

REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Marcel Fournier, *La colonie nantaise de Lac-Mégantic. Une implantation française au Québec au XIX^e siècle* (Québec: Septentrion 2012)

DANS CE LIVRE, Marcel Fournier, un généalogiste québécois, a entrepris de retracer l'histoire de l'immigration française vers le lac-Mégantic dans les Hautes-Appalaches au Québec entre les années 1880 et 1900.

L'ouvrage se divise en deux parties. La partie historique offre un aperçu du développement de la région du lac Mégantic, puis une présentation détaillée de la Compagnie nantaise de colonisation et de l'histoire de l'immigration française. La partie biographique représente environ la moitié du livre et comprend des informations généalogiques sur les quarante-cinq familles françaises, belges et suisses établies au lac-Mégantic.

À cette époque où les Canadiens-français émigrent vers les villes de la Nouvelle-Angleterre pour travailler en usine, les élites locales ouvrent de nouveaux territoires à la colonisation afin d'enrayer l'exode canadien-français hors de la province. Avec la fondation à Sherbrooke de la Compagnie de colonisation des Cantons-de-l'Est, l'objectif est d'amener des francophones dans la région du lac Mégantic pour contrecarrer l'influence anglo-protestante.

La compagnie se tourne vers l'Europe pour recruter des colons de langue française. Un avocat de Sherbrooke et rédacteur en chef du *Pionnier*, Jérôme-Adolphe Chicoyne, prend les rênes

de ce projet et se rend en France où, à Nