 4 traite des périodes entre la fin du XIX^e siècle et les années 1960. Bien qu'en France les mœurs homoérotiques ne soient pas officiellement interdites, les

«pédérastes» sont tout de même réprimés par la police. Le Code criminel canadien compte, à partir de 1892, une nouvelle disposition pénale d'origine britannique : le crime de grossière indécence. Cette législation opère un glissement de la punition de l'acte homoérotique vers celle du choix de l'objet sexuel. En Europe comme en Amérique, la coercition s'intensifie en période de crise et lors des vagues de conservatisme moral associées à la période d'après-guerre et aux années 1950. Malgré un décalage entre la France et le Québec, la période est marquée par la médicalisation de l'homosexualité et l'avènement de la personne « homosexuelle ».

Le dernier chapitre récapitule les avancées législatives en matière de droits des homosexuels des années 1970 aux années 2000. L'auteur y décrit les modifications du droit pénal qui tendent vers une mise hors champ progressive de son intervention face aux mœurs homoérotiques tant en France qu'au Québec. La rationalité même du droit formaliste est en mutation : du droit universel déduit par la Raison, on passe aux logiques juridiques multiples répondant à des particularismes individuels. Dans un contexte où l'on défend dorénavant la libre expression et le respect de la vie privée, les gais et lesbiennes obtiennent graduellement une protection légale, puis des droits civiques accrus. Le droit, qui les a longtemps persécutés, les protège désormais de l'homophobie et leur permet même de s'unir; au Canada, par le mariage et, en France, par le Pacte civil de solidarité.

Judging Homosexuals constitue un ouvrage de référence fort utile. Première synthèse historique de cette ampleur publiée au Canada, cette étude sociologique et criminologique bien menée documente efficacement l'évolution des lois et de la répression judiciaire à l'égard des homosexuels

au Québec et en France. Corriveau a su identifier les ruptures significatives dans la gestion juridique des mœurs homoérotiques. Sa méthode comparative l'a amené à développer une réflexion pertinente sur les facteurs ayant une incidence sur les discours et les pratiques répressives à l'égard des homosexuels. Néanmoins, la comparaison entre une France laïque où s'épanouit le discours médical, et un Québec sous le joug de l'Église catholique manque parfois de nuances. L'auteur a tendance à dresser en conclusion un portrait erroné de l'histoire de la société québécoise lorsqu'il affirme qu'elle accède à la modernité vers 1950 : « Starting in the mid-twentieth century, Quebec began to accede to modernity as it underwent intensive secularization, urbanization, and industrialization and was liberated from ecclesiastical discourse » (167). Enfin, il est regrettable que l'homosexualité féminine soit si peu abordée dans cet ouvrage. Certes, les systèmes judiciaires canadiens et français ont, au cours de l'histoire, essentiellement réprimé l'homoérotisme masculin. Cependant, il aurait été possible et important de tenir davantage compte des réalités féminines longtemps occultées par l'historiographie qui s'ouvre de plus en plus à leur étude.

VIRGINIE PINEAULT

Université de Montréal

David A. Zonderman, *Uneasy Allies: Working for Labor Reform in Nineteenth Century Boston* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press 2011)

DAVID A. ZONDERMAN'S new book will stand for years to come as the definitive work on 19th-century labour reform in Boston. As scholars of New England's early labour movement well know, this topic has received much attention since the origins of reform efforts, with a rich

historical literature emerging as far back as the late 1800s. Zonderman's work offers the most extensive contribution thus far for one key reason: it is the first to explain the coalition's development over a sustained period – from the 1830s to 1900 – connecting the dots between these often short-lived leagues and organizations, thus allowing a fuller critique of their successes and shortcomings. The result is a challenging, new articulation of this important aspect of labour activism before the 20th century.

There were two distinct phases that characterized Boston's labour reform movement in the 19th century. The first period, from the 1830s to 1870, was known for its open meeting structure, forged in town hall meetings and regional conventions that were typical of the region's political traditions, which emphasized mass participation, literacy and community spirit. Led by well-known figures like Wendell Philips and Ira Steward, the central issue raised in these years was work hours, with organizations such as the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and other Working Men (NEA) and the Labor Reform League of New England (LRLNE) dedicated to the implementation of the ten-hour, and later, the eight-hour work day. Reformers' primary mode of engagement was the petition, crafted out of resolutions passed at regional conventions and delivered to state legislatures. Through the 1870s, such legislative pushes fell short, as petitions failed to get through the commonwealth's corporately controlled legislative bodies. These failed movements were noteworthy in part for their attempt to bring middle-class reformers into political collaboration with the men and women who toiled in the mills and factories. Although there were some reform leaders – such as Ira Steward and George McNeill – who knew how these machines operated and what it was like to

breathe factory air, most did not. Despite the interclass character, middle-class reformers dominated reform conventions, and their vision defined the types of organizations that emerged. As the book's title makes clear, these class partners were indeed often uneasy about the alliances they created.

The second phase of labour reform movement in Boston, from 1870 to 1900, is the focus of the latter half of Zonderman's book. While there are many theoretical approaches and individual activists that bridge these two phases, the later period was distinct because of the broadening of the issues addressed by the movement, which went beyond the hours of work crusade to include, among other issues, settlement houses, Christian Socialism, consumer leagues, the workplace conditions of retail employees, and tenement houses, as well as new types of strategies such as unemployment marches and labour churches. Zonderman attributes this shift to two developments. First, labour reformers' emphasis on shorter working hours lessened after 1874 when the Massachusetts legislature finally passed a ten-hour law covering factory workers. Second, Boston's most articulate and forceful advocate for the eight-hour day, Ira Steward, left the city in 1878 following the death of his wife Mary, leaving a vacuum that was filled by other voices.

In all sections of his book, Zonderman is careful to note the position women played in Boston's labour reform narrative, both as individual actors and as the subject of reform impulses. Resolutions against the exploitation of wage earning women were regular features of the city's labour reform organizations. Women sometimes served as leaders, such as Edith Daniels, vice president of the New England Labor Reform League, and Angela Haywood, wife of Ezra Haywood, who crafted resolutions addressing the conditions of domestic servants in the

1870s. The existence of groups outside Boston, such as the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association, influenced how some groups addressed these points as well. Among the goals shared by most such groups was equal pay for equal work, a platform that also applied across racial lines. In these points, it is clear that labour reform goals connected to a broader vision of social equality. Later sections of the book also bring the role of female settlement house workers and their interactions with the Boston labour movement into sharp focus.

As the analysis moves chronologically, Zonderman carefully details the changes in Boston's industrial makeup, which moved from a manufacturing and supply base for port operations toward a more diversified industrial metropolis, spawned by turns in the city's size following township mergers after the Civil War. More importantly to Zonderman's argument are parallel demographic shifts in Boston's working-class population, which saw a spike in growth among Irish, Jewish, Italian, Poles, and Russians by the turn of the 20th century. With changes in ethnic and religious cultures, the city's class identities sharpened, ultimately limiting interclass cooperation.

This book raises important questions about the limits of class consciousness in the United States during this era – at least among the groups evaluated. One of the core assumptions guiding reformers was the imperative to work within the United States' dominant two-party political system, rather than through independent, or more radical alternatives. At times, the political assumptions of this framework broke down as independent parties emerged, such as the Massachusetts Labor Reform Party and the Know-Nothing Party. In both cases, breakthroughs in the ballot box still fell short of advancing their programs in the commonwealth's corporate controlled

legislature. Other political strategies also existed among Boston's workers during these years, many of whom organized strikes and advocated more fundamental changes. Zonderman's emphasis, however, lies with these unique interclass partnerships, a point from which he does not stray. Readers of this journal will also take interest in how workers migrating from Canadian provinces contributed to or responded to these reform initiatives. For example, Zonderman introduces Canadian labour activist Herbert Casson, who came to Boston from Ontario in 1893. Although only 24 at the time, Casson surely brought ideas and experiences formed well beyond Boston's boundaries. Similar points can be made for many other major and minor figures, Canadian-born and otherwise, throughout the book. How did ideas forged outside Boston impact its labour reform scene? How unique was the Boston experience? Readers may rightly question how these previous experiences and strategies shaped Boston from the outside, but these should not detract from the book Zonderman has masterfully crafted. In the end, Zonderman's laser on Boston challenges other scholars to take up similar work on individual cities and regions, while encouraging our wider reading on similar interclass movements in US cities to allow for a more comparative analysis.

Uneasy Allies is a superb work of labour and political history. It is model scholarship for its depth and breadth, its extensive use of new primary sources, and, not the least, its readability. It is required reading for anyone concerned about Boston's labour history. It will also be of great interest to contemporary labour activists who may see their own hopes and frustrations reflected in how the arc of labour reform played out more than a century before.

FRANCIS RYAN
Rutgers University

Sue Fawn Chung, *In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press 2011)

WHAT HAPPENED to Chinese miners when the gold fields of California ran dry in the mid-1850s? Many found alternative work, but others continued their urgent "pursuit of gold," journeying north to Oregon or east to Nevada. Sue Fawn Chung follows these miners, shifting our focus on Chinese gold mining to a new time and new places. Specifically, she offers a detailed study of three mining communities: John Day, Oregon, Tuscarora, Nevada, and Island Mountain, Nevada. All three are small, remote towns where Chinese miners were among the first residents and, most strikingly, Chinese made up a majority of the population during the communities' formative years.

Chung argues that during the latter half of the 19th century, when the American West was flooded by anti-Chinese agitation and legislation, these towns were peaceful islands in the ocean of violence. These multi-ethnic and isolated communities managed to stay apart from the anti-Chinese movement, at least temporarily. Chung believes that historians' overwhelming focus on racial hostility fails to encompass all relations between Chinese and "EuroAmericans." Some Chinese and EuroAmericans in the West got along and worked together, and in these unique circumstances, Chinese miners prospered.

In Pursuit of Gold is, at its heart, a community study. Chung's argument is sometimes left aside while she delves into all aspects of these communities, offering rich details that will be of great interest to specialists in the region or in Asian American history. Uncovering such detail was no easy task; Chung mines all available sources, including, most notably, census records, archeological reports,

immigration documents, Chinese language texts, and overlooked, sometimes unpublished, secondary sources on the region. Given the scant historical record, her use of these sources is both meticulous and creative.

The book begins by retelling the history of migrants leaving China, arriving in California, and suffering from pervasive racial hostility. Chung offers a careful and thorough synthesis of current scholarship on Chinese immigration, highlighting how the reality of Chinese immigration deviates from both 19th-century and present-day stereotypes. For example, contradicting the image of the imported, cheap Chinese coolie, Chung argues that many miners immigrated with the help of relatives and mutual aid societies, and mined in groups that shared profits.

Chung spends her remaining three chapters on three community case studies, starting with John Day, Oregon. There were a remarkable number of Chinese miners in eastern Oregon: the 1870 census counted 1,516 Chinese miners out of a total of 2,476 miners in eastern Oregon. (57) Oregon's exclusionary mining laws proved a significant obstacle for these Chinese. In 1857, the territory's constitution denied the Chinese the ability to own land and this limitation, in various forms, was continued by the state constitution, state legislation, and local ordinances through the end of the 19th century. And Oregon was no stranger to anti-Chinese agitation and violence in the late 19th century; EuroAmericans and Native Americans drove Chinese miners out of southern and western Oregon to the rugged, cold mountains of the east. Three hundred and fifty-seven Chinese (including 298 miners) founded John Day, Oregon, where they outnumbered the 201 EuroAmericans (only one of whom was a miner) according to the 1880 census. (59) In this unusual community, the

Chinese found peace, potential for upward mobility, and opportunity to own land (despite the state's laws). The anti-Chinese movement did not arrive in John Day until 1901 when the proportion of Chinese in town had dropped and the EuroAmericans formed a miner's union.

Tuscarora, Nevada, followed a similar trajectory, with the Chinese forming a majority of the population during the boom years of mining and suffering from harassment and violence only after their numbers decreased and an economic decline set in. Island Mountain, in contrast, was a planned community. Emanuel Manny Penrod built a community based upon Chinese labour; first he employed Chinese workers to dig irrigation ditches needed for mining and then he employed them as part of his multiethnic mining crews. The EuroAmerican, Native American, and Chinese residents of Mountain Island also intermixed spatially (living next to each other) and socially (eating meals together). Chung credits Penrod, who opposed anti-Chinese legislation in Nevada, for "creat[ing] a positive atmosphere for the Chinese." (122) Though there is no evidence of anti-Chinese agitation in Island Mountain, the number of Chinese dwindled until there were only five Chinese left in 1900.

For each Chinese-majority community, Chung goes into great depth reconstructing financial relationships, family groupings, medicinal practices, fraternal organizations, and life stories of a few individuals. Chung is motivated, it appears, by a desire to recover and remember these often forgotten Chinese communities. She urgently highlights the remaining traces of Chinese in Nevada and eastern Oregon, the contributions they made to western development, and the Chinese residents who stayed behind when others returned to China. (She encourages her readers to visit the Kam Wah Chung

and Company Museum in John Day.) At times, Chung's detail on these communities reads like a list of interesting facts, but often the author's enthusiasm for the subject is contagious.

Most noteworthy is Chung's careful attention to how Chinese miners in America adapted cultural practices from their homeland. For example, Chinese miners ordered rockers from China and, following Chinese tradition, built stone piles to hold their sluices securely in place. When traditional Chinese equipment proved difficult to transport for seasonal migration in America, the miners found ways to divide the devices and string them from traditional shoulder poles. The Chinese miners brought knowledge and tools with them to America, but America also forced them to create new traditions and practices.

Chung's attention to Chinese land ownership is also notable. Though Chinese miners faced harsh tax and property laws in Oregon, Chung demonstrates that these laws were not uniformly enforced. When it was to EuroAmericans' advantage to look the other way, they allowed Chinese to buy, own, and sell property. Chung's findings remind us that the reality of Chinese experience does not always match the law.

In the end, Chung's primary argument is her most provocative. Given scholars' overwhelming emphasis on the anti-Chinese movement, Chung argues, "the positive contributions and friendly relationship between the Chinese and others are often neglected in recounting the history of the Chinese in the United States." (184) Her critique of the literature is compelling, but ultimately it is difficult to determine just how "friendly" Chinese-EuroAmerican relations were even in these Chinese-majority towns. Given the proximity of anti-Chinese agitation (often just one town over) and the

imbalance of power in the West (based on race and class), it seems unlikely that these towns were free of racism, everyday harassment, paternalism, and exploitation. But even if these communities were not quite as idyllic as Chung believes, her argument stands: the relationship between Chinese and EuroAmericans in the West was much more than just agitation and violence.

BETH LEW-WILLIAMS
Northwestern University

William M. Adler, *The Man Who Never Died: The Life, Times, and Legacy of Joe Hill, American Labor Icon* (New York: Bloomsbury 2011)

WHEN INTERNATIONALLY renowned writers Victor Hugo and Emile Zola died, thousands of workers marched in their funeral cortege. In November 1915 some 30,000 people gathered in Chicago to honour working-class artist and rebel, Joe Hill. In the pantheon of international labour heroes Joe Hill figures most prominently. Many of his songs are considered a part of the American folk music heritage. Although they were written for a different era his songs continue to be sung on picket lines, recorded, and reprinted in songbooks.

Since his execution Joe Hill's life story has been shrouded in myth and patchwork presentations with an overabundance of historical inaccuracies as well as cynical conjecture of both his character and of the revolutionary union of which he was a member. In his groundbreaking work *Joe Hill, The IWW & the Making of a Revolutionary Workingclass Counterculture* (Charles H. Kerr, 2003), Franklin Rosemont decisively dismantled the often poor research, focusing his attention on Hill as a working-class artist (songwriter, cartoonist, poet) and activist

within a continent-wide revolutionary movement and upsurge of significant proportions. Previously little known aspects of Hill's life were revealed.

William Adler continues to fill in the missing gaps and details of Joe Hill's life from his youth in Sweden, becoming a labourer by the age of ten, his sojourns across the United States into Mexico and Canada, to the intriguing details of the judicial battles following his arrest for allegedly murdering a store owner. Adler fleshes out the events in Hill's life by portraying the grim realities of life for the industrial working class in the US where workers were too often treated as expendable beasts and those who protested and organized against such conditions were painted as naive idealists at best or, more often, as bloodthirsty vermin by the alliance of politicians, employers and journalists. The class war was often brutal and violent.

Adler teases out intriguing details about Joe Hill's life, providing a better understanding of his character and the development of his artistry and political beliefs. The myth is that Hill became a prolific songwriter of songs meant to "fan the flames of discontent," inspired by the work of the Wobblies. One of Hill's most famous songs, "The Preacher and the Slave," written to the tune of a religious hymn with its barbed lyrics aimed at religious "holy rollers" and the Salvation Army, is assumed to have been written solely on the basis of the street corner competition between the radical union and the revivalists for the hearts and minds of the working class. Adler points out that Hill was already writing humorous jingles to religious tunes many years prior to his emigration and would have already been very well acquainted with the work of the Salvation Army in his home town of Gävle. Hill's dismissive attitudes to religion may well have

been part of the Swedish industrial working class reaction to the conservatism of Sweden's state church even though that country's working-class organizations themselves developed in part from the social gospel. While Hill poked fun at what the Wobblies referred to "sky pilots" he was not averse to befriending and working alongside the minister of the non-denominational Swedish seaman's hall where he composed many of his songs. Songwriting, according to those who knew Hill, did not come easily to him.

An entire chapter of the book is devoted to Hill's excursion into the 1911 armed struggle of the insurgent libertarian commune in northern Mexico inspired by the Flores Magon brothers. This little known chapter of Wobbly history, according to Adler, had a transformative effect on Hill, turning him into the hardened believer visualizing the struggle between labour and capital as a universal class war. Adler's research further shows that Hill considered himself to be a socialist and "strong disciple" of Karl Marx.

Tracing Hill's footsteps after fighting under the red banner of "Tierra y Libertad" Adler follows Hill's participation in California's Free Speech fights in which Hill acted as much more than a bard for the union's cause. Despite Hill's normally taciturn nature he became a spokesperson, activist, and organizer with delegated responsibility for several organizations. A wealth of material is presented in this important chapter of North American working-class history as part of the struggle for elemental democratic rights often taken for granted today. The street corners of cities were the literal battlegrounds for the workers' right to organize and communicate. Adler paints the picture of working-class organizations confronted and violently attacked by the unspoken cabal of politicians, state authorities, police, employers, and accusatory journalists.

The longstanding claim of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) that Hill was framed and murdered is most likely true. Adler reviews Hill's capture, trial, and sentencing for the murder of a storeowner, for which there was no evidence, eyewitness, or motive. The trial of the State of Utah versus Joe Hill can only be understood as part of the war of extermination upon the IWW. Joe Hill's guilt was that he carried the union's red membership card. On one side Joe Hill symbolized the undesirable in a class war, an immigrant worker who believed in the abolition of capitalism. On the other side stood the defenders of law, order, state and property who looked upon the Wobblies as a swarm of destructive locusts, bomb throwers, foreigners and parasitic miscreants out to destroy all that was considered sacrosanct.

Hill, as it is well known, maintained his innocence and refused to take the stand in his own defence. He claimed that on the fateful day of the shooting he himself was shot by an acquaintance over an argument concerning a woman. Adler asks the perennial question why Hill did not attempt to save his own life by revealing the names of those who could exonerate him of the wrongdoing. Trying to account for Hill's intransigence by reconstructing the trial and reviewing the remaining documents, personal letters, and interviews, Adler is forced into conjecture. The fact remained that according to the laws of the land Hill did not have to prove his innocence. The state had to prove his guilt. Hill obviously knew that the IWW could use his trial as a way to promote its own cause and certainly agreed to it. He could accept his execution because his death would reveal the hypocrisy of the state, and provide his life with a meaning. He would not die in obscurity as a poor, unknown, itinerant immigrant worker as had so many other millions of working men and women. He could die as the

universal rebel worker, his name inseparable from the unique militant unionism he embraced.

In his last testament Hill requested that he be cremated and his ashes spread across the world. That too became a symbolic political act that was to live on almost a century after his death. Hill's ashes were sent in packets to rww locals across the globe. One small package never reached its destination, being confiscated in 1918 by the US Post Office then forwarded to the FBI for safekeeping. In 1986 the package was rediscovered and eventually turned over to the Chicago headquarters of the still surviving rww.

Adler ends the story with a final ceremonial and scattering of ashes in Chicago, but here he makes a minor error in the account. Almost infinitesimal pinches were also sent to organizations and individuals around the world. One packet was sent to the Toronto, Ontario rww local. At the volatile Eaton's strike Wobblies stirred Hill's ashes into a bin meant to provide heat. A whiff of this dust was enclosed in a red leather locket inscribed with Joe Hill's words "Don't Mourn – Organise!" and given to me when I performed in concert during a May Day festival.

A year later, performing at Hamilton's Festival of Friends, I was approached by a member of a First Nations drum circle and asked what the locket signified. I told him the story of the rebel martyr. "This," he said, "is very powerful" and asked if he could hold the locket. He recounted the story to the other brothers of the circle and each placed his hand on the shoulder of the other forming a chain to draw upon the power of Joe Hill's spirit. Some 96 years after his execution that spirit apparently lives on.

LEN WALLACE

University of Windsor and
McMaster University

Tracy Roof, *American Labor, Congress, and the Welfare State, 1935–2010*

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 2011)

TRACY ROOF'S ambitious study places organized labour at the centre of American politics during the last 75 years, tracing its influence not only on the welfare state but also on civil rights, party politics, and congressional reform. A political scientist, Roof advances two main arguments. One is that organized labour provided the strongest and most consistent support for welfare state development in the United States but was frequently frustrated in its efforts to expand or improve social and labour protections by "institutional obstacles in the legislative process." (2) The other argument is that labour exercised crucial, if insufficiently appreciated, influence on Black enfranchisement and electoral mobilization, party realignment, and reform of the law-making process. Thus, Roof emphasizes the limited power of labour in welfare state development but its expansive influence on political change. In making these arguments, Roof also mounts a strong defence of American labour's alliance with the Democratic Party.

In developing her first argument, Roof identifies four public policies that were central to labour's conception of workers' welfare and examines its goals and influence on these policies from 1946 onward. The four policies are full employment planning, income security programs (including minimum wage laws and retirement and unemployment insurance), labour law, and universal health insurance. In all four of these policy areas Roof shows that labour's efforts to extend and improve social and labour protections were frustrated to one degree or another. In the case of full employment planning, the union movement did win two pieces of legislation, the Employment Act of 1946

and the Full Employment and Balanced Growth (or Humphrey-Hawkins) Act of 1978, but both acts were largely symbolic, passed only after compromises stripped them of key union-backed provisions. In the realm of income security programs labour made “incremental” gains, such as increased coverage and benefits in both the minimum wage and Social Security, but failed to achieve such objectives as indexation of the minimum wage to inflation and federal standards for unemployment insurance.

In both labour law and health care policy labour was “stalemated” for most of the post-World War II period. After the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Act passed over President Harry Truman’s veto in 1947, labour was unable to repeal either the entire Act or its section 14(b), which allowed states to pass “right to work” laws that prohibit union shop agreements, and subsequently failed to win reform proposals intended to better protect worker rights and facilitate union organizing. Finally, from the late 1940s on unions were rebuffed in their attempts to pass universal health insurance. Medicare and Medicaid, enacted in 1965, were significant achievements that owed much to labour support, but they fell short of universal health insurance. Labour also provided crucial support for the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act that President Barack Obama signed into law in March of 2010, which (if it survives legal and political challenges) will get close to universal health insurance, but Roof emphasizes how different that legislation is from labour’s traditional preference for a single-payer national health insurance system.

What explains labour’s failure to achieve its goal of a more comprehensive and universalistic welfare state? Rejecting explanations focused either on the weakness of labour and the left or on the strategic failures of union leaders, Roof

locates the limits on labour’s policy influence in the institutional structure of the American state, especially the fragmented legislative process derived from the US Constitution and the several minority protections and veto points that developed over time in the Congress. In particular, Roof identifies the congressional committee system, the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives, the seniority rule, and the Senate filibuster, together with the presidential veto and the equal representation of states in the Senate, as the key obstacles to greater labour influence on social and labour legislation. She makes a strong case that these legislative institutions and procedures blocked, delayed, or compromised labour’s policy objectives even when they had majority support in Congress.

But who or what utilized them to thwart or limit labour’s policy influence? Roof’s answer is the “conservative coalition” of southern Democrats and northern Republicans that often ruled the congressional roost from the late 1930s to the mid-1960s. This part of her analysis is familiar ground to students of labour and social policy. Roof’s contribution is to demonstrate that the conservative coalition was often a minority coalition in Congress, and that its success at blocking or compromising labour and social legislation was premised on the availability of minority protections and veto points like the seniority rule and the filibuster in the legislative process.

Roof’s first argument raises the question of whether and how organized labour responded to the frequent frustration of its policy objectives by the conservative coalition’s use of institutional obstacles in the legislative process. Her second argument supplies the answer: from the late 1940s through the mid-1970s, the labour movement pursued a political strategy of civil rights reform, party realignment, and congressional reform. It sought to

enfranchise southern African Americans and mobilize them as Democratic Party voters, drive conservative white southerners from the Party and empower its urban-labour wing, and change the rules and procedures of the law-making process in order to break the grip of the conservative coalition on it. Between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s these strategic objectives were largely accomplished, but “labor did not get the liberal transformation of the political system it expected.” (146) In the long run labour’s political strategy weakened the conservative coalition and made the Democratic Party a more liberal and pro-labour party. But in the short run it destabilized the labour-liberal alliance and the New Deal coalition and further fragmented the legislative process. The result, from the late 1960s onward, was growing Republican and conservative control of the White House and later Congress. Yet, Roof finds a silver lining in the dark cloud of conservative ascendancy between 1980 and 2008: labour was able to use the very institutional obstacles in the legislative process that had for so long obstructed its political influence to fend off most of the conservative threats to past gains in labour and social protections.

As well argued and persuasive as Roof’s book is, it is not a comprehensive or airtight analysis of welfare state development in the United States. Her selection of the four policies was based upon her judgment of the priorities of labour’s policy agenda, not upon a theoretical analysis of the nature and boundaries of the welfare state, which her book does not provide. Her judgment of labour’s policy priorities seems sound, and her book provides a fine analysis of labour’s influence on the labour and social programs most important to it. But as significant as those four policies are, they do not exhaust the welfare state, which not only includes many other programs of transfer

spending and in-kind benefits but also, in the enlarged conception of the welfare state favoured by some social scientists, tax expenditures and publicly subsidized and regulated employer benefits. The institutional and political dynamics and policy outcomes of these other programs sometimes differ from those of the policies that Roof examined. In addition, Roof does not assess or refute some leading alternative explanations of the social policies that she does examine, such as the “path dependence” explanation of retirement and health insurance policies that Jacob Hacker advanced in *The Divided Welfare State* (2002). (Roof’s lack of engagement with path dependence as explanation of welfare state development is odd since the concept has been central to the historical institutionalist approach with which she identifies.) Roof cannot be faulted for not examining all welfare state policies, of course, and she does not proclaim her book to be a comprehensive or definitive analysis of welfare state development. But neither does she call attention to the limited range of social policies she covers or to some prominent alternative explanations.

Roof’s book also pays little attention to the role and influence of business, either in the process of welfare state development or that of political change. In her analysis of welfare state development, she argues convincingly that the defeat or compromise of progressive social and labour policies was less a product of business lobbying than of institutional obstacles in the legislative process. If employer provided social benefits are included in the welfare state, however, the role of business looks different. As Hacker has argued, the main influence of business in welfare state development was exercised not through lobbying on public programs but through its initiative in providing social benefits to employees, which subsequently constrained the development

of public programs. But lack of attention to business is even more problematic when Roof examines the period of “conservative ascendancy,” as she calls it, from 1980 to 2008. Roof’s only attempt to explain the right turn in American politics lies in her argument that organized labour’s successful efforts on behalf of civil rights legislation, party realignment, and congressional reform had the unintended consequence of destabilizing the labour-liberal alliance and Democratic coalition and bolstering Republican electoral fortunes. The realignment of southern whites from the Democratic to the Republican Party from 1964 onward had a lot to do with Republican resurgence and conservative ascendancy, but it was not the whole story. A massive political mobilization of the business community, dating from the early 1970s, was crucial to the rising fortunes of the Republican Party and its dominant conservative faction, as scholars like Thomas Edsall and David Vogel showed years ago. The conservative ascendancy that threatened welfare state development was a product of active business and conservative mobilization and struggle.

A final reservation concerns Roof’s defence of the labour-Democratic Party alliance. Compelling as it is, it rests on her particular choice of policies. If we examined trade and industrial policy, I think we would find that the labour-Democratic alliance was more complicated, and much less favourable for the labour movement, than in the policy areas Roof examined. That does not mean that unions should abandon the alliance, but it does suggest that the alliance should be evaluated across a broader range of policies.

These concerns aside, Tracy Roof’s *American Labor, Congress, and the Welfare State* is a significant contribution to studies of American labour and the welfare state. It stands in a distinguished line of political science literature on the

labour movement and American politics, one that includes J. David Greenstone’s *Labor in American Politics*, David Plotke’s *Building a Democratic Political Order*, and Taylor Dark’s *The Unions and the Democrats*. Like her predecessors, Roof brings to bear a deep knowledge of the American state and political system to provide a careful and illuminating account of the place of organized labour in American politics and of its central role in the fortunes of the Democratic Party, liberalism, and the welfare state.

ANDREW BATTISTA

East Tennessee State University

Quenby Olmsted Hughes, *In the Interest of Democracy: The Rise and Fall of the Early Cold War Alliance Between the American Federation of Labor and the Central Intelligence Agency* (Switzerland: Peter Lang 2011)

IN THE INTEREST of Democracy is a valuable contribution to the scholarship on the ways in which organized labour in the US was aligned with the American government to oppose communist states, parties, and unions. Hughes examines the development of and tensions in the relationship between the American Federation of Labor’s (AFL) international anti-communist arm, the Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The period she focuses on extends from the establishment of the FTUC in 1944 until the early 1950s, which she argues marks the end of their collaboration in anti-communist endeavours internationally. Based on archival collections opened in the mid-1990s, Hughes’ research provides detailed evidence about the nature of this relationship, helping to clarify some of the historical debates and speculation about whether these organizations in fact did work together and how.

In accord with much of the newer scholarship on the American labour movement's international interventions, Hughes argues that the AFL developed its anti-communist program independently of the state and worked with the state due to their mutual interests and needs. She argues that the collaboration of these organizations makes sense if we understand them as allies in anticommunism. Hughes contends that the US government needed the AFL more than the AFL needed them. She attributes this to the fact that at this time the AFL had more contacts and status in Europe than the emerging CIA due to the work of the American Jewish Labor Committee in supporting trade union and Jewish refugees during the war. Also, the CIA could not just give funds directly to anti-communist workers' organizations, which she argues the AFL was happy to be a conduit for because they saw it as furthering the work of anticommunism.

Hughes organizes the book into three broad sections. The first section explores the context in which the AFL developed its commitment to anticommunism and established an arm of the union to pursue this work internationally. The second section looks at the development of the relationship with the CIA, using three different projects they worked together on, and the final section narrates the tensions and dissolution of this relationship. The first chapter is huge in scope, from the birth of the AFL in the 19th century to the expulsion of Jay Lovestone, a key player in the AFL's anti-communist endeavours internationally, from the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) in 1929. In the second and third chapters, Hughes discusses the politics of the AFL, how this led to the establishment of the FTUC, and the ways their goals resembled those of the emerging CIA. A particularly interesting piece in this first section is evidence of an initial contract between the FTUC and the CIA

spelling out the nature and conditions of their alliance.

The second section of the book is a detailed exploration of their work together on three different projects. The first was their role in establishing the Force Ouvrière, an anti-communist union federation in France in the late 1940s. While the Force Ouvrière developed independently of involvement of the FTUC, their break away from the Confédération générale du travail (CGT) was made possible because of the funds from the FTUC via the CIA.

The next chapter explores the collaboration of the AFL and the CIA in a campaign in the UN to have work in the communist countries declared as slave labour. This project also included US state political support at the UN and funding from the Rockefeller foundation. The last case Hughes looks at is their work together with Eastern European émigrés through the establishment of Radio Free Europe and support of Free Trade Union Center-in-Exile, an organization set up by anti-communist trade unionists from Eastern Europe. The FTUC was involved in the initial work in developing relations between the CIA dominated National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) and the Center-in-Exile and in setting up Radio Free Europe.

The third section focuses on this last case of the FTUC's work with the NCFE, which Hughes identifies as the source of tension that led to the demise of their alliance. She provides a detailed account of the disagreements and tensions. Some issues were issues of control and some were more explicitly ideological, revolving around the CIA staff's ignorance of or disdain for unions.

Overall, this book is a very useful piece of history, providing a very detailed account of some of the key figures, particularly Jay Lovestone, and how the institutions and alliances developed and

operated. It is an important contribution and resource for scholars working to make sense of this period of the AFL's international operations or for those who are interested in particular pieces, like their role in France.

Where the text falls short is with respect to the analysis of the implications of this alliance. What is not clear from this text is why the author thinks the existence and nature of this relationship is an important question, and why so much has been written and debated about it. Hughes explains how this relationship developed and what it looked like but not why this alliance is significant or what the consequences of this relationship may have been for workers in the US and in the countries where they have intervened. Reading this account, you do not get a sense of why anyone would ever take issue with this relationship. It follows from the narrative that the operations of this AFL-CIA alliance internationally were necessary in the fight against communism and were for the most part commendable and at worst benign. This reading is only possible if we choose not to ask about the implications of these operations on workers generally and particularly on the labour movements they intervened in. It is a serious omission that Hughes fails to pose the question of the effects of the AFL's intervention in the French labour movement and what that means for worker resistance.

Hughes notes that these interventions were also an attempt to export a particular model of trade union organization, one that reflected the ideology of the AFL, which eschewed political action and promoted friendlier relationships with employers and the state. This ideology, and how it differed from other ideologies included under the banner of anti-communism, is critical to understanding this alliance, its tensions and its consequences. While Hughes recognizes

that the ideological landscape of this history is significant, her examination of the AFL's relationship with the CIA and trade unionists internationally focuses on the institutional histories without developing an analysis of the ideological tensions between these different actors. This is particularly evident in her reading of Jay Lovestone's political transformation. She concludes that although his commitment to worker struggle changed, it also remained remarkably unchanged through his years as a key player in the AFL's international anti-communist work from his days as a leader in the CPUSA.

The program of the AFL internationally in this period reflects a very particular vision of worker struggle and emancipation that tells us more about why these organizations came together than is reflected in the argument that they had an affinity in anti-communism. This ideological commitment includes the fact that the AFL saw its interests as aligned with that of the American government and not with workers internationally, or at least not with those who democratically chose a more militant model of union action or a vision of workers' emancipation that entailed revolutionary change. For me, what's really interesting in all this is how they saw these international endeavours as part of their work as American trade unionists and how this is linked to a vision for American workers that saw the progress of workers as aligned with employers, the state, and American imperialism.

KATHERINE NASTOVSKI
York University

Tony Rondinone, *The Great Industrial War: Framing Class Conflict in the Media, 1865–1950* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press 2011)

TONY RONDINONE has made a significant contribution to the field of American labour and working-class history. In this well-written and concisely argued monograph, Rondinone builds on the scholarship of Martin Burke and Gary Gerstle concerning popular understandings of class in the United States. Rondinone examines the ways in which the print media and public figures comprehended and depicted industrial relations in the decades between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the Cold War. He argues that the American Civil War played a profoundly important role in shaping the popular discourse of class conflict in the late 19th and early 20th century. Media portrayals of strike actions employed the metaphor of an “industrial war,” an inevitable conflict between the “armies” of capital and labour, to explain the complexities of class relations in the still-forming world of American industrial capitalism.

The new rhetorical frame of “industrial war” differed considerably from the ways in which the press in antebellum America covered strikes. Newspapers of all political persuasions represented labour conflicts as community affairs rather than events of national importance. Rondinone argues persuasively that the Civil War changed the “whole landscape of rhetorical possibility.” (10) As a result, many Americans became increasingly inclined to find metaphors for warfare in a variety of circumstances. The idea that strikes could be understood as war-like events of national significance made a lot of sense considering the increasingly continental scope of corporate power, the emergence of nation-wide labour unions like the Knights of Labor, and, beginning

with the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, the suddenly national scale of strikes, which were episodically violent.

Interpreting national strikes through a martial frame distorted reality to a considerable extent. Except for the labour press, which itself employed a similar martial frame, most newspapers portrayed the “industrial war” as a constantly shifting battle between two competing, relatively even armies. The two sides were led by “generals” of labour and capital, union leaders like Eugene Debs or factory owners like Andrew Carnegie, who deployed their forces like infantry units on a military campaign. Rondinone makes excellent use of illustrations from publications as different as *Harper's Weekly*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *New York World* to demonstrate how periodicals depicted major strikes of the late 19th century in highly stylized battle scenes which, with a different caption, could have passed for images of the Battle of Antietam.

Beginning at the turn of the century, the “industrial war” was gradually reconfigured into a social model that included a “great third class,” as the labour relations expert John R. Commons put it, to which both capital and labour would have to appeal for legitimacy. This third class, “the public,” would soon appoint itself as the mediator between the two great industrial armies. Initially, “the public” was a rhetorical device used by many newspapers to account for the material and social impact that a battle between labour and capital had upon all those not directly involved in the conflict. According to the logic of “the public,” the battle could only be won by a return to a state of order, one that typically consisted of a return to the pre-existing conditions against which labourers struck in the first place.

During the Progressive Era, “the public” took on an institutional form as the mediator of the “industrial war.” Sometimes, “the public” took on a non-governmental

form, as in the case of the National Civic Federation (NCF), an organization that brought together business and labour leaders, politicians, civil servants, and experts in the newly minted social sciences. The NCF attempted to foster understanding and cooperation between labour and capital as a means of ensuring industrial peace.

Increasingly, "the public" took on an institutional form within the federal government. During the 1902 Anthracite Coal Strike, President Roosevelt asserted that his office required him to step into this latest episode of the "industrial war" on behalf of the compelling public interest in labour peace. Roosevelt created the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, appointing seven men representing different interests related to the strike to arbitrate a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The success of the Commission helped to legitimize the federal government's role as a public guardian of labour peace. The Anthracite Coal Strike Commission also proved to be the first in a series of federally appointed commissions charged with mediating industrial conflicts in the public interest.

By the end of World War I, the federal government cemented a permanent role for itself as public mediator between labour and capital. Acquiescence by labour and capital to this reconfigured class framework demonstrated that both sides understood the necessity of both rhetorical and tangible "public support" from the federal government to succeed in a modern industrial dispute. Popular discourse on the "industrial war" came to reflect the reconfiguration of industrial relations. During the 1920s, martial metaphors became more muted as a new industrial pluralist discourse, which conceived of labour and capital as necessary institutions within a broader public whose respective interests must be

balanced to ensure the commonweal, surfaced as the new common sense on the issue.

During the Great Depression and New Deal Era, the federal government took further steps in its role as public guardian to ensure a more balanced relationship between labour and capital. By recognizing the principle of collective bargaining and supporting the efforts of labourers to form unions, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration committed itself to ensuring the rights of citizen-workers to participate fully in industrial relations. Capital responded to labour's gains during the New Deal Era with a rhetorical device to explain their position in the workplace. Capital recast itself successfully as "management," supervisors who ensured workplace efficiency and harmony among their personnel. "Management," just like organized labour, wanted to protect its rights in the workplace and to make sure that the other side lived up to its proscribed responsibilities. Legislatively, "management" won a major victory in 1947 with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, which curtailed the power of labour to engage in national sympathy strikes. By 1950, the idea of a nation-wide industrial war seemed like a vestige of the past. Management and labour were simply competing yet intimately connected interests in the general public.

Rondinone's monograph is the first book length work to examine how the popular media presented strikes. Despite its brevity (172 pages of narrative), Rondinone has a tendency to repeat himself, reiterating the book's argument to a greater or lesser extent in every chapter. The extension of Rondinone's argument to more episodes of labour conflict in the American West, especially in its extraction industries, would add further nuance to his scholarship. For example, it would be interesting to see how press

coverage of the 1913–1914 southern Colorado Coal Strike, including the April 1914 Ludlow Massacre, a conflict that turned into an actual shooting war, looks analytically when compared to other major strikes of the era that were described as industrial wars despite their only occasional violence. Regardless of these minor concerns, Rondinone's book makes a noteworthy contribution to the field and can serve as an accessible entry-point to students unfamiliar with labour history.

CLAYTON TRUTOR
Boston College

Clarence Taylor, *Reds at the Blackboard: Communism, Civil Rights, and the New York City Teachers Union* (New York: Columbia University Press 2011)

CLARENCE TAYLOR, a professor of history at the City University of New York, has produced a well written and deeply researched history of the New York City Teachers Union, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Founded in 1916, the Teachers Union (TU) initially sought professional status for its members but when communists gained control of the organization in the mid 1930s, the TU became involved in wider political campaigns. Taylor is by no means the first to write about the Teachers Union. Celia Lewis Zitron's *The New York City Teachers Union, 1916–1964: A Story of Educational and Social Commitment* (1968), Robert W. Iversen's *The Communists and the Schools* (1959), and Marjorie Murphy's *Blackboard Unions: The AFT and the NEA, 1900–1980* (1990) have all discussed the communist attachments of the Teachers Union, its civil rights record and the opposition the organization faced in the 1940s and 1950s. Taylor has unearthed new information about the activities of the Teachers Union and the severe

repression it endured, but he says too little about the politics of the organization and overstates the local's significance in the history of teacher unionism.

Much of *Reds at the Blackboard* details the Teachers Union's excellent record on civil rights. Indeed, as Taylor is at pains to point out, the Union fought for racial justice more than most other teacher unions and unions in general. The TU campaigned for more African American teachers in the classroom, exposed racist principals, and opposed policies of the Board of Education that kept the school system segregated. Far ahead of its time, the Teachers Union made a special effort to eliminate racist textbooks from the New York City public schools and to promote black history in the school curriculum. To improve the lives of their black students both within the classroom and in the wider community, the TU built alliances with civil rights organizations and local parent groups.

The Teachers Union faced enormous opposition from anti-communists and those who wanted the organization to focus on bread-and-butter issues not social activism. The AFT revoked its charter in 1941 because of communist influence in the local and although it subsequently affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the CIO ousted them in 1950. Continually under police surveillance and encumbered with informants and spies in the schools and in the union, the Teachers Union found it difficult to prosper. Nearly four hundred members were fired or forced to leave the profession during the 1950s. The United Federation of Teachers (UFT), formed in 1960 by young militant teachers who sought to gain collective bargaining rights to improve teachers' salaries and benefits, competed with the Teachers Union for members. In November 1960 the UFT organized the first New York

City's teachers' strike, leading to the first collective bargaining election for public schoolteachers in a major US city. In the ensuing election in December 1961, the UFT easily defeated the Teachers Union, which then disbanded in 1964.

Clarence Taylor does an excellent job of highlighting the heroic activities of politically engaged teachers. Hundreds if not thousands of New York City teachers, many of them Communist Party members, tried in the most difficult of circumstances and often at great cost to their careers to remedy the racial injustices they found in the schools and in the wider society. They faced persistent scrutiny in the classroom as newspapers, parents, the police, and the Board of Education tried to limit their academic freedom. Teachers found that they had few rights as many lost their jobs simply because of their political views or affiliations.

To really produce a comprehensive history of the New York City Teachers Union, Taylor needed to spend more time examining the nature of the Soviet Union and Stalinist politics that the leaders of the Teachers Union supported. It is admirable for a union to be guided by a political vision, rather than simply concentrate on bread-and-butter concerns, but the nature of that vision and the problems that it caused in gaining support need to be analyzed in more detail. Taylor focuses on the grassroots activity of the union and the opposition it faced but spends too little time discussing the limitations of its politics. By deemphasizing the communist politics of the TU, what emerges here are communist teachers fighting for racial equality, not a Soviet style dictatorship of the proletariat. Opponents of the Teachers Union appear as deluded right-wingers or opponents of racial equality, but many liberals and socialists also opposed the Communist party and the TU for its undemocratic practices, secretive

nature, and support for a tyrannical government.

Taylor's assertion that the New York City Teachers Union pioneered a form of social movement unionism that is still relevant today needs to be explored in greater depth. Taylor argues that the TU fought not only for improved working conditions but also for better schools and a more just society by building alliances with parents and community organizations. Yet, this type of unionism was not unique to the TU. Chicago, for example, had practiced this type of unionism since the early years of the 20th century but without the communist politics. Moreover, it seems that social movement unionism gained only limited support from teachers and the public in 1950s New York City. The Teachers Union gained only 2,575 votes to the UFT's 20,045 in the collective bargaining election of December 1961, suggesting most teachers wanted the bread-and-butter unionism of the UFT not the social movement unionism advocated by the Teachers Union. Public support too was less than forthcoming. When teachers lost their jobs there were no mass protests, nor did the Teachers Union build any lasting city-wide parent teacher organization that campaigned for public school reform.

Reds at the Blackboard is an admirable attempt to suggest a model of teacher unionism able to confront the many problems facing public schools and teachers today. Still, I suspect few teachers in the United States will follow the model outlined by the New York City Teachers Union. The Soviet Union and the communist parties who supported it severely damaged people's views of left-wing politics and therefore communist policies and practices are hardly suitable as a model for modern day workers' movements. To understand how a union can undertake the difficult task of

advocating for teachers and students and building alliances with parents and civic organizations we need to look beyond the romantic story of communist unions.

JOHN F. LYONS
Joliet Junior College

Cindy Hahamovitch, *No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor*
(Princeton: Princeton University Press 2011)

IMMIGRANTS PERFORM laborious, low wage, and often dirty and dangerous work. They are vulnerable to abuse, exploitation, and harassment, regardless of their status. Their labour is crucial yet undervalued, necessary but often invisible. Historian Cindy Hahamovitch's examination of guestworker programs in the United States, *No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor*, offers a thoroughly researched critique of a labour supply system "in which the world's wealthy nations import foreigners to do their hardest, dirtiest, and often their most intimate work." (235) *No Man's Land* recently won three prestigious awards in the categories of labour history, the history of race relations in the US, and social and/or intellectual American history. The awards bear mentioning not only as testament to the rigorous research and evocative writing, but also to the impressive scope of this book. In *No Man's Land*, Hahamovitch examines the global forces that pushed and pulled agricultural workers around the world and exposes the historical actors in the US (powerful agricultural employers and influential farmers' association lobbyists) who determined their fate. She provides a moving social history of the experiences of Jamaican men in Florida's

sugarcane fields, and reveals how race, ethnicity, poverty, and migrant status shaped the guestworker program in the United States into "a system of oscillating indentured servitude." (239)

Hahamovitch offers a global history of more than one hundred years of guestworker programs. The first phase of these programs began in the late 19th century in Prussia and South Africa as state-brokered compromises between employers' needs and nativists' anxieties. In South African mining camps, for example, white South Africans wanted cheap labour but not non-white neighbours. "Guestworker" was a wildly inappropriate name for these programs where labourers were never treated as guests. Foreign workers were segregated in "reserves" and deported after their contracts expired. In this example, we see the earliest versions of the guestworker programs that would take shape in America and Europe after World War II and in the wealthy nations of the Middle East and Pacific Rim in the last quarter of the 20th century. Guestworkers are allowed to work in their host countries, but they cannot bring their families, use the social services provided by the state, or vote. They live in a "no man's land" between freedom and slavery, where they are neither welcomed nor encouraged to stay in their host countries. Guestworkers enter into contracts voluntarily, yes, but protesting working conditions or even questioning wages can lead to deportation. Quitting means immediate deportation, sometimes forfeiting wages already earned, leaving one to wonder what kind of choices guestworkers are really free to make. After World War II, the guestworker programs in Europe developed along a very different track from those in the United States. This was partly due to European labour unions that advocated on behalf of guestworkers. The key difference, though,

was that in Europe, the power to deport rests in the hand of the government. In the United States, employers wrested that power from the state after World War II. This control over guestworkers makes the United States' program a particularly relevant case study for understanding the implications of the global phenomenon of deportable labour in the 20th century.

The earliest form of the guestworker program in the United States took shape during World War I, when fears of labour shortages prompted the federal government to allow "temporary admission" to migrant labourers from Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Bahamas, and Canada, but the global Great Depression ended these programs. World War II opened up the second phase of guestworker programs, as Germany and Japan reopened borders for wartime labour (but quickly turned those programs into conscription in labour camps). In the United States, the federal government instituted a guestworker program reluctantly, in response to pressure from growers primarily in the southeastern states. Here is one of the most important of Hahamovitch's historical interventions. The pressure coming from growers for foreign labour represented "less a dearth of labor than a seismic shift in the balance of power between growers and farm laborers." (23) Demographic and anecdotal evidence shows that in the early 1940s, there was no shortage of desperate workers in the American South. The problem, Hahamovitch argues, was that the mobilization for war drew away surplus labour, giving farmworkers a measure of power in wage negotiations. Civil rights activism by African Americans during the war worried growers that black agricultural labourers would not be so easily controlled. Under the leadership of L. L. Chandler (president of his local chapter of American Farm Bureau Federation, the largest and most powerful growers'

lobby), growers convinced the federal government of a labour shortage that didn't exist, and Bahamian, Jamaican, Mexican, and Puerto Rican workers were allowed to enter the United States under contracts. After the war, growers wrested the power of deportation from the state and the guestworker program became "privately run but federally sanctioned." (97) Guestworker programs, fed by a steady stream of desperate workers from impoverished countries south of the United States, depressed agricultural wages for domestic workers, were effective weapons against organizing, and reinforced racial and ethnic hierarchies.

For the next 40 years, Hahamovitch shows, large and influential farmers' associations convinced the federal government to keep guestworkers cycling in and out of the United States by manufacturing false labour shortages and playing on anti-immigration fears of undocumented workers. By 1968, the H2 workers (named after the subsection of the law that authorized the guestworker system) who remained in the United States were Jamaican men working sugarcane. Horrific injury rates, alleged manipulation of work tickets to reduce wages, and myriad indignities in daily life were not passively accepted by Jamaican workers, but the ability of the employer to deport known or suspected troublemakers and the inability of workers to stay in America if they quit rendered workers' resistance heroic but impotent. "If there was a Cesar Chavez among the British West Indians in Florida," Hahamovitch notes, "he was deported." (171) During the 1980s, guestworkers won a stunning courtroom victory for \$51 million in back wages, but the case has since languished in appeals. Federal legislation should have allowed for the legalization of Jamaican guestworkers under the "amnesty" program of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, but a loophole in the language

allowed US Department of Agriculture's Allison T. French (who had served as director of labour relations and public affairs for the growers' lobby, Florida Farm Bureau) to classify sugarcane as neither fruit, vegetable, nor perishable, excluding sugarcane workers from the provision that would have given them amnesty. Mechanization replaced agricultural workers in sugarcane fields and ended the H2 program in sugar in the 1990s, although it has survived in other crops, cycling Mexicans in and out of American farms.

The final chapter on the third phase of global guestworker programs, though noticeably sparser than Hahamovitch's treatment of the first two phases, explains the "feminization" of guestworker programs, as wealthy countries increasingly import women workers as nannies, maids, waitresses, and housekeepers. The final pages of *No Man's Land* bring readers back to the critiques of guestworker policies offered in the introduction. Guestworker programs do nothing to reduce illegal immigration (they may, in fact, encourage it); they serve the interest of employers, undermine organized labour, and create the illusion of state control over immigration. In a no man's land where the only choice is to accept the terms of the employer or face deportation, guestworkers have no legal recourse and few advocates. "In a stunning reversal of the idea of foreign aid" (235), wealthy nations extract the labour of workers in their prime and leave all of the attendant social problems (health care, child care, education, and care for the elderly) to the poor and developing countries least equipped to deal with them. Open borders and more generous opportunities for citizenship, Hahamovitch concludes, are the only viable solutions in an increasingly integrated global market where capital, goods, and credit flow freely, while the companies that reap huge profits from

labour have no reason to invest in the human capital they harvest.

JOEY FINK

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

Bryan T. McNeil, *Combating Mountaintop Removal: New Directions in the Fight Against Big Coal* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2011)

COMBATING MOUNTAINTOP Removal: New Directions in the Fight Against Big Coal is an ethnography of a West Virginia activist group that opposes mountaintop removal coal mining, a practice of strip mining for coal that literally blasts away mountaintops to reach thin seams of coal underneath. McNeil, an anthropologist, focuses his fieldwork on the Coal River Mountain Watch (CRMW), a network of local activists opposed to mountaintop removal mining. In recent years, McNeil argues, Coal River Mountain Watch has evolved into an umbrella group for challenging the coal companies and a political system rigged in favour of mountaintop removal mining.

Two themes run through McNeil's ethnographic research. First is his argument that mountaintop removal mining in West Virginia is an example of the global changes wrought by neoliberalism. Mountaintop removal, McNeil argues, is "the logical product of neoliberalism." (2) Discussion of neoliberalism often emphasizes transnational corporations, but McNeil argues that the residents of Coal River, West Virginia also felt that neoliberalism influenced their communities.

Second, McNeil suggests that activist coalitions such as CRMW are an important new venue for challenging neoliberal policies and corporate power. Their role is especially important in the 21st century due to the collapse of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), the

union that challenged the coal operators and fought for working people in the coalfields. Coal River was once the heart of UMWA country, but today's mines are mostly nonunion. The union has been reduced to a rump of its former power and influence. In the face of declining union power and new assaults on the mountains and its people, McNeil sees "a new kind of struggle to represent people's interests against the powers of industry" being taken up by community activist groups such as CRMW.

The book is divided into three parts. In Part 1, McNeil introduces readers to West Virginia's Coal River region and describes how mountaintop removal mining arrived in the area in recent decades. In the past, most of the region's coal mining occurred in underground mines. Underground mining was difficult, dangerous work, but it was labour intensive and employed thousands of miners. Beginning in the 1970s, however, energy companies brought massive earth-moving equipment to the region and began mountaintop removal operations. Taking advantage of mechanization, loopholes in environmental regulation, and a growing anti-union climate, mountaintop removal operations expanded in the 1980s and 1990s, organized by transnational energy conglomerates such as Massey Energy. Yet some residents fought back against the new mining practices by forming Coal River Mountain Watch. In several vignettes, McNeil demonstrates how individuals came to identify as activists. The members of CRMW rarely call themselves environmentalists, instead emphasizing that mountaintop removal mining is a threat to their communities and way of life, as well as an environmental catastrophe. For the residents of the coalfields, McNeil writes, anti-mountaintop removal activism is part of "a broader political project focused on social and economic justice

based on a common understanding of community needs." (47)

Part 2 argues that the various institutions meant to support coalfield residents – the union, regulatory agencies, and state government – have all failed in recent decades. In Chapter 5, for example, McNeil paints a devastating portrait of the regulatory agencies intended to prevent environmental abuse by coal companies. In McNeil's close description of how such agencies conduct hearings, the agencies appear to be a kangaroo court intended to give the appearance of democracy without ever challenging coal's total control over the institutional power structure. McNeil claims that the process "is carefully engineered to keep a safe distance between citizens and the decision-making process." (99) McNeil's critique of the state's economic development policies in Chapter 6 is somewhat less convincing. He correctly points out how pie-in-the-sky development plans such as baseball stadiums rarely create good jobs. But it is unclear what better options are available in the rural, one-industry region.

In Part 3, McNeil explains why anti-mountaintop removal activism is unique. Coal River Mountain Watch has provided a forum for female activists who were often silenced under older union-led activism. Finally, in Chapter 8 McNeil suggests that CRMW exemplifies a "commons environmentalism" that transcends the stale jobs versus the environment debate.

Readers interested in labour history will be especially intrigued by McNeil's discussion of the interaction between anti-mountaintop removal activist groups and the UMWA. The UMWA's power and influence has declined precipitously in the region. McNeil notes how neoliberal policies in the United States eroded the union's power at the national level beginning in the 1980s. Multinational energy conglomerates, namely Massey

Energy, took over the coalmines and broke the union with ruthless efficiency. The union's internal strife also hampered its response. Following rampant corruption and wildcat strikes in the 1970s, the UMWA lacked the solidarity needed to confront mountaintop removal mining, anti-union energy companies, and a political atmosphere that was no longer supportive of unionism. McNeil argues that anti-mountaintop removal mining activism has taken the UMWA's place as a forum for confronting big coal. Yet the union is impossibly torn on the issue of mountaintop removal mining. As McNeil writes, "unable to organize significant numbers of new miners and desperate to hold onto the active members they have left, the UMWA cannot take a stand against mountaintop removal, even though most MTR jobs are nonunion and large numbers of the union's rank and file oppose the practice." (163) McNeil is hopeful that community-based activism against mountaintop removal can bring about change, but there is scant evidence to suggest that these groups can wield the powerful influence the UMWA once held.

Despite the book's success in revealing how ordinary coalfield residents are organizing against big coal, *Combating Mountaintop Removal* is not without problems. McNeil's focus is limited to a small group of activists and this group colours his understanding of the region's culture. McNeil, who is from West Virginia, is unapologetic about his bias, writing, "I sympathize with the struggle to stop mountaintop removal and I sympathize with the struggle to overcome and right decades of injustice in the coalfields. That injustice has affected my own family and in many less direct ways shaped my own life." (15) Yet other people involved in the region, such as company officials and regulators, are reduced to one-dimensional caricatures. The result is a very narrow portrait of the Coal River

community. For example, McNeil notes that among younger miners an identity rooted in aggressive anti-unionism and masculine consumption – buying trucks, boats, and guns – has emerged in recent years. It would be intriguing to read about these young men. McNeil's narrow focus also makes it difficult to understand how CRMW fits into a broader network of activists pushing back against neoliberalism, whether in Appalachia or other parts of the globe. McNeil writes that the group has developed an important new form of community activism, but it is difficult to assess this claim without knowing where CRMW fits into a broader network.

Nonetheless, *Combating Mountain Removal* contributes to a growing recognition that neoliberal political economies, whether in Africa or the rural United States, demand new forms of activism. McNeil's book will be valuable for readers interested in Appalachian history or case studies of contemporary social justice movements.

JEFFREY T. MANUEL

Southern Illinois University
Edwardsville

Perry Gauci, ed., *Regulating the British Economy, 1660–1850* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011)

IN *REGULATING the British Economy*, Perry Gauci has brought together an impressive body of historians to explore the creation and practices of economic regulation from the Restoration to the mid-19th century. Although Gauci introduces the volume with the suggestion that there was no linear narrative over this period, a clear case emerges that this can be seen as a distinctive period in the history of the state's role and effect on the economy, defined by the new breadth of debate about state interventions and the marked effects of the state's activities on

some sectors of the economy, particularly trade, even while most regulatory activities remained limited.

At the start of this period parliament displaced the crown as the key forum for economic policy. Parliament provided an expanded space for lobbying, as William Pettigrew elegantly shows, and allowed a more open dynamic to emerge between the government and different interest groups seeking or opposing action. Most regulation remained limited in scope, with enforcement left to magistrates or local action. Yet the collection makes a strong case for the significance of regulation in shaping the economy and affecting its performance. Julian Hoppit's compelling survey of bounties reveals that economic interests consumed a larger share of state revenues than was thought. The fierce lobbying around aspects of overseas trade regulation, explored in several essays, further demonstrates the importance of the state, and the potential impact of de-regulation and legislative vacuums, notably in the African trade. However, economic interests were always set against the government's concern for revenues. Fiscal needs provided a persistent frame within which proposed regulation had to fit. Economic ideologies thus always had to attune with interest-driven politics (although Pincus and Wolfram do argue that Whigs and Tories possessed their own, distinctive, economic positions).

Most of the essays focus on the ways regulation was created, offering important analyses of lobbying and debate in and around Parliament in relation to chartered trading companies, river improvement, product quality regulation, anti-slavery campaigns, and other issues. Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the cluster of important essays that close the collection, which turn to labour and with it increasingly to the application of regulation. These

chapters themselves reflect the shift in parliamentary focus from trade to labour as an object of regulation after the mid-18th century.

Joanna Innes offers a compelling study of the decline of official wage regulation in the 18th and early 19th century. She shows that the late 18th century saw a turning point in parliamentary views on regulation. Previously sympathetic to wage regulation, which had often been promoted by employers as well as workers, parliament now rejected proposals for wage setting, and from 1813 onwards began to dismantle the legislation underpinning it. Innes' central explanation is that ideological opposition to state interference in markets was becoming increasingly generalized by the early decades of the 19th century, as was anxiety about utopian schemes and worker unrest. However, Innes also demonstrates that wage regulation retained significant supporters, including the Lord Chief Justice, and continued to operate in practice in some areas.

Paul Minolleti offers a stimulating examination of workers' demands for and responses to labour regulation. He suggests that workers' self-interest, which depended on industrial structure, particularly the organization and ownership of production, determined their responses to new technology and factory legislation. His study focuses on the woollen and worsted industries of the west riding and west of England, which famously responded differently to the spinning jenny, flying shuttle and other innovations. Their divergent reactions can, he argues, be explained simply: where production was organized domestically and masters worked with their families, technology that raised productivity was welcomed; it was resisted where innovations threatened to supplant specialized workers who depended on putting out. With the emergence of the factory, labour politics

changed. Where male workers had once defended women's productivity against challenges, they now developed different attitudes to women's work – which increasingly threatened rather than complemented their own – and this led to favourable responses to the Factory Acts of the 1830s and 1840s and the cuts they introduced in women and children's hours of work.

Finally, Jane Humphries offers an important defence of apprenticeship in the 18th and 19th centuries. Exploiting information in working-class autobiographies, she argues that apprenticeship did create skilled workers and raised their incomes. As a result, it survived the abolition of the laws that required workers to serve. Apprenticeship also provided a (limited) source of social mobility and economic opportunity. It thus remained a vibrant and important source of human capital into the mid-19th century. However, the end of the old poor law and the expanding market for child labour in industrial areas did undermine the link between the old poor law and apprenticeship, which had provided one important route for poor children to achieve success.

Regulating the British Economy is a focused – and impressive – set of essays that collectively provide a strong case for the importance of the state in the British economy, and for looking beyond traditional accounts of liberalism displacing mercantilism. As it shows, regulation was cut to fit particular cases, making generalization difficult, but this did not mean that the state did not matter to the British economy.

PATRICK WALLIS
London School of Economics

Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland, 1824–2000* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press 2011)

IN THIS EXTENSIVE, revised second edition of his 1992 survey of the politics of the Irish labour movement, its preeminent historian, Emmet O'Connor, takes particular aim at the “modernization” thesis for blaming the movement's supposedly arrested development on the troika of the priest, the peasant, and the patriot. He instead elaborates a highly detailed analysis of the key institutions of labour representation, their leaderships, and their strategies. He is forthright in identifying colonialism as a factor crippling institutional development of Irish labour – not only in the form of formal political colonialism, but also a malingering economic variety. Even more debilitating at key moments of potential for the labour movement, colonialism assumed a form through which Irish bodies were subordinated to, and incorporated within, British Labourist ideology and trade unionism, despite the very different contexts within which it operated.

Beginning with a discussion of early labour organization that gives peasants (not just artisans) their due – by regarding rural movements such as the Whiteboys as examples of popular mobilization and collective action – O'Connor charts the uneasy relationship between organized labour (legal since 1824) and Daniel O'Connell in the pre-Famine years, and then underscores the extent to which, in the post-Famine era, as republicanism and trades unions diverged, the unions displayed parallel organizational and strategic sophistication and decline (with some trades entering into a relationship with British Labour characterized by “dependency,” rather than the pre-Famine features of “fraternity”). In the northeast of the country, a very particular form of trade union organization

accompanied what O'Connor characterizes as the region's "second" industrial revolution, in which (mostly Protestant) shipbuilders and engineers formed the backbone of an exclusivist body institutionally affiliated with Britain. Moreover, the Liberal Party's Home Rule "appeasers" were viewed warily by conservative elements amongst Belfast workers, who instead found expression through populist Toryism. In the late 19th century, labour expanded its constituencies to incorporate workers in transport, textiles, and other sectors, as sectional and local societies for the unskilled grew, guided by the trade cycle, and underpinned by (waning) British Labourist support. O'Connor argues that the organization of the Irish Trades Union Congress (ITUC) in 1894 was a fateful moment, extending the process of anglicization characteristic of late-19th-century Ireland. It replicated the very structures of the British Trades Unions Congress that it aspired to displace, auguring decades of weakness linked to a failure to adopt a model, and a political agenda, reflecting peculiarly Irish conditions of labour, especially the comparative strengths of nationalist politics, from which the ITUC stood aloof. James Connolly, in advocating a melding of republicanism and British-inspired socialism, influenced the early development of such a movement, and James Larkin set himself the task of "decolonizing" labour consciousness in Ireland through the establishment of an indigenous syndicalism whose vehicle would be the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU). O'Connor forswears hagiography to explore with great nuance Larkin's personality and performance as a labour leader.

From the events of the famous 1913 strike through the rise of the culture of syndicalism and the outbreak of war, which brought about the decline of socialist opposition and radicalized

nationalism, O'Connor deftly explores the experiences of the movement in the years before partition. He finds many frustrating remnants of the colonial legacy that militated against its development, not least resistance to the vision of a single, Irish-wide workers' union from amalgamated, British-oriented bodies representing craft privilege. The Labour Congress' withdrawal from the 1918 election betokened estrangement from northern Labour (also evident in the establishment of a Belfast Labour Party), and the Labour Party's reluctance to pronounce on the national question expressed part of a wider set of institutional tensions over Home Rule, partition, and trade unionism. Coupled with a Free State government that acted firmly against labour in its first years, and that inherited an economy hindered by dependency on Great Britain, the labour movement struggled with internecine conflict, a false dawn for its most prominent political vehicle, the Labour Party, and an erstwhile political ally in a party – Fianna Fáil – that was also a fierce political rival. Radical action in the interwar period often fell to communist Workers' Revolutionary Groups, while the Labour Party leadership's record was mixed at best. The early decades of partition are set against the backdrop of the waxing and waning influence of the Soviet Union, most potently expressed when Germany invaded the USSR; Irish Communists, north and south, were strongly encouraged to support the war effort, despite the careful neutrality observed by the former Free State (now Éire). Institutional and personal rivalries wrought schism, while the revolutionary Industrial Relations Act of 1946, which established the famous Labour Court, followed the crisis of labour-state relations under the Emergency (as World War II was called in the South). It brought the unions, through their congresses, into

a formal, legislatively defined negotiating framework, auguring a long period of such corporatist arrangements under various rubrics of collaboration and social partnership. Reconciliation followed in 1956 between the two key umbrella bodies – the ITUC and the Congress of Irish Unions, long divided by outlook and strategy (not least on the question of the relationship between labour and the national question), as well as by the bitter enmity of their leaderships. Then came, alongside the social and cultural changes of the 1960s, the state's embrace of formal planning in its encounter with the postwar liberal order. Their memberships growing, trade unions found their influence over policy stymied as Ireland marched into the European Economic Community (EEC), and the Labour Party, despite strong showings in the mid-1960s, also faced the uncertainties of the liberal order: its opposition to EEC accession was expressed tepidly. Neoliberalism threw up its own challenges as the Celtic Tiger emerged in the context of an economy dominated by services and as the Labour Party's fortunes crested and then waned under the leadership of media-friendly Dick Spring, with the left fragmenting into diverse political formations.

O'Connor is meticulous in paying close attention to events in the North, where challenges of sectarianism, sectionalism, and disunity often bedevilled organized labour and crippled its efforts to influence an already hostile Unionist establishment, and where the British Labourist orientation was in greatest evidence. The Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP) maintained a studied distance from the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, just as the all-Ireland Labour Party viewed the "national question" through the prism of southern politics. The NILP's ambivalence to the elephant in the room – the constitutional status of Ireland – proved to be among the greatest hurdles to overcome,

and also left room for the (Irish) Labour Party to extend northwards in the 1940s. The Northern Irish political establishment jettisoned an early experiment with proportional representation in order to neutralize such labour groups, while the power of the amalgamateds within the formal representative bodies of Northern Irish Labour maintained the British institutional complexion and Labourist ideology of Northern Labour. There are many "false dawns" in O'Connor's narrative, including the immediate post-World War 1 era of muscular syndicalism, which benefited from the Roman Catholic Church's relative sympathy towards the social question. And there are bleak periods such as the era of fratricide that shook the movement when Larkin, expelled from the ITGWU, established the rival Workers' Union of Ireland in 1924, while the Comintern engaged in parallel intrigues with the Irish Republican Army.

Overall this is a fine survey – heavy with acronyms, but also with illuminating biographical notes, including a sly note on Clann na Poblachta's postwar Minister of Health Noel Browne's indifference to his Waterford heritage in Chapter 8, where O'Connor also reminds us that Browne's proposed reforms foundered in the face of both clerical and trade union opposition. While the author claims it to be both a survey for the uninitiated and a synopsis for the specialist, a reader new to Irish history will have to study this book alongside broader surveys for context. O'Connor offers a bold, overarching interpretation that transcends the expert discussion of the range of bodies that constituted Irish labour: that free trade from 1824, and especially the long-term impacts of deindustrialization and agricultural crisis, wrought particular hardship upon Irish workers, and visited challenges upon those who aimed to organize and represent them. The Labour Party in particular comes in for

pointed criticism on a number of fronts – not least for gingerly navigating the fitful birth of the new state. O'Connor deftly details the influence of the wider international climate in exploring the history of the Irish labour movement. For the non-specialist, this analysis (marred occasionally by copy-editing errors) may make for heavy reading, but it will repay the effort by illuminating, through the prism of the labour movement, Ireland's experience under the Union, and complex, protean and enduring forms of colonialism after partition. As a country not often seen as being at the vanguard of labour mobilization (O'Connor points out this is partly an outgrowth of historians' preoccupation with the national question), Ireland elaborated myriad, often competing, structures of labour representation, some with deep historical roots. He effectively details their encounters with political union, partition, depression, war, post-war planning, modernism, and economic liberalism.

KEVIN J. JAMES

University of Guelph

Ian Bullock, *Romancing the Revolution: The Myth of Soviet Democracy and the British Left* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2011)

THIS VOLUME BY Ian Bullock covers the British left from May 1916 to January 1925. Specifically, Bullock analyzes how certain ideologues and activists of this broad and disparate movement looked at the Russian Revolution and the early days of the Soviet Union (roughly the era of Vladimir Lenin). Key to this analysis is the distinction between the term “soviet” (the grassroots workers’ council of which there were many) and the single-party, top-down system known as the Soviet Union. While acknowledging that the British left was “naïve” or “charitably

over-optimistic” about the realities and future prospects of soviet democracy (4), the author explains that any romancing of the revolution was based on the promise of the slogan “All Power to the Soviets” and its potentiality of offering a “Communist version of democracy.” (5) However, the British left was by and large too blind to see the truth in the complaint embedded in the slogan of the Kronstadt revolt: “All power to the Soviets and Not to the Parties.” (334) Instead of accurately comprehending this 1921 uprising, the British left generally parroted the Soviet authorities by dismissing the Kronstadt rebels as reactionaries (meaning anti-revolution).

The analysis offered by Bullock draws from primary sources such as essays, statements, and positions found in the British left newspapers and journals (e.g. *Workers' Dreadnought*, *New Statesman*, *Labour Leader*, *The Guildsman*, *The Socialist*, *The Communist*, *The Call*), books on the Soviet Union that were published prior to World War II, and autobiographies and memoirs of figures involved in the movement. The British groups highlighted in this work include the British Socialist Party, the British Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the National Shop Stewards, the Workers' Committee, the National Guilds League, the Trades Union Congress, the Workers' Suffrage Federation, and the Communist Party of Great Britain (otherwise known as the British Section of the Third International). In the front of the book there is a list of 26 abbreviations pertaining to the various groups. Also, a timeline is provided that highlights important events that were simultaneously occurring in the United Kingdom, the British left, the international community, Russia, and the Comintern. Some of the personalities who are incorporated into the analysis range from Sylvia Pankhurst (the suffragette who helped form the

British Communist Party only to be later expelled from the group) to J. T. "Jack" Murphy (a tradesman who was also expelled from the British Communist Party) to Philip Snowden (the Labour Party MP) to Theodore Rothstein (Russian émigré, friend of Lenin, and founding member of the British Communist Party) to Bertrand Russell (the leftist philosopher who was somewhat skeptical of Lenin and the Russian Revolution).

Bullock arranges his book into thirteen chapters, basically following a chronological projection. It begins by describing the British left prior to 1917, concluding that the movement was "well prepared for being enthused by the idea of soviet democracy." (39) The narrative proceeds by examining the initial responses to the Russian Revolution, largely focusing on the Leeds Soviet Convention. That conference convened in June 1917 and was attended by about 1,200 people. The purpose of the gathering, as explained at the time, was to bring the British left "in line with our Russian comrades." (46) Numerous resolutions were passed, some calling on trade councils to form workers' councils. After the October Revolution, the British left was divided, some applauding the dissolution of the provisional government as necessary, but others expressing caution. In July 1918, Lenin offered his rationalization, an essay ("What Are the Soviets?") that was published in *The Call*. During this time, Bullock explains, the myth of Soviet democracy began to gain traction in British left circles. However, a split occurred among socialists over the question "Socialism Through Parliament or the Soviets?" (144) Opposition to the Russian dictatorship was influenced in part by a translation of Karl Kautsky's *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, a work by a respected Marxist that was highly critical of Bolshevism. The British hardliners who continued to romanticize the

Russian dictatorship drew their succour from Lenin's *State and Revolution*. This leads to Chapter 7, the heart of Bullock's work, which provides a nuanced analysis of the different versions on the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the true believers of the British left, delusion set in and hardened, as they viewed the Bolshevik dictatorship as strictly "a real working-class democracy of the soviets." (186) The remainder of Bullock's book covers the Independent Labour Party and the Third International, the Communist Party (in Britain), the Socialist Labour Party and its sectarianism, Pankhurst and her version of "Left Communism," and the Kronstadt rebellion and the "collapse" of communism.

Romancing the Revolution is recommended reading for a narrow range of scholars, specialists who are already versed in the complexities and perplexities of communist sectarianism. Such readers will probably already be familiar with Bullock's previous projects, namely his co-edited *Sylvia Pankhurst: From Artist to Anti-Fascist* (St. Martin's Press 1992) and co-authored *Democratic Ideas in the British Labour Movement, 1880-1914* (Cambridge University Press 1996). The weakness of this newest book, though well written, is its arcane and dense nature, all of which is no doubt unavoidable due to the topic at hand. The strength of Bullock's argument is that it forces the reader to consider the meaning of democracy as understood by British (and other) socialists and communists during the halcyon days of the Russian Revolution. Yet, the average reader will wonder why there needs to be so much peeling of an onion to conclude what wiser people knew all along. Bertrand Russell, as quoted by Bullock, observed: "Friends of Russia" absurdly "think that 'proletariat' means 'proletariat,' but 'dictatorship' does not quite mean 'dictatorship.'" (186) Bullock's findings

harmonize with the earlier conclusion of David Caute in *The Fellow-Travellers: Intellectual Friends of Communism* (New Haven 1988): first, the foreign admirers of Soviet Russia were children of the Enlightenment who took the word “Revolution” and equated it with progress, rationality, science, equality, peace, and worker state; and second, the ideal of “Revolution” so blinded these foreign admirers that they were quick to ignore or rationalize the totalitarianism that was as obvious then as it is now. It was such idealism that enabled a large segment of the British left, as Bullock shows, to reach the point where they could sincerely believe that “dictatorship” is a synonym for “democracy.”

ROGER CHAPMAN

Palm Beach Atlantic University

Lucio Magri, *The Tailor of Ulm: Communism in the Twentieth Century*
(London: Verso 2011)

SWIMMING AGAINST the stream, Lucio Magri joined the Communist Party of Italy (PCI) in 1956 and rose quite rapidly through the ranks until the expulsion of his *Il Manifesto* group in 1970 sent him into the revolutionary left for more than a decade (an evidently painful interlude about which he says little more than that he allowed himself to be deluded by extremism). Returning in the 1980s, he resisted Achille Occhetto’s successful liquidationist project that saw the PCI re-launched in 1991 as the Democratic Party of the left, its historic connection to the Communist tradition of Gramsci, Togliatti, and Berlinguer severed. Magri helped form Communist Refoundation (RC), but abandoned it in 2004 to become a “living private archive, in storage.” (17) *The Tailor of Ulm*, published in 2009 and now republished in English, is the fruit of Magri’s research and experience.

The book’s title was unwittingly bequeathed to Magri by the doyen of the PCI left, Pietro Ingrao, who in the debate on the party’s future recalled Brecht’s poem, or parable, about a 16th-century tailor who plummeted to his death from a church tower after being challenged to prove his claim to have invented a flying machine:

The bells ring out in praise
That man is not a bird
It was a wicked, foolish lie,
Mankind will never fly,
Said the Bishop to the People.

Brecht appears to give the Bishop of Ulm a last triumphal word, but for Ingrao the moral was that the tailor was not wrong, just ahead of his time. Magri, asking Ingrao if “the tailor’s bold attempt” had made any contribution to the history of aeronautics, rejected keeping the party going simply as “an inspiring ideal.” Communism had always claimed to be “part of a historical process already under way, of a real movement that was changing the existing state of things; it had therefore implied constant factual verification, scientific analysis of the present and realistic prognosis of the future, in order to avoid dissolving into myth.” (2) *The Tailor of Ulm* is a long rumination on whether it had been that sort of party and whether it should remain, in one form or another, part of that critical process. Ending the book with a reprint of an article he wrote in 1987, which suggested that a much reformed mass party engaged in a constantly re-created dialectical relationship with the new social movements could help them achieve an “autonomous subjectivity” through resistance to globalized capitalism, Magri optimistically answers yes. Any residual optimism, however, seems to have disappeared in November 2011, when Magri travelled to Switzerland

and implemented the “assisted death” he had apparently been planning since the death of his wife in 2009. He had just seen Giorgio Napolitano – an erstwhile PCI comrade now ascended to president of the republic – invite one globalized capitalist (US-trained economist Mario Monti) to replace another (Silvio Berlusconi) with an administration of unelected Eurocrats.

The core of the book is an account of the PCI’s failure to achieve the “Italian Road to Socialism” adumbrated by Togliatti in 1944 and finalized by him in his 8th party congress speech in December 1956, an overtly reformist path of “progressive democracy” that would be a “third way” between social-democratic parliamentarism and Leninist insurrection (the dream of the “Big Day”). The PCI would build a broad constellation of democratic forces, lead and mould them in industrial and democratic struggles, and over an indeterminate period systematically wrest more and more positions of economic and political power from the ruling class to the point where a “peaceful conquest and democratic management of state power” – socialism – would become possible. (134) He tells a familiar story of how, from start to finish, the PCI deluded itself about the reformist instincts of Christian Democracy (DC), refrained from using its authority among the working class to pressure DC into admitting Communists into government or conceding the structural reforms needed to shift the balance of class forces towards socialism, and gradually wore out the patience of many members and followers with successive re-brandings of the Italian Road: “historic compromise,” “democratic alternative,” and “new course” (this last being Occhetto’s road to nowhere). Attributing the PCI’s strategic failure to the excessive tactical caution of Togliatti and Berlinguer in the face of a difficult international situation and the

ever-present possibility of a domestic Fascist resurgence – the two combined in Berlinguer’s fear that he might become Salvador Allende Mark II – Magri implies that the original Gramsci-Togliatti “historic compromise” was never given and still deserved a *serious* try.

Magri describes himself in his first party decade as “not too disciplined but harmless enough” (222) and with false modesty as “a mere nobody.” (171) As Perry Anderson makes clear in a *New Left Review* (NLR) obituary, Magri was never that: “as dazzling as any film star of the period – athletic build; strong jaw; regular features; blonde hair tapering to a widow’s peak; deep-set, blazing blue eyes; wide smile; large, perfect teeth – and in dress of immaculate informality, he was the picture of spectacular good looks and casual elegance. Skilled at chess and poker, and a first-class cook, he had every outward asset of the man of the world, admired by the opposite sex.” (NLR, 72, Nov–Dec 2011, 112) A bourgeois intellectual with no family connection to the left, he joined the PCI with none of the guilt or anxiety that recent events in Moscow, Poznan, and Budapest had prompted among huge numbers of party veterans, or with any substantive disagreements with the authoritarian, hierarchical, Stalinist party that Palmiro Togliatti had built since the “Salerno Turn.” By the early 1960s he was entrenched in the Rome apparatus, hobnobbing with the great and the good and occasionally provoking the likes of Giorgio Amendola with minor leftist heresies. When Amendola subjected him to “Bolshevik discipline” that consisted of a lengthy period of thumb twiddling, Magri had the cultural and material resources to give his boss an elegant *vaffanculo* and walk away for a period of personal reflection and study. (173, 184)

This only occasionally revelatory and almost exclusively top-down history of

the PCI from 1944 to 1991 would have benefited from much more biographical detail. Specialists in Italian history, neo-Marxism, and comparative communism will surely welcome this book. Readers looking for a sophisticated entry-level volume on the PCI would be better off with Paul Ginsborg's brilliant *A History of Contemporary Italy 1943–1980* (Penguin 1990), which presents a more coherent version of the same story (and much more besides) with all the scholarly apparatus *The Tailor of Ulm* lacks and at significantly less cost. Readers looking primarily for a synoptic history of communism in the 20th century need to look elsewhere.

JOHN MANLEY

University of Central Lancashire

Dario Azzellini and Immanuel Ness,
eds., *Ours to Master and to Own:*
Workers' Control from the Commune to
the Present (Chicago: Haymarket Books
 2011)

READING THIS BOOK is like looking into a kaleidoscope of workers' efforts to regain control over their work, workplaces, and lives more generally. As any other kaleidoscope, this one, too, displays a perplexing variety of facets and every turn produces a new image looking similar but not quite the same as the old one. The first set of images gives an overview of the history of, and theoretical reflections upon, workers' councils. The chapters in this first part of the book present the Paris Commune as a prelude to the main acts of revolution and the establishment of workers' council in Russia, Germany, and Italy from 1917 to 1920. Workers' experiences in these three cases are presented as benchmarks against which all later struggles for workers' control are measured. The centrality of these three cases is recognized by separate case studies in the second part of the book. Complemented by a chapter on

Spain, this part of the book looks at the early 20th century and shifts the focus from generalizing theoretical reflections to more detailed historical presentations. Contributors to the following parts stick to this historical focus and invite readers on a tour of workers' control in state socialist and post-colonial countries, struggles against capitalist restructuring in the 1970s, and more recent claims for workers' control from India to Latin America. Arriving at the finishing line, the reader is left with more questions than answers, questions like: What triggered recurrent outbursts of worker militancy beyond party and union organizing? Why were these outbursts crushed or channeled back into the safe waters of institutionalized politics? Are these instances closed chapters in history or is there anything to learn from them for future struggles? The editors plead for the latter, as they make clear in the introduction. The crucial question, then, is whether the kaleidoscope of historical experiences can be transformed into a theoretical guide for the future. To be sure, after reading the book the answer could be a resounding "no." Theoretical references to Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, and other members of the Marxist pantheon reflect the confidence in the "Forward March of Labour" that inspired labour activists and intellectuals from the late 19th to the early 20th century. However, the case studies in this book seem to conform to the idea that this forward march was eventually halted, as Hobsbawm, who invented the term, speculated in the late 1970s. Three decades of labour in retreat later, though, the taste for another reading of 20th-century labour has grown. It is such a reading to which the editors and authors of this book invite their readers. Actual labour hasn't developed the way activists and intellectuals had envisioned and hoped for around the turn of the 20th century. Yet, these ideas can still serve as theoretical

starting points for a reflection upon later experiences. In fact, careful reading of the case studies in the book show that many of the theoretical arguments made some 100 years ago were confirmed by later developments; just the political hopes that were attached to them were disappointed over and over again.

These arguments revolve around three themes that run as common threads, with varying nuances, through the contributions to the book. The first of them is the dynamic of workers' struggle. In their introduction, Azzellini and Ness explain that their interest is not in workers' co-ops that try to carve out market niches in a capitalist economy but in workers' efforts to replace such an economy by one kind of worker's self-administration or another. Yet, as they also point out and many of the case studies confirm, such advances are threatened by outright defeat or cooptation or both. The German revolution of 1918/19, for example, was crushed by military counterrevolution among other things, and the idea of worker's councils was then transformed into co-determination between capitalists and workers. A variation of the theme of defeat and cooptation can be found in the chapters on Poland and Yugoslavia. Both countries were nominally socialist but in the former the subordination of workers to the ruling bureaucracy was so obvious, and so much despised, that it led to recurrent workers' upheavals that made Poland in the mid-1950s and again in the early 1980s look like revolutionary Russia, Germany, or Italy. In Yugoslavia, where workers' self-management was more than empty talk, the problems of decentralized, firm-based decision-making became apparent. Notably, the government's ability to redirect funds from richer to poorer areas and thus create some level of cohesion across the country was severely curtailed by firm-level egoisms.

This problem relates to the second theme running through the book: the relations among firms, unions, and states. Often, as in Spain in the 1930s, Algeria in the 1960s, and Argentina and Portugal in the 1970s, workers' councils originally just filled the vacuum left by collapsing state apparatuses and were thus emergency measures rather than strategically planned socialist offensives. Once in place, though, their existence came into conflict with unions and workers' parties that were built within the now defunct states but also keen on either resurrecting the old or building a new state. In this conflict, workers' councils with their decentralized social base in individual firms had a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* unions and parties operating on countrywide levels. A number of authors in the book refer to Gramsci, a participant in the workers' council movement in Turin in 1919/20, who developed his concept of hegemony as a possible way out of the limitations of decentralized workers' councils but sought an alternative to the centralized party-state that had developed in Soviet Russia.

The third theme in the book is the question of agency and the division of labour. An underlying premise of workers' councils is that workers possess the skills required to take over their workplaces. In the early 20th century, when these ideas were formed, this might have been the case but those days were already a period of transition towards the de-skilling of work. The impact this had on struggles for workers' control are most clearly articulated in a chapter on Italy in the 1970s where factory-centred struggles quickly gave way to community organizing, theorized as organizing the social factory. These struggles transcended factory gates and aimed at making links with other segments of the subordinated classes and thus represented a step forward. At the same time, though, they

signal the unmaking of working class, as we knew it. Interestingly enough, the chapters on workers' control since the 1990s make less use of the theoretical language that had developed with that class. They very much describe a period of transition where the old language does not fit any longer and a new, more fitting one, hasn't developed yet. *Ours to Master and to Own* is a contribution to such a development. It offers more questions than answers, lots to talk and think about, and also a perspective of progressive change. This is a refreshing change compared to the eternal truths many on the left held for some time and to the cult of undetermined identities they embraced once their assumed truths had failed the reality check.

INGO SCHMIDT

Athabasca University

Michael Riordon, *Our Way to Fight: Peace-Work Under Siege in Israel-Palestine* (London: Pluto Press and Toronto: Between the Lines 2011)

DOROTHY NAOR picks up Michael Riordon, author of *Our Way to Fight: Peace-Work Under Siege in Israel-Palestine*, in her green Volkswagen Passat. From Tel Aviv they head to the occupied West Bank. "Now pay attention.... We've just crossed the so-called Green Line," she warns Riordon, a Canadian investigative journalist who is neither a Jew nor a Palestinian. Naor, however, is Jewish and an American-born peace activist in Israel where she has lived for 60 years. She has a doctorate in literature and is a wife, a mother, and a grandmother. Naor is 80 years old and a peace activist. She and hundreds like her resist Israel's 45-year illegal and brutal occupation of Palestine.

So begins Riordon's excellent book that explores the dangerous lives and politics of Jews and Palestinians who are working

for peace in Israel and Palestine. In 1949, just after the founding of the Jewish state, the Green Line was drawn to divide the land between the Jews and the Arabs. The Green Line also divided Jerusalem – West Jerusalem belonged to Israel and East Jerusalem to Jordan. However in 1967, Israel captured the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt and the Golan Heights from Syria. For the last 45 years, Palestinians have lived under Israeli military control. To add insult to injury, since the early 1970s, successive Israeli governments have either tolerated or encouraged the growth of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, especially near East Jerusalem. Today the West Bank is home to more than 500,000 Jewish settlers in scores of Jewish communities that are really settlements, with homes, schools, swimming pools, medical clinics, playgrounds, and workplaces in the occupied West Bank. More than 300,000 of the settlers live in settlements surrounding East Jerusalem – on land that does not belong to them. These settlements are illegal according to international law.

Dorothy Naor drives author Riordon across the Green Line to visit several Palestinians, including a farmer Hani Amer, and a journalist, Issa Souf. Amer's house had been demolished to make way for another illegal Israeli settlement. After bulldozing his house, the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) destroyed his plant nursery, chicken coop, and goat shed – crushing his ability to earn a livelihood. Israel's "security wall" snakes through Amer's farmland, which (due to IDF checkpoints) takes him nearly two hours to get to rather than the 20-minute drive it took before the wall. A constant worry for Amer is the shortage of water: as Riordon notes, "According to a 2009 study by the World Bank, Israel controls all the water sources but allocates to Palestinians only

20 per cent of the water. It is forbidden for Palestinians to drill new wells.” (12)

Issa Souf is 40 years old and sits in a wheelchair. In 2001, the IDF entered his West Bank village, Kifl Hares. The IDF lobbed tear gas and fired rounds of live ammunition. Souf was a target because over the years he and his brother had led non-violent protests against nearby Israeli settlers who raided the village. The settlers cut down more than 30,000 olive trees, killed 7, and injured more than 50 Palestinians. In 2001, Souf heard the gunfire and tried to rescue children in the street. He was shot with dum-dum bullets, which lodged in his spine. Under international law, the use of dum-dum bullets is illegal; Souf sued the Israeli military and won. Quietly, they supplied Souf with an adapted vehicle and some money to make his house accessible. However they will not give him a permit or travel pass to go Nablus for rehabilitation treatment.

Another chapter is about Machsom Watch – or checkpoint watch – a group of Israeli women who visit checkpoints to chronicle Israeli transgressions against the Palestinians who need to enter Israel or go to other Palestinian towns. The group monitors the behaviour of the military at checkpoints and later at military court, defends Palestinian human rights, and acts as a witness at the checkpoints. Riordon accompanies two members of Machsom Watch early one morning to Kalandia, a military checkpoint between Jerusalem and Ramallah. That day, the IDF arbitrarily decides to allow only men over age 50 and women over age 45 to pass. Riordon’s sharp-eyed observations allow the reader to experience the Palestinians’ humiliation and fear at the checkpoint. That morning starting at five, hundreds of Palestinians line up to navigate through caged tubes with turnstiles and clanging metal barriers. On the whim of an IDF guard, most are refused

entry to Israel proper, or barred from travelling to another West Bank town. The checkpoints’ purpose is not merely to stop Palestinians from entering Israel, but also to stop them from travelling within the occupied West Bank to attend school, medical appointments, or work.

While much has been written about the Palestinians who live under occupation in the West Bank, less is noted about the more than eighteen per cent of Israelis who are Arabs. Called Arab Israelis, they are citizens of Israel but with fewer rights than the Jewish majority. In Nazareth, known as the “Arab capital of Israel,” Riordon interviews Yousef Jabareen, director of Dirasat, the Arab Center for Law and Policy. Barely 40 years old, Jabareen attended school in Nazareth, and then studied law at Hebrew University. He twice won scholarships to study in the US, eventually earning a PhD in law, policy and minority rights from George Washington University, in Washington, DC. He explains that the Arab Israelis have been virtually air-brushed out of the history curriculum in all Israeli schools. There is nothing about the Palestinians’ heritage, their history, or culture. Jabareen contends, “Sometimes you would think our history ended in 1948, and after that it’s a blank.” From 2006 to 2008, the number of Arab Israelis who passed their high school matriculation exams fell by 20 per cent. Their high school drop out rate is twice that of Jewish students. Israel allocates \$1,000 US per Jewish student for education, and only \$200 US for Arab students. While Arab-Isrealis comprise 18 per cent of Israel’s population, they own only 3.5 per cent of the land; in 2005, 94.5 per cent of Israel’s civil servants were Jewish and only 5 per cent were Arab. Dr. Jabareen and Dirasat collect data, write reports, and bring unequivocal proof to bolster their arguments in the hope of changing Israeli government policy toward

the Arabs inside Israel. He says he takes heart from the civil rights struggles in the US: "After so many years of slavery and then segregation, with a very oppressive regime to enforce it, now 50 years later the segregation laws are gone – that's a big change.... And in 2008, an African American was elected president." (84)

This book is a gem. Rather than interviewing politicians, government officials and legal experts, Riordon seeks out community leaders, people in non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and individuals who are on the front lines in the struggle for peace. His travels take him to Silwan, just over the Green Line in East Jerusalem, where El'ad, a huge Israeli property development company has already torn down 22 Palestinian homes to make room for a new theme park for tourists called "The City of David." In addition to destroying Palestinian homes, El'ad is taking the land and illegally building homes for Jewish settlers. Riordon points out that archaeology is being used as a political tool to enlarge the settlements, since the archaeologists who work for El'ad claim that the ruins of King David's city lie beneath the land. Other archaeologists – mainly from Tel Aviv University – say there is no evidence King David was ever near the "City of David" and that the theme park is really a land grab.

This small paperback book shows how Jews and Palestinians, with few resources and with a dedication to non-violence, are fighting the occupation of Palestinian lands. There is a depth to the interviews; the subjects show steadfastness and true principle in the face of formidable circumstances. A final example is the *Shministim*, which means "Twelfth-graders." Riordon interviews teenaged girls and boys who, as conscientious objectors, have refused to do their army service. In a country in which almost everyone is funneled into military service at age eighteen it is a huge act of

defiance. The young people are jailed for months at a time, and if they continue to refuse they serve more stints in prison. In Israel military service is compulsory and the Israeli army is mythologized as a force for good, a nation-builder. Refusing to serve has very negative effects on one's access to higher education and to careers. Yet hundreds young Jews are prepared to pay the price.

Riordon's interviews illuminate a grassroots movement that is committed to peace and justice in Israel-Palestine. Most of his subjects are not reported by the media, or shown on the nightly news, but they are important and courageous. On a personal note, I am Jewish and found the book to be well worth reading.

JUDY HAIVEN

Saint Mary's University

John Tully, *The Devil's Milk: A Social History of Rubber* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2011)

JOHN TULLY'S new book on rubber, *The Devil's Milk*, is part of a relatively recent trend: tracing the history surrounding a commodity. However, Tully's work also falls very much into an "old school" Marxist tradition. Tully consistently relies on Marx and Engels in drawing out his broader analysis of the role of rubber in the development of capitalism. He often cites well-known statements by Marx as the final word on key issues. He also draws heavily on Franz Fanon in some sections on the impact of colonialism.

Tully's clear theoretical position is mostly an asset, providing a clear analytical framework for the book. Moreover, an unabashedly Marxist approach is well suited to a study of the brutal working conditions and extreme exploitation of labour involved in both the extraction of rubber and the manufacturing of rubber-based goods. Indeed, Tully succeeds in

making his key argument, that Marx's description of capital as emerging into the world "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt" is particularly applicable to the history of rubber. Some sections of the book – particularly those on mass deaths of workers harvesting wild rubber in the Putamayo in South America, the brutality of rubber extraction in the Congo under Belgium's King Leopold, and the Nazis' creation of a rubber factory in Auschwitz – are full of potent and horrific stories.

Tully actually states that his "book is written from a socialist-humanist *and* ecological perspective." (15, emphasis added) But as the subtitle *A Social History of Rubber* suggests, the socialist-humanism predominates, and the ecological analysis, while present at times, remains relatively underdeveloped. Tully's traditional approach may be one cause of this disparity: exploring the ecological issues in greater depth may have required some more recent theoretical frameworks than those Tully seems comfortable using.

The book seeks to be accessible to general readers while also engaging scholarly specialists. Tully does not try to build a comprehensive study covering all aspects of the history of rubber. Instead he tries to strike a balance between sketching broad trends in the history and focusing on particular settings where rubber-related industries took off.

Tully strikes this balance well in much of the book, describing the experiences of those who worked with rubber and putting these stories into historical context. Indeed, Tully's ability to create compelling accounts of the experiences of workers in different settings is the greatest strength of the book. He does an especially admirable job in the chapters about workers in the tire factories in Akron (Chapters 9–11), and prisoners put to work by the Nazis, for many of whom "the only way out [was] up the chimney."

(Chapter 19) We also learn about some of the rubber barons; Tully's portrayals of the business leaders that emerged in Akron – such as Goodyear President Paul Litchfield – make for absorbing reading (Chapter 9). To be sure, some stories are fresher than others. The atrocities committed in the Congo Free State (Chapter 7) have been the subject of a number of works, including one recent bestseller in Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's Ghost* (1998). Tully's account is engaging, but does not seem to offer a lot that will be new to some readers.

There are times when Tully does not achieve the balance between providing context and focusing on key episodes in his story. Part 4, exploring the development of plantation hevea (which became the main source of natural rubber in the early 20th century), is notably uneven. Tully gets bogged down in details, especially in the Part's first two chapters (12–13) about the industry and the lives of planters and managers. This in turn makes Part 4 unnecessarily long at almost 100 pages. Part 5, exploring developments during World War II, includes three powerful chapters on the creation of the Nazis' rubber industry, followed by two chapters that attempt to survey developments in the whole of the Allied world. Not surprisingly, these latter chapters seemed rushed and incomplete.

Moreover, there are some questions as to the extent to which the particular cases Tully places at centre stage are representative of global rubber industries as a whole. Some important settings and players are noticeable by their absence. In particular, Tully identifies Michelin as one of the central corporations in the rubber industry; in highlighting Michelin's global reach, Tully comments about its company icon that "the fat man became one of the most instantly recognizable symbols in history." (23) He also draws interesting parallels between

Akron and Michelin's key manufacturing centre in Clermont-Ferrand, in the Auvergne region of France. (147) Yet the comparison is not developed (Tully spends only one paragraph on it) and in general there are only a few references to Michelin's factories and corporate activities in the book. This oversight is more perplexing given that Part 4 on hevea cultivation focuses heavily on plantations in French Indochina, which supplied rubber for Michelin. French Indochina is also the region Tully has explored in much of his previous research.

Given the scope of Tully's work, however, it would be unfair to criticize him harshly for how much more he could have done. His research base is extremely impressive. His list of archival sources consulted (363) includes holdings in Australia (where Tully is a Lecturer at Victoria University in Melbourne), Cambodia, the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, and Poland. His list of periodicals consulted (381–3) includes sources from these countries as well as Switzerland, Vietnam and Sri Lanka. Tully's book is a valuable contribution to the literature on imperialism, labour, and social history, and to a lesser extent economic, business, and environmental history. It is also worthwhile reading for general readers interested in these subjects.

DAVE GOUTOR

McMaster University

Suzanne Franzway and Mary Margaret Fonow, *Making Feminist Politics: Transnational Alliances Between Women and Labour* (Urbana and Champaign: University of Illinois Press 2011)

MAKING FEMINIST POLITICS is a study of why and how women workers have organized within their unions, labour federations, and international labour

organizations, and through them in broader alliances, to advance feminist concerns, particularly as they intersect with labour rights in globalizing contexts. The authors argue that women's capacity to participate in the politics of struggle for economic justice in unions and elsewhere is central to shaping and enacting women's right to work and to secure livelihoods and that, therefore, unions remain a powerful and productive site for feminist politics. Unions provide women members with organizing structures, opportunities and discourses that enable them to make contact and build alliances with feminists in other unions and in feminist NGOs on common agendas. They provide working-class women with opportunities for political agency on issues and at scales that would not otherwise be accessible to them.

The major contribution of this book in my view is in its understanding of feminism as a set of discourses and practices that exceeds specifically feminist organizations or women-only movements. Drawing on feminist conceptions of intersectionality, the book successfully transcends sectoral notions of movements that plague many analytical discourses about social movements and the relations among them. The authors see multiple contemporary social movements as overlapping, inter-penetrating, and mutually constituting. Feminism is thus inside the labour movement and is itself a current of labour politics. Union feminists likewise advanced labour politics in spaces beyond *sui generis* labour organizations. A second major contribution of the book is in its documenting an alter-history of transnational feminism as including an important working-class current, both in its social composition and in its orientation to labour movement politics. This is a significant contribution to scholarship on transnational feminism as a social movement, which has

heretofore largely focused on the middle-class, professionalized, and often liberal culture and politics of feminist NGOs. A third important contribution is in the authors' theorizing of the "sexual politics" of the labour movement and the notion of the "laboring body" of the union feminist. I discuss these more fully below.

Franzway and Fonow argue that combating the negative effects of globalization has demanded the expansion of transnational and cross-movement alliances and that participation in such networks has created opportunities for women in male-dominated workplaces and labour unions to more effectively challenge gendered power and to advance feminist claims therein. Transnational social movement networks under conditions of globalization therefore constitute a "political opportunity structure" for union feminists advancing a women's rights agenda in labour movements.

Constructing these broader alliances requires the development of shared "discursive frames." Human rights discourses are particularly powerful in this regard, although the authors view these as not altogether unproblematic. Franzway and Fonow advance the concept of "discursive alliances" in speaking of the social construction of shared frames across movements and issue areas previously viewed as discrete. The book thus stretches the concepts of the resource mobilization approach in social movement studies in productive ways which are less statist and more appreciative of discourses as political resources.

Franzway and Fonow document the myriad ways that union women use labour movement structures to forge alliances with other feminists in ways that strengthen their position in labour organizations that remain deeply masculinist in culture and politics. These feminist alliances at multiple scales are significant sites in which labour politics are

advanced at the same time as feminist discourses are strengthened and return to circulate in more potent ways within labour organizations. The authors argue that this dynamic of exchange makes unions stronger and more effective as they increasingly incorporate issues and perspectives important to their growing numbers of female members while building essential pro-labour alliances with other movements. Overall, the book testifies to the expanded reach and dynamism of both feminist and labour discourses through multiple and overlapping networks and alliances, as well as to their conflictual relations.

The book is organized into seven chapters. After an analytical introduction, the discussion moves through various sites and scales at which union women make feminist politics in and beyond the labour movement, from consideration of the body and the family, to women's self-organized and feminist spaces, to international labour organizations and the World Social Forum. There is also a historical case study of women's activism in the International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF). The substantive chapters begin with consideration of the "sexual politics" of the trade union movement. It focuses on the "laboring body" of the union feminist and asks where responsibility and resources for its care and reproduction reside. Franzway and Fonow argue that the self-care of women as both workers and activists is a dimension of women's "second shift," largely invisible both to unions and to feminist analysts, and a major factor in women's systemic underrepresentation in union structures. This is one of the more theoretically sophisticated and innovative discussions in the book, with implications for understanding the persistence of male domination in other social movements. The authors link the gendered organization of everyday life with women's

reduced capacity to do public politics in labour unions and document a range of feminist strategies to ameliorate this situation. The authors include in their understanding of sexual politics the heteronormativity of both the labour market and the labour movement. They analyze the theoretical and strategic bases and concrete practices of alliances between feminists and LGBT worker-activists, particularly around the adoption of human rights discourses by labour unions. This is one of the more successful instances of the integration of LGBT discourses, which otherwise run rather unevenly throughout the book.

The notion of sexual politics is further developed in the following chapter's focus on "the family." The authors document important discursive alliances between feminists and labour anchored in the concept of (and defence of) the family, how they have played out in campaigns for pay equity, child care, and work/life balance, and their ambivalent character in relation to feminist agendas. While advancing important arguments and insights, this chapter is weakened by a too undifferentiated view of "the family" historically, geographically, and ethno-culturally. While the authors are quick to acknowledge the diversity of family forms, this remains an abstract recognition that does not sufficiently trouble the analysis. Likewise, significant historical changes such as women's mass entry into the labour force globally, rising divorce rates, the growth of female-breadwinner households, and the increase in same-sex unions do not appear as factors in analyzing contemporary gender relations in the family.

The weaknesses one can see in this chapter are an effect of a bundle of interrelated and recurring problems that I think may stem from the authors' thin and undifferentiated conception of "globalization" and how they theorize its

relation to gender. Following Connell, Franzway and Fonow maintain that while gender cannot be understood apart from historically specific gender regimes, forces of economic globalization increasingly condition local contexts such that there is an emergent global gender order with specific contours. This, they argue, can be seen especially in relation to women's changing relationship to work, care, and consumption worldwide under conditions of neoliberal economic restructuring, and they further see the emergence of transnational feminist politics as responsive to this global order.

In my view, "globalization," even understood more specifically as neoliberal global economic restructuring (which is what I understand the authors to mean when they employ the term) is a far more contradictory and spatially uneven process, including in terms of its effects on gender relations. Without paying much more attention to place-based difference – in particular to North-South distinctions, and to localized effects of globalization on women differently positioned in terms of race, nation, and class – I find the assertion of an emergent global gender order as it stands here both unpersuasive and more generally problematic. Such smoothing out of difference across time and place under conditions of globalization lends itself to cascading risks of analytic over-reach and over-generalization.

Concretely, for example, although the empirical research is grounded in several national societies and referenced as such, the book has an acontextual quality. The discussion slides unproblematically among US, UK, Canadian, and Australian examples as if these historical-geographical contexts do not present significant differences with any analytic import. This seems to be an effect of the authors' seeing globalization as a single process imposing uniform changes across contexts such that this

deployment of cross-national (but not comparative use of) data becomes both analytically plausible and politically productive. In terms of the arguments being advanced, perhaps these particular contextual differences are insignificant, but it would have been reassuring to hear the authors reflect more critically and self-consciously on this.

Similarly but much more problematically, both politically and analytically, the authors advance global claims about feminist and labour politics based on research grounded exclusively in first-world, white settler, and imperial heartlands of the global political economy without apparent awareness of how this conditions their angle of vision of the "global." Again, this seems to speak of an understanding of globalization as obliterating North-South or core-periphery distinctions, as the smoothing out of global space (and, to be clear, in negative ways).

Also relatedly, despite some more historically oriented chapters, as in those on feminist politics in international labour and the case study of the IMF), the overall discussion has a persistent ahistorical, or presentist, quality. Apart from some sections dealing with clearly more historically remote periods, the book's core examples and sources are drawn from the early 1980s to the present, but they are treated as if they compose a smooth, undifferentiated (and global) present. Sources and examples are all handled as if they are contemporary, and as if their national provenance makes no difference. Although the authors do not explicitly explain this as flowing analytically from their understanding of the historical onset of globalization and its putatively homogenizing effects, it seems continuous with that argument.

Finally, also an effect of smoothing out difference but presenting its own distinct cluster of problems, while the book's subjects are always gendered, sometimes

attributed a sexual orientation or a national origin, and consistently located in terms of the working-class politics of the organized labour movement, they remain racially unmarked throughout. This book is one of numerous unfortunate examples of recent feminist scholarship that appeals to discourses of intersectionality, that explicitly includes "race" as an abstract category, but largely ignores race as a presumably important analytical factor in understanding women's experience as workers, feminists and union activists, and in the making of feminist politics in and beyond the labour movement – arguably especially significant in the national contexts which ground the empirical analysis. Race and "difference" among women is referenced in the theoretical discussion of sexual politics but does not otherwise inform the analysis. One can only surmise that the racially unmarked union feminists quoted throughout the book are likely white. Race does not figure in their positioning or politics, whether as feminists or as union activists. Racialized gender does not appear on the radar of either the authors or of the activisms they otherwise so ably document and, in some very interesting ways, theorize.

In sum, despite weaknesses flowing from its thin theorization of globalization and the near absence of consideration of race despite its overall underpinnings in feminist discourses of intersectionality, this is a rich, complex and thought-provoking study that is highly recommended for anyone interested in the politics of feminism, labour, and contemporary social movements and a very suitable resource for teaching at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

JANET CONWAY
Brock University

Julie Ann McMullin, ed., *Age, Gender, and Work: Small Information Technology Firms in the New Economy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

A WELCOME CONTRIBUTION to the literature on employment equity in the transnational, globalized “new” economy, Julie Ann McMullin’s slim volume is packed with scope for further study. Historians of working-class Canada and labour relations will want to take the time to read this sociological analysis, for it offers glimpses of the lived experiences of individuals employed in the contemporary IT industry, and raises questions about the evolution of gendered constructions and generational consciousness in these firms. Indeed, as the authors argue, the phenomenon of ageism, in particular, cries out for more academic attention, particularly in terms of the historical context of these stereotypes. In fact, although this book is focused on research carried out in small IT firms, the larger implications of how individuals are selected for retention and employment based on definitions of “adaptability” and “flexibility,” often informed by stereotypical assumptions related to the use of technology, have application across time and space to the larger economy.

This study is multi-authored, and is the product of a SSHRC-funded research project called Workforce Aging in the New Economy (WANE), based in the Sociology Department at the University of Western Ontario (www.wane.ca). The book is the analysis component of the research carried out by seven sociologists in 47 selected IT firms based in England, Australia, Canada, and the United States. The authors demonstrate how gender and age (re-)construct the relationships underpinning paid and unpaid labour in the contemporary field of information technology. It is argued that these

relationships combine to create four main gender “regimes” that are recognizable with some variations across the geographical space examined; these are identified as masculinist, benignly paternalistic, benignly maternalistic, and balanced. These structural limitations then define the workplace cultures in which individuals negotiate the division of labour and their relationships with others. The WANE results suggest that small to mid-sized IT firms appear to be staffed primarily by men under the age of 35, and despite “the best intentions of individual employers to create welcoming workplaces,” the economic climate makes this difficult. (56)

Perhaps surprisingly for an archivist who spends her day classifying documents, I am uncomfortable with sociological categories applied to groups, and so read the methodological analysis of the classification of gender regimes with some skepticism. However, I found the descriptions of how women and men actually experienced these constructions, and negotiated their family lives and leisure activities, more thought provoking. Particularly engaging is the emphasis on life course and linked lives perspectives. The authors were interested in exploring how individuals made work-related choices in relation to other events and people in their lives, and this is demonstrated in the text using extracts from oral interviews. From a theoretical perspective, this approach allows the study to capture the negotiated aspect of individual choices based on self-identified constraints, but as the authors suggest, the limitations may be more structural and systemic than their interviewees realize.

WANE found there to be a widely held view in the industry that by age 40, IT workers in small to mid-sized firms are “stale-dated,” and that this age stereotype appears to be a moving target, as

technological innovation speeds up. As the authors suggest, “determining which workers are the most productive is not an exact science, and employers sometimes make such decisions based on information about average characteristics of the group or groups to which an individual belongs.” (137) This kind of statistical discrimination, which could also be directed against young women seen to be more liable to request parental leave, effectively places a large group of otherwise employable economic contributors in a disadvantaged position. It occurs to me that such stereotypical assumptions may be a poor investment for the IT industry itself. Real innovators are not dissuaded from creative thinking by their own age or gender; the industry may be depriving itself of the leaders it needs to be nimble in the fluctuating market.

The analysis of generational consciousness and its link to social capital in the contemporary technological context is exciting. Technology as a cultural indicator or touchstone for a generation is not a new concept for historians, but what happens when technology changes so rapidly that individuals are constantly learning new applications? Does generational consciousness become more difficult to attain, or is the sense of generation itself limited to those who are able to keep up, excluding peers who opt out of the newest innovation? Such questions have been discussed in the media in relation to Facebook and other social networking tools, but so far there have been few studies of what this means for the labour market. The authors of this study noticed some variation across the geographical areas under consideration, but conclude that ultimately it is the perception of age, rather than the actual age of an individual, and the linked, hidden assumptions this has for an individual’s suitability for employment that are most difficult to

identify and thereby address. (130) These assumptions may alter the social capital an individual is perceived as bringing to the workplace, and therefore alter the culture in which the person works on an everyday basis.

The WANE research project raises other questions as well. Where do IT specialists go, if and when they find the small to medium-sized firms unattractive? Do women and family-oriented (older) men with IT backgrounds find shelter in larger firms or the public service, where they may have more opportunity for life-work balance, once they have established their credentials in smaller firms? Certainly, the current situation at RIM may suggest otherwise. The authors suggest that freelance entrepreneurs may find self-employment to be a solution to finding life-work balance, but only if they are able to accept certain career sacrifices and withstand pressure to be continuously plugged in to work. There is some suggestion that certain individuals may be capable of transforming the industry but that so far this change is relatively limited.

Historians and sociologists enrich their work in sharing ideas. The concentration of women in the service departments of IT firms, and the feelings of being “underappreciated” for service work, could be linked to Joan Sangster’s arguments about the value placed on “emotional labour.” The descriptions of masculinity in IT firms bring to mind studies of steel and bush working, but why does IT work seem to require machismo? In the context of linked lives, I would like to know more about how seemingly individual choices are negotiated, in particular choice of partner and family dynamics. Would concepts of ethnically “linked communities” function in this model, particularly when familial ties are central to the workplace culture? Does the class and ethnic background of

the individuals interviewed for this study relate at all to debate about the digital divide, and how do IT firms in Québec compare with those WANE studied?

In conclusion, McMullin and colleagues have made a convincing argument for the importance of age and gender analysis of contemporary workplace culture, and they have posed valuable questions related to the IT industry in particular for future academic study.

JENNIFER ANDERSON

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Catherine Krull and Justyna Sempruch, eds., *A Life in Balance? Reopening the Family-Work Debate* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

DESPITE THE TITLE of this edited volume, the family-work debate has never closed. It is even in vogue in the popular media. Recent academic books and articles on this topic include Amy Marcus-Newhall, Diane Halpern, and Sherylle Tan's edited work, *Changing Realities of Work and Family* (2009). Nevertheless, some chapters in Krull and Sempruch's book do shine and add something valuable to the existing literature, particularly the Canadian context.

Among the jewels are Maureen Baker's comprehensive chapter on maternal employment, child care, and public policy, which compares a number of OECD countries and some Canadian provinces. She clearly shows how women's employment, earnings, and "choices" are directly affected by social policies, such as the affordability and availability of child care, tax and family benefits, and parental leave. She also discusses the "motherhood penalty," the negative view employers have of mothers and the gap between the earnings of mothers and women without children. This chapter would

make a good reading for a public policy, women's studies, or sociology of work class, as it combines quantitative data, sound public policy analysis, and feminist knowledge of social and economic pressures on women.

Margaret Hillyard Little's chapter would also make a good course reading, due to its clear explanations of neoliberalism and the historical overview of Canadian policy on mothers, namely family allowances, childcare, and the inclusion of mothers in workfare schemes. The chapter offers a concise summary of Little's earlier research with lone parent mothers living on low incomes. It might have been interesting if she had added a discussion of the movement to establish "homemakers' pensions" in the 1980s, which was supported by the right as well as by some women's organizations.

Donna Baines and Bonnie Freeman contributed a useful chapter on work, care, resistance, and mothering from an indigenous perspective. They describe the leadership role of Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) women in the family, in sustenance and community activities, and in resisting colonization, arguing that these roles are not separate but intertwined. Baines and Freeman outline how state policies disrupted the lives, families and work of Aboriginal peoples, including the forced removal of Aboriginal children to residential schools and the Sixties Scoop, in which significant numbers of Aboriginal kids were taken away from their families to be raised in white foster homes.

Catherine Krull's chapter on the nuclear family model mentions a few issues in passing which really deserve chapters of their own. One is the increasing restriction of immigration policy to the nuclear family to the exclusion of grandparents, extended family, and multiple spouses. Also, DNA tests are sometimes required to prove a genetic link among family members. This is done to prevent

immigration fraud, but undermines adoptive relationships. Krull mentions in passing the role of foreign domestic workers in keeping some well-to-do Canadian families functional, but does not discuss the Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program, which actually requires mothers who become domestic workers to leave their own families behind. Although the workers may apply for citizenship after three years, the backlog, poor pay, and working conditions generally mean that most women will not have seen their own children for five years.

Nancy Mandell and Sue Wilson's chapter on intergenerational care work describes the forces that steer women into the caregiving role. They discuss societal expectations and practical financial decisions made when most men continue to bring in more money from paid work than women. They are among the few authors who at least mention the rewards and satisfaction caring can provide, and the deep bonds that are formed with family members. Yes, caring is stressful, and this does have health effects. None of the chapters discuss the positive health effects noted when people feel like they are engaged in something meaningful and have close bonds with others.

Most of the chapters rightly look at neoliberal weakening of social programs, such as restrictions to Employment Insurance (EI) that exclude many workers from unemployment, parental and sickness benefits, or give them 55 per cent of their wage. Women make up the majority of minimum wage workers in Canada. They can not even live on their full wage, let alone half of it. However, there is another element of the growing work-family crunch equation that is not discussed: the skyrocketing standards of parenting. When I was a kid, my mother let me out into busy streets at the age three with only a five-year-old neighbour to supervise me. Smoking and drinking

during pregnancy were the norm. Angela Davis documents the changes in parenting standards over time, and their negative effects on mothers who often feel like failures despite all their care work, in her new book *Modern Motherhood: Women and Family in England, 1945–2000* (2012). Although some chapters of *A Life in Balance?* deal with paid workplace restructuring, significant changes have also taken place in terms of expectations of parents.

Andrea Doucet's chapter reflects her research with fathers who take on the primary caregiving role. She discusses how these fathers are treated by society, the ongoing expectation that men should be breadwinners, and the sexist and homophobic barriers to primary caregiving fathers supporting each other and making links with both female and male caregivers and the community.

The word limit for this review does not permit me to adequately discuss the eleven chapters of this edited volume, thirteen counting the introduction and epilogue. Margrit Eichler's chapter is an interesting look at what skills are learned through unpaid household labour that can be applied in paid work. Judy Fudge's well-written chapter gives historical context and current data on working time regulations and their effects on the gendered division of paid and unpaid labour. Ann Duffy and Norene Pupo's chapter enters the "good job/bad job" debate in describing the restructuring of paid work and its deleterious effects on workers. Patricia Albanese's chapter is an informative look at family policy in Québec. Justyna Sempruch's chapter on queering caregiving work is a mainly theoretical piece in which she tries to shift the discussion from women's employment toward the gendered division of domestic labour.

Susan McDaniel's conclusion attempts to tie the hodge-podge of chapters

together, and adds a few nuggets such as “wedfare” – the social policies in some parts of the US to encourage single mothers to get married as a solution to poverty. Although some chapters do refer to the labour movement and other political struggles, the role of the women’s movement in advancing social policy in the 1970s and early 1980s, and how the movement was undermined by state withdrawal of support, are absent from the book. McDaniel concludes that, “What is needed is collective mobilization to change work culture that supports being constantly in a time bind,” but with the weakening of labour movements and the dormancy of a national Canadian women’s movement, she does not see how that can come about. The solid arguments in many chapters for social policy and workplace change to support the health and financial well-being of parents and kids are left as a destination without a vehicle to move them through the rough terrain of neoliberalism.

MARIKA MORRIS
Carleton University

E. Paul Durrenberger, ed., *The Anthropological Study of Class and Class Consciousness* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado 2012)

PAUL DURRENBERGER’S edited volume comprises an eclectic collection of perspectives. Deploying Marvin Harris’ concept “cultural dreamwork,” or that which obscures the realities of people’s lives from them, Durrenberger’s introductory chapter expresses his alarm at the participation of anthropologists in the ideological obfuscation of capitalist politics and economics. He argues that recent anthropologists’ work dismisses class analysis as “an objectivist discourse” in favour of an approach that views class as “a culturally constituted identity.” In so

doing, anthropologists have diverted attention away from class towards “identity issues.”

Durrenberger’s critique of anthropological interventions in the study of class targets the issue of class consciousness. “If we want to understand class in the United States,” he writes, “we must understand its role in the structure of the political ecology and not its role in the American dream. *Thus what Americans think, if anything at all, about class is not relevant.*” (5, emphasis added)

For Durrenberger, the study of consciousness hinges upon a strongly stated materialism: “Reasoning and reason are forms of consciousness, forms of thought that are determined by people’s experiences, which in turn are determined by their positions in economic and political systems, and which proceed to inform their actions.” (10) Yet even though he excoriates recent analytic trends in anthropology, he is neither doctrinaire nor a martinet by any means in what he includes in this volume, but rather is careful and scholarly in his selection.

In three archaeology-history chapters, the authors’ approach to class consciousness is isomorphic with the history of state formation and social stratification. William Honeychurch writes about how the centralized Mongolian state known as Xiongnu coalesced 2000 years ago from a society of nomadic herders. His main question concerns why nomads who can operate in an autonomous and independent fashion would assent to large scale state organization based upon social inequality and stratification. In his chapter, Douglas Bolender reconstructs the process of class formation in Iceland – “the transformation of a society dominated by independent freeholders to a highly stratified society with a small landowning aristocracy and a large class of tenant farmers” (80) – using historical sources and archaeological excavation.

Bolender seeks to focus upon questions of class consciousness with respect to the decisions made by tenant farmworkers vs. landlords, and the shift from a population dominated by independent freeholders to one composed of dependent tenant farmers.

In her study of Nuosu societies in southwest China, Ann Maxwell Hill describes the history of state formation and social stratification, and the problem of historical variation – periods when there were centralized government(s) and periods when there were not, notwithstanding the persistence of social stratification during both kinds of periods. Hill's study of the stability of non-state stratified societies in relation to their proximity to states offers a commentary on Morton Fried's assertion that stateless stratified societies do not last long. Hill's study thus complicates assumptions about the relationship between class, social stratification, and states.

Moving into contemporary times, Paul Trawick develops a critical essay of global scope in looking at poverty and climate change in the context of the hegemonic economic models that assert the endless plasticity of "growth," that is, of the creation of wealth. Trawick relies on a model of class allied to the Occupy Movement's 99 per cent versus one per cent model; he enlists the idea of a transnational anti-capitalist class created by political activism. That activism relies upon a transformation of worldview with respect to what capital and wealth really are. In invoking a process by which people break through cultural dreamwork and "come to realize" the nature of their world, Trawick emphasizes how consciousness-raising and paradigm shifts can provoke social change.

It is also the future that concerns Dimitra Doukas' analysis of the class nature of the imaginary of crash, collapse, and apocalypse. For her, the scenarios

in this imaginary are productive of class consciousness: the dominant class envisions crash and ways to mitigate it; the "middle class" envisions the collapse of globalization and a return to locality; and the working class envisions collapse and apocalypse and ways to resist them. "Middle class" is for Doukas an emic category specifying a portion of the working class that is different because of its accumulation of cultural capital via education, but who remain wage earners nonetheless. These scenarios, she writes, embed class antagonisms and in that way embody particular forms of class consciousness of one's class positioning and vulnerabilities.

Class antagonisms manifest differently in Kate Goltermann's analysis of class and consumption in an upscale hair salon. The salon is a theatre for the operations of class; specifically where working-class hairdressers and upper- and middle-class consumers express status and wealth through fantasies based on consumption. Class here is defined by income, but class consciousness can be shaped by these consumption fantasies which enable the workers to adopt the status position of their clients through their participation, unequal though it may be, in the performance of class that takes place in the salon.

Four chapters focus on class consciousness in ethnographic and historic contexts where class transects with another major factor, such as gender, kinship, race, immigration, and nationality, or where class is greatly complicated via labour stratification. In this way, these authors offer various qualifications of Durrenberger's approach to class. Barbara Dilly examines gender and class in a historical biography of the American farmer daughter. American farmers, Dilly writes, differentiated themselves in their consciousness from wage workers and according to Dilly thus

“resist(ed) identification with [their] class interests” (194) via community solidarity that valued self-sufficiency, social order, traditions, and the meaning of labour. Farmers’ daughters experienced life as an outcome of the overall status of their families within this solidarity, but they also exerted agency as contributors to household economies via their labour or through wages earned outside the home when the latter occurred. The meaning of their labour was executed therefore within the overall context of consciousness about “farm family” and “farm community.” In Sharryn Kashmir’s analysis of class and labour stratification in the Saturn auto plant, she confounds the conventional tendency to find a labour aristocracy in the analysis of the stratification of labour, and opts instead for a dialectic analysis of “privilege and dis-possession” (268) that underlies the making of working classes and the working class solidarity (that is, consciousness) both nationally and internationally. This acknowledges the complexity of class consciousness and the unforeseen historical dynamics that certain concepts – like labour aristocracy – might obscure.

David Griffith writes about Latino immigrants and class in Iowa and North Carolina and finds that class consciousness among immigrants as workers is fragmented and inhibited by numerous forces. While unions and other collective organizations exist, they are apparently inhibited by the possibility of upward mobility, relationships with employers (sometimes involving marriage), variable legal status, racism, and the reliance on multiple and constantly differentiating sources of income. Successful, established immigrant entrepreneurs do not identify with impoverished struggling newcomer immigrants; the former have successfully followed the tried and true path of other immigrants in developing

individualized and culturally appropriate types of solidarity and success.

Josiah Heyman’s chapter offers perhaps the most cogent formulation of multiple facets shaping the formation of class consciousness. At the US-Mexican border, class and race coalesce around the Anglo-Mexican dichotomy and attending racist and nationalist ideologies. Heyman writes:

The goal in sorting out this complexity is not to privilege one set of relations, whether class, citizenship, race or gender and ignore the others or see them as disguises to be pulled away.... Rather we need to examine the relationship between different orders of phenomena, the overall framework of capitalist relations, historically assembled regional frameworks (social-political orders and discourses), and lived experiences and understandings. (223–4)

He uses four levels of abstraction in the analysis of class and inequality: the Marxist concept of “strategic relations of production”; organizing principles, such as race/nationality/gender; the distribution of material inequalities; and consciousness itself, which Heyman also calls “identity.” Affirming that it is inequality itself that is central to his analysis, what draws Heyman’s attention is how class, immigration status, and nationality align in people’s daily experience. He concludes that class consciousness in the borderland is heavily racialized and national, inflecting each level of class consciousness.

Taken together, the chapters of this book illuminate, complicate, affirm, and confront the analytic gauntlet Durrenberger lays down as the *raison d’être* for this volume. The result is a rich and challenging work that greatly advances the conversation about class and

class consciousness in anthropology at the current time.

LES W. FIELD

University of New Mexico

Carrie M. Lane, *A Company of One: Insecurity, Independence and the New World of White-Collar Unemployment* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2011)

CARRIE LANE'S original plan for *A Company of One* was to write a situated historical ethnography of a specific group of workers: information technology workers in Dallas, Texas at the turn of the 21st century. This would have been a modest but admirable subject. However, along the way the dot.com crash struck, leading Lane into a much more complex and less researched topic. Her fieldwork morphed into a close examination of these workers' experiences with unemployment and insecurity.

The late 1990s and early 2000s witnessed a great deal of scholarship revealing the realities of work in Silicon Valley. Lane's original project would have offered a useful point of comparison to that literature. However, the timing of her research opened up a new avenue for exploration of the effects of massive layoffs on workers who were previously economic high-fliers. Additionally preparation of the manuscript was delayed until 2009, which coincided with another economic crisis. The result is a book about the dot.com collapse and immediate post-9/11 economic downturn, written in the context of the economic crisis of 2008–2009. Lane spent six months observing events and groups in Dallas designed for unemployed tech workers, speaking with more than 400 out-of-work people and organizers of unemployed networking events. The anchors of the project are 75

unemployed workers Lane interviewed multiple times over a period of three years. Nine were re-interviewed in 2009.

After a short historical overview of Dallas' high-tech industries (Chapter 1), Lane examines the workers' initial reactions to being laid off and their early responses to their new situation (Chapter 2). She is surprised at the lack of anger they expressed and by their unwillingness to blame their employer for their predicament. Here Lane draws out the theme of the book, which is also its most important contribution. The tech workers express a highly individualized notion of responsibility for their situation. They see themselves not as laid-off workers but as "companies of one," entrepreneurial agents engaged in the constant labor of defining, improving, and marketing "the brand called you." (9) They remain steadfast in their belief that the market will eventually reward them for their flexibility, hard work, and sacrifice. Lane identifies their hyper-individualism and faith in the market as an internalization of neoliberal ideology. Their understanding of their situation is shaped by their acceptance of a neoliberal worldview. These newly laid off workers do not see themselves as losers in the new economy; the "organization men" (highlighted by Newman and Dudley in their work on 1980s managerial layoffs) who refuse to adapt are the losers.

In subsequent chapters, Lane walks with the workers in their process of looking for work. Chapter 3 looks at their first struggles to figure out how to do a job search and how to deal with the emotional rollercoaster that has been launched. Chapter 4 explores the process of "networking," including an in-depth description of the new formal networking and job-search organizations and events that pepper the industry. Her thick description of a specific event is an evocative account

of how these types of events not only offer strong moral support and can buttress the flagging spirits of the job seekers, but how they simultaneously reinforce an individualist ideology that undermines the potential for collective action.

Chapter 5 shifts gears somewhat by looking more at the family and economic circumstances of the job seekers. Here Lane acknowledges that, relative to most other unemployed workers, the study participants are privileged. None lost their homes or cars as a consequence of their layoff, although they did experience significant financial stress. This is due in part, Lane argues, to the reality that most of the workers were supported by a second household income on the part of their spouse, something not acknowledged in their self-identification as independent, flexible free agents: "Job seekers might frame themselves as 'companies of one', but those companies are often capitalized through the labor of another worker, usually, although not always, one who is employed in a less volatile (and often less lucrative) field than high tech." (129) In the discussion of the hidden support, Lane draws out how emerging male attitudes about career and family – being "man enough to let my wife support me" as the title of the chapter suggests – unexpectedly reinforce traditional notions of masculinity and marriage. While the men were able to turn the weakness of not having an income into evidence of their "new" masculinity, women in the same position carried a burden of guilt for not holding up their end of the deal. This twist on gender roles is one of the more intriguing findings in the book, one that hopefully will be pursued more fully in the future.

The final chapter, a 33-page Epilogue, revisits nine participants who take a prominent role in the book's narrative. We see how they fared in the nine years

since their layoff and how they view the world as it entered another economic crisis. While their personal outcomes varied greatly – some were doing better than before, others were decidedly "downwardly mobile" – Lane finds a resilience to their "company of one" ideology. They continue to interpret their situation in exclusively individualist framing, refusing to blame external economic or political forces for their fate.

Lane's skills as a cultural anthropologist serve her well in the book, as she offers a rich and distinctly human portrayal of these men and women. Lane does not over-simplify their situation or perspectives. The work is reminiscent of Barbara Ehrenreich's *Bait and Switch* and *Bright-Sided*, although Ehrenreich is more willing to link her findings to the broader political environment. Lane offers political connections to a certain degree, but her analysis regarding neoliberalism is under-developed. She does not explore fully how the participants' company-of-one outlook supports the perpetuation of neoliberal myths about the economy. Nor does she examine the broader consequences of the restructuring of the IT industry following the dot.com crash. It may be that the exciting, self-actualized world of Silicon Valley IT workers was a short-lived historical anomaly (if it existed at all) quickly corrected by the realities of capitalist markets, a subject she does not discuss.

The 2009 follow-up interviews had the potential to provide the entry point into a discussion of structural consequences, but they are not sufficiently integrated into the book's thesis to accomplish the task. Lane uses the epilogue to complete the personal stories of the participants, which is appreciated, but she could have extended it to consider the state of the IT industry a decade after the dot.com crash. A discussion of that nature might

have transformed the story from one about workers struggling with insecurity to one about an industry sweeping into the world of globalized labour markets and permanent precariousness.

Ultimately, there were two ways to approach the book. It could be a case study of the impacts of neoliberalism and globalization on workers. Or neoliberalism and economic restructuring could be an undercurrent to a story about insecure white-collar workers. Lane chose the latter, and the result is a detailed account of these workers' lives offering grounded evidence that can supplement analytical work found elsewhere.

JASON FOSTER

St. Mary's University and
Athabasca University

Ross Perlin, *Intern Nation: How to Earn Nothing and Learn Little in the Brave New Economy* (New York: Verso Publishing 2011)

IN HIS BOOK, *Intern Nation*, journalist Ross Perlin argues that internships are a new wild west – unregulated, often exploitative, a key factor in perpetuating income inequality, and a symptom of neoliberalism's reach. And this new labour category is growing. By one account, three-fourths of students now attending four-year colleges will intern at least once by the time they graduate, resulting in between one and two million interns in the United States each year, and countless others abroad. (xiv) This represents a twofold increase over the percentage of students holding internships thirty years ago (26).

Perlin argues that this explosion comes at considerable cost. One study estimates that half of internships in the United States are unpaid, including more than a third of internships at for-profit

companies. (28) Unpaid internships are now the norm in journalism and politics. Students are often required to pay to receive college credit for internships with dubious educational value, cheapening the value of their degree and permitting interns to participate in pay-to-work scenarios. Few employers train interns. As a result, interns often float from internship-to-internship instead of being prepared for a full-time, paid job. Meanwhile, interns sometimes replace paid workers, eroding working and living standards, reducing possibilities for union organizing, and transforming the value of pay and work.

Perlin argues that internships raise serious economic, political, and legal concerns for society at large. It is not the wealthy Ivy League grad toiling away at an unpaid internship on Capitol Hill that Perlin hopes to save. It is the community college student aspiring to become a public servant who cannot afford to spend a semester working for nothing about whom he is most concerned. What are the consequences for the rest of us in the intern economy?

In order to answer this question, Perlin cites studies, economic concepts, labour law, and a tremendous number of examples culled from media reports, interviews, blogs, and message boards. Perlin begins with a case study of Disney World's internship program. The program is one of the largest anywhere, employing 7,000 to 8,000 students and recent graduates a year in a variety of menial functions. The interns earn minimum wage, doing everything from operating amusement park rides to flipping burgers to performing as Disney characters. They must live in and pay for Disney-provided housing, subscribe to Disney rules on and off the job and often pay for college credit (required for international students in order to get around visa regulations) in

exchange for their labour. The arrangement “looks suspiciously like a term of indenture,” according to Perlin. (3)

Interns are rarely offered full-time offers after they graduate, and interns often replace full-time employees who leave or are fired from Disney, causing a host of safety problems. Disney World is unionized, and the agreement with the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) provides for up to 35 per cent of the workforce to remain casual, a category that includes interns. The current workforce is approximately one-fourth casual, resulting in a spike in union membership to 60 per cent of those eligible in the right-to-work state. (12) Perlin presents the Disney World intern experience and the effect that it has on the company’s operations and bottom line, as well as on the local economy, as a key example of how strongly entrenched internships are and the devastating effect they are having. If Disney can get away with it, Perlin argues, so can everyone else.

After contrasting the highly regulated, highly structured, highly successful apprenticeship model with the new breed of Disney-like internships, Perlin lays out the reasons why Disney’s intern program is possible. He examines the legal infrastructure that permits the internship economy to flourish, arguing that internship providers have cynically or sometimes unconsciously used legal loopholes to establish programs that operate on the margins of legality and on the fringes of ethical behaviour. Perlin is at his most compelling in this chapter. He shows that the vast majority of interns do not meet the strict standards for “trainees” in which they learn new skills and receive more benefit than the employer, while not displacing employees. Instead, unpaid interns face a Catch-22: because they are unpaid, they cannot hold employers accountable in court, but as unpaid workers

they are among the most deserving of workplace protections.

The fact that interns often feel that they need the internship experience to find a full-time job also prevents them from bringing complaints to authorities. They are “willing victims,” according to one employment lawyer. (63) Colleges and universities that encourage their students to participate in unpaid internships with little educational content help feed this impression. Perlin also argues that a focus on experiential learning has caused universities to embrace internships without much critical review. For their part, many employers believe that academic credit absolves them of having to comply with the Fair Labor Standards Act, though Perlin shows that this is not the case. In the most egregious examples, tiny colleges like Menlo College charge a for-profit internship match service \$45 per credit, regardless of participants’ student status or internship experience. Menlo netted \$50,000 for this service in 2008. (148) This model of fee-for-internship is becoming increasingly common, with vanity internships at Versace and the *Huffington Post* even auctioned off for thousands of dollars. (156)

In broad strokes, Perlin links internships with an increasing focus on profits in business, the poor economy, and the larger neoliberal bent in American politics over the course of the last thirty years. Without a lot of hard data, Perlin also argues that “internships are an increasingly potent factor in the disturbing trend of widening social inequality in America” as internships – and the careers to which they lead – are far more accessible to the wealthy than the poor. (162) Perlin regards this trend as particularly disturbing given the spread of internships around the world.

In a final chapter, Perlin lists some approaches to reforming the internship

system. He would like to see a global intern general strike as a demonstration of how important interns are to the workplace. But he also encourages young people to opt out of the “internship arms race.” (206) And, most compellingly, Perlin suggests better enforcement of the FLSA and the implementation of legal protections specifically for interns, though he recognizes the political obstacles of doing so. Internships should be paid, project-based, subject to validation, and used for recruiting people for full time work. Positions that do not meet such criteria should be called what they are: volunteer opportunities. Perlin suggests that this restructuring could be modelled on the architecture field’s internship reform project of the mid-1990s, or on co-op education.

These guideposts for changing the administration and value of internships and their effect on the larger economy seem sensible. But they presume that internships are a defining force in pushing an aggressive capitalism, rather than a symptom of a larger problem. Perlin sometimes acknowledges this relationship (as in a discussion of the movement toward return on shareholder value), but often the chicken seems to come before the egg (as in Perlin’s insistence that interns are a key cause of social inequality). Perlin’s persistent moral outrage at anecdotes of intern abuse might be more effective if it was buttressed with statistics that illustrate the enormity and structural nature of the problem.

The book is at its best when critiquing institutional impediments to reform (including laws and universities). It does less well when it relies on quotations to argue for a cultural obsession with internships. Are we to believe that most young people think they cannot succeed without an internship because this is what some college students told Perlin? Furthermore,

is that belief true? What happens to the one-fourth of college students who do not intern anywhere? *Intern Nation* sparks indignation, but the book would be even more persuasive if it did not take outrages at face value.

RACHEL BURSTEIN
CUNY Graduate Center

Michael Perelman, *The Invisible Handcuffs of Capitalism: How Market Tyranny Stifles the Economy by Stunting Workers* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2011)

DESPITE THE RECENT tumult of a global financial crisis, Depression-level economic stagnation in North America, and a government bailout of a criminal financial services industry that caused the crisis through unfettered greed and duplicity, belief in the beneficence of the unregulated market remains resilient. This laissez-faire fundamentalism is the inevitable outcome of mainstream economic theory, argues dissident economist Michael Perelman. His new book *The Invisible Handcuffs of Capitalism* demonstrates that the discipline of economics has been predicated on a tenacious disregard of the realities of work and an equally tenacious persecution of those who question prevailing dogmas. The result is an economic system that prioritizes the profits of the powerful over the flourishing of the many.

Perelman, an economist at California State University who has previously written several books on economic theory and the development of capitalism, enthusiastically tears into the shibboleths of his profession. His title inverts Adam Smith’s famous “invisible hand,” Smith’s contention that the market worked automatically to justly order human relations. Perelman substitutes a pair of “invisible

handcuffs,” reflecting his concept of the market as a coercive restraint on human potential. The dogmas of mainstream economics that determine government economic policy – from interest rates to stimulus packages to unemployment insurance – not only exploit workers, but also undermine capitalism itself by squandering the potential, knowledge and creativity of the vast majority of working people. This echoes Harry Braverman’s pioneering work on the labour process.

Perelman calls our current system of economic theory and practice “Procrusteanism.” The name refers to the ancient bandit king who sadistically forced his captives into a bed, stretching those shorter than the bed and hacking the limbs from those who were too tall. He displays how the seemingly abstract dictates of economic theory do actual harm to working Americans. For example, US bankers and Treasury officials from Carter’s treasury secretary Paul Volcker to the present day have, under the guise of attacking inflation, attacked workers. Their policies keep wages low, unemployment high, and workers quiescent. We can see powerful examples of the rhetoric of economic violence in the pronouncements of Volcker – who steered his fellow economists for “blood all over the floor” after his assault on wages guaranteed higher unemployment – and Greenspan’s contented musing over the “brutalized” workers of the mid-1990s who, perpetually afraid of losing their jobs, accepted stagnant wages even during a time of rapid economic growth.

These episodes give the reader a peek behind the curtain where the wizards of macroeconomics work. This field is governed by, Perelman shows, a stubborn, obtuse tendency to ignore factors of production and working conditions, instead theorizing the economy as a level playing field of rational actors engaging

in free transactions. This produces economic theory and policy that views the daily concerns of working people – job security, fulfilling work, safe and healthy workplaces, livable wages – as irrelevancies. Perelman’s contention that this dismissal is part of an effort to “craft an ideology that justifies the current system” sounds far-fetched at first, but it becomes more plausible after reading of the opprobrium visited on those scholars who question economic orthodoxy. (114–5) Alan Krueger and David Card, respected economists who dared to publish a paper suggesting increased minimum wages did not increase unemployment, were smeared as “camp-following whores” by a Nobel laureate in the *Wall Street Journal*. Card later dropped research into the subject in the face of intense disapproval from his colleagues.

Perelman locates the genesis of Procrusteanism in the very works of Adam Smith himself. Procrusteanism was how Smith spackled over the weaknesses in his theory of the division of labour, for example the central question of how a market based on such a theory grows. Smith ignored the international colonial division of labour, which revealed the crucial role of the state in capitalist accumulation and thus contradicted Smith’s model economic world of individual voluntarism. Smith instead marginalized production, imagining the economy as a system of transactions and divorcing the value of a commodity from the labour required to produce it. Questions of power, discipline, and coercion melted away as Smith’s model recast almost everyone in society as a merchant. These pernicious misconceptions have dominated economic thinking ever since. Perelman also attacks the notion of Adam Smith as a misunderstood humanist. Instead he presents a man with an “obsessive concern” for working class discipline. Smith called for the masses to be

educated not to free them, but to prepare them for military sacrifice. He advocated extra-market coercion to force people to fit themselves to the discipline required for life under capitalism.

The book is hampered by a contradiction in its main argument. Perelman contends that contemporary capitalism is a destructive force destroying the planet and stunting the lives of the vast majority of working people. It is imperative, he writes, that we replace the system of capitalism with something that is sustainable and humane. However, he also argues that Procrusteanism hurts the interests of capitalists themselves, because workers would be more productive and capitalism more successful under an arrangement where workers' potential is unleashed. Which is it? Is Perelman advocating for the replacement of capitalism with another system of production and distribution, or for a more humane capitalism that will benefit both workers and bosses? Does he want to destroy the village or save it? Furthermore, the assumption this second argument is founded upon, that rigid control and insensitivity to workers needs undermines capitalism itself, is not terribly convincing. Despite, or one might say because of, capitalism's historic struggles, a greater and greater share of the wealth produced has accrued to those who hold its levers.

Another question not considered by Perelman is one that has bedevilled labour activists and labour historians for decades: do workers actually want their potential unleashed? Or would workers prefer jobs directed by others that provided living wages, security, and significant leisure time? The history of the United Auto Workers is just one example of militancy and efforts to control the work process gradually being relaxed in favour of material benefits and the comforts of leisure. Of course, the automotive employers staunchly resisted ceding

job control, but a significant factor in the union's declining strength in the 1950s and early 1960s was the exhausted militancy of an earlier generation of worker leaders.

However, while Perelman's prescriptions for change may be underdeveloped, his diagnosis of the problems inherent to economics and the government economic policy it informs is perceptive and important. He has written a trenchant and accessible book that should be required reading for anyone who wants to penetrate the pseudo-scientific world of economic dogma that appears in editorial pages, politicians' sound bites, and academic journals and understand the real-world consequences of conventional economics for working people.

JEREMY MILLOY

Simon Fraser University

Richard Dienst, *The Bonds of Debt: Borrowing Against the Common Good*
(New York: Verso Publishing 2011)

THIS BOOK HAS just the right title, for Dienst explores how debt both connects and constrains us. He argues that if we can reimagine and mobilize the bonds that join us we can free ourselves from those that bind us. But we must unmask those bonds for they are so tangled in our lives they are hard to see and understand. Capitalists buying and selling debt compete too much, impose their will unevenly, and privatize public resources, forcing global turbulence and imperial decline. In the current crisis, piles of obligations that can never be met have severed debt from all value. When debt is leveraged too far from value, it becomes either infinite or void of possibility.

Dienst centres each of his chapters on a compelling text, respectively: the Gini Index of inequality, the Harvard School of Design Guide to Shopping, New

York's Prada Store, the National Security Strategy documents of 2002 and 2010, a photograph of Bush with Bono, a magical story that Marx told his children. Each chapter can stand alone as an essay on an aspect of debt. The first takes on inequality, exploring how inequality is hard to measure and poverty is easy to misunderstand as a personal defect or bad culture rather than the price some pay so others can be rich. The bonds of debt might better measure misery. The regime of indebtedness functions like a pincer on the poor, exposing them to new complicated technical accountings of debt, and enclosing them in smaller worlds. The webs of debt make a few rich and many poor as capitalists disparage the poor so they can take their stuff.

Dienst's chapter on war and peace begins with the national security documents that appear to claim that the whole world shares American values but nobody else can match us or judge us. Governments must tax and borrow to fight and in turn impose debts to keep the peace. We must all pay in advance for a market-state regime of violence that may turn against us anyway. His chapter on Bono tackles the chimera of debt relief politics and programs, which often ignore the history of how countries got into unpayable debt and pretend that debt relief is not just a way to bail out creditors. In another chapter Dienst tries to understand spaces of indebtedness disguised as something else. He argues we have moved away from a disciplinary society sporting spaces of confinement that shape individuals into docile subjects to a control society that does not concentrate but disperses us and leaves us on our own negotiating keycards and electronic tags. We believe we rule over our own personal shopping space although our instincts tell us that we do not belong in some of them. Like the Panopticon, the iconic enclosure architecture of the disciplinary

society, Prada's store design imposes an obligation to buy by implying that you belong there. Shopping has become a way to bear being in debt.

The chapter on Marx's stories begins with his daughter Eleanor's account of tramping through London with her father as he entertained them with stories of an indebted magician whose toys periodically left the shop to travel the world then eventually return. Dienst reads into these stories the importance of play and the imagination in seeing beyond debt that we think we must endure. He goes on in the next chapter to look at Marx's arguments about credit and debt, which relate in contradictory ways. Credit extends the here and now by mobilizing vast untapped resources; credit thus deploys and transmits ever faster and more volatile forces of production. When credit works it lubricates and accelerates the forces that make an economy run, but when it freezes up it can paralyze those forces. Credit works dialectically with debt: one is always there inside the other, forcing tensions and change.

The Bonds of Debt is a rewarding if challenging read and along the way there are stunning insights, new ways to perceive the landscape of debt. Dienst helped me think about my city when he lamented that everything these days is zoned for mixed use in order to add a chunk of retail. And he even seemed to know DC when he wrote of the irony hounding the Washington Consensus: structural adjustment is imposed on Washington itself. He debunks the myth of the national debt, which he sees as our collective potential worth, something we could mobilize for better ends than saving the bacon of the greedy and the reckless. He conjures up the economists' notion of self-maximizing man, always out for himself, as our default subjectivity for living through today's never-ending but diffuse wars.

Dienst reads the texts brilliantly but I wish he had also pursued his understanding that the current regime of indebtedness produces a distinctive “structure of feeling,” a deep unease about being “bound too much to everything that exists.” Living in debt is the defining attitude of our age, and Dienst believes that each of us internalizes the obligations debt imposes. He is absolutely right about this: Americans at least have moved on from feeling simply giddy about credit cards and the new relationships they impose among work, time, money, and belongings to very complicated feelings of guilt, complicity, and distress. In the past oppressive debt led to uprisings: why aren't we angrier?

I also wish that Dienst had thought harder about the experiences of poor people in the United States, who are increasingly held hostage to predatory lenders like pawn shops, payday lenders, and finance companies. I would love to see him turn his eye from Prada to the grim, bleak, design of a check-cashing shop. He writes about Prada as a space of indebtedness, but I'm not sure the shoppers there are the debtors with the worst problems. He is right to point out that our job as Americans is to shop, and that it is also where many people create the illusion of autonomy through exercising consumer choice. But the debt of the poor may work differently.

Dienst sees a politics of indebtedness emerging and I hope he is right. He sees a potential movement insisting that the credit system can be a public utility or an instrument of collective self-reliance rather than an engine of alienation and inequality. So I am left wondering whom the book is for and what we should do now. I hope Dienst keeps writing about the bonds of debt in different registers and venues to reach a lot of people. And I hope we can all think of ways to reimagine and resist debt. Should we poison our

own credit scores as false judgments of morality and adulthood? Should we map the specific ways debts connect people, whether they invest in junk bonds or pawn their jewelry? How can we reimagine the bonds of debt for transformative politics?

BRETT WILLIAMS
American University

Alisha Nicole Apale and Valerie Stam, eds., *Generation NGO* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2011)

POVERTY IN THE developing world demands a response. But what can people do to “make a difference” to their world and help to tackle poverty? In the past the impulse to act was framed by a politics of left and right, of competing visions for progress, economic and social. Through parties, campaigns, and macro political theories of the time, individuals' relationship to global problems was a distinctly political one.

Generation NGO is a clear indication of the changed landscape of how people relate to development, and also of development itself. Development here is refracted through the lens of individual morality in an ethical climate that eschews transformative economic growth and sometimes politics itself. As such, *Generation NGO* is an important book that has already struck a chord with young volunteers and others interested in being a part of tackling the world's problems.

The book is an edited collection of highly personal accounts of young Canadian volunteers with development NGOs. The accounts are personal narratives that give clear insights into the motivations, feelings and personal journeys of the young people. The personal, autobiographical character of the essays is striking. The editors (two young volunteers themselves) seek to “interrogate

their socialisation by examining their position in the world relative to that of others” and note that this “includes reflecting on class, race, gender, language, religion, power, privilege, stereotypes, and many other social factors that determine how people interact.” (14) This linking of a working out of personal identity via development volunteering chimes with contemporary ideas of life politics and reflexivity in the social sciences.

One contributor gives a sense of the personal journey involved: “Studying was hard work, but it never revealed much to me about who I was.” (26) For that, a journey – geographical and experiential – was necessary. University education did not cultivate the “consciousness needed for solidarity,” and also “siding with the poor is not as easy when you realise that you directly benefit from theft from the poor.” This contributor sums up that: “I guess you could say I’m working on my own development.” (26)

There is a strong sense in the essays that western lifestyles are complicit in the poverty of others, and a sense of guilt alongside a desire to tackle injustice, as the volunteers perceive it. All too aware of their privilege (a point of reference in most of the essays), the contributors seek to “deploy their privilege creatively.” (14) There is also a clear sense that “being there” is important, and being “book smart” (all the volunteers are graduates) is limited and limiting with regard how to bring about change. At times, this recurring argument for enlightenment through personal experience borders on anti-intellectualism.

One contributor looks at friendship and power: can the personal friendships made when volunteering cut through power relations (Chapter 8)? There is in this account, and elsewhere, a preoccupation with establishing a *personal* connection with the people subject to the development projects. Emotions, doubts, and personal

moral dilemmas loom large in the experiences of the volunteers. However, they all see large-scale economic development as intensely problematic, and the moral high ground of “alternative” development is a given throughout the book. There is a distinctly populist emphasis to the accounts. Whilst big business, big government, and grand development projects are deemed arrogant and damaging, the contributors attempt in various ways to challenge this. The projects they engage in include helping to organize sports for children in a refugee camp in Rwanda, promoting a “sustainable” organic agricultural project in Barbados and “awareness raising” in Burma.

Far from imposing western ideas onto the communities they work in (something mainstream development is held to be culpable of), most contributors want to return home with lessons for their lives and their societies. One contributor, a volunteer in Madagascar, comments on seeing a subsistence community plant, harvest, prepare, and eat their own food and comments: “A part of me dreads returning to North America where, in comparison, everything seems rushed, wasteful and isolated from its source.” (123) Another felt like “an unwitting missionary of Northern beliefs and values” (36), but concludes that: “Africa does not need me there, but perhaps it can use me here (in Canada) to share some of the things it has taught me.” (45)

Echoing this rejection of “western” development, a volunteer organizing sports in a Rwandan refugee camp comments on being struck by “a very vivid sense of my own ugliness.... I feel like an eyesore, as if you were to happen upon a McDonalds in the middle of the rainforest.” (147) Another contributor’s view on helping beggars back home is transformed by her experience of beggars in Kenya.

It often seems that volunteering is about social learning rather than development.

The volunteers' disillusionment with their own "western" or "northern" societies is at times linked to disillusionment with humanity itself. For one contributor: "Time moves on, few things really change, and injustice – this interminable characteristic of being human – weaves its way through life, endlessly assaulting its favourite victims." (99) Injustice, like the poor, is always with us ... and always will be in this downbeat view.

One contributor clearly articulates the shift to the expression of social aspirations through a personal narrative. Motivated by a desire to expose the "hidden costs" of western lifestyles, she sets off for Burma. Through her experience, "social change" becomes "entrenched ... as a lifestyle," a "deeply personal battle, fought from within and without." (85) This volunteer does conclude with a downbeat assessment of what her lifestyle politics can achieve, but further concludes that this betrays a loss of faith with humanity on her part. The limits to her personalized take on politics are limits imposed by a heartless world, not by her own politics.

Yet the personalized take on development fails to pay heed to some simple facts (that can certainly be gleaned from books in the well stocked libraries of Canada's best universities, with no need to visit economically less developed societies). Parts of the developing world have developed greatly, economically speaking, in recent decades. This development has been the result not of the actions of localized NGO projects, but of major infrastructural projects and integration into networks of global trade. This economic development is clearly correlated with better health care, longer lives, and greater opportunity. Hence there is a sense in which the geographical advance of these young idealists into the field corresponds to a retreat from the kind of

development that has historically been a precondition for real progress.

One does not have to be an advocate of Canadian government policy to see a ditching of the baby along with the bathwater here. The observation that aid "boils down to power" (10) seems to feed into a rejection of development itself for the bulk of the contributors, if not all. If this is the case, whither development? No contributor really believes that they are changing the world very much, yet they decry markets and grand projects. There is an impasse here. Development theories – the grand narratives – stand discredited. The alternatives offer a personal journey: much introspection but little development. This book stands as testimony to a personalized and perhaps narcissistic take on development that will prompt debate, but is unlikely to contribute to enlightenment.

JIM BUTCHER

Canterbury Christ Church University

Robin Tudge, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Global Surveillance* (Ottawa and Toronto: New Internationalist Publications and Between the Lines 2011)

THIS SHORT BOOK is an excellent and useful guide to the rising tide of surveillance that affects us all. The expansion has occurred chiefly through technological means over the last century and into the current one, particularly but not exclusively in liberal-democratic states. The book thus serves as a catalogue of the multifaceted forms of surveillance that are out there but also as a warning of the implications of the expansion of surveillance by the state and private interests in both the present and the future.

Early on Tudge usefully offers a chapter that provides historical context to the development and expansion of surveillance

over the last two centuries. From the late 19th century on, an element of professionalization developed around the use of surveillance by states as state agencies with this as a primary component of their agenda came into being, as did the file that would allow for the systematic application of surveillance. Other chapters look at key issues around surveillance, such as identity cards, the implications of surveillance for privacy, and the use of surveillance as a Foucaultian instrument of control. In one of the book's most powerful chapters, Tudge establishes a clear link between the expansion of surveillance and the involvement of private companies in the pursuit of ever greater profits by encouraging states to resort to new and increased forms of surveillance. This "security-industrial complex," as Tudge accurately labels it, plays upon numerous fears – fear of terrorism, fear of crime, fear of immigrants, fear of disease – with the solution to fear being assurance through surveillance that targets not just specific groups but the populace as a whole.

The No-Nonsense Guide to Global Surveillance is not without its weaknesses. With such a broad overview around surveillance in a short book, not surprisingly the work comes across at times as unfocused. Despite proclaiming the book

a study of "global surveillance," there is a heavy western emphasis, primarily on the United Kingdom, which undoubtedly reflects the author's background, and, to a lesser extent, on the United States. The implications of this prominence are never fully explored in the drive to catalogue the extent of surveillance. Nor does the book distinguish in any meaningful way between types of surveillance. The stress clearly is on the use of technology to watch and not on the use of human surveillance through spies or informers. This emphasis in itself is not surprising; it merely reflects wider trends in society but it does not acknowledge the reality that certain groups may disproportionately experience certain types of surveillance. Finally, there is a sense of Orwellian *1984*-style hopelessness to the book in the lack of agency on the part of the wider populace who are all real or potential targets of surveillance. Is it possible to resist this overwhelming momentum toward peering into what at one time was outside of the realm of the state and other interests?

Tudge's indirect answer to this question is arguably this useful book. In a sense its creation while perhaps not in itself an act of resistance is a potential spark to encourage others to resist before privacy is completely swept away.

STEVE HEWITT

University of Birmingham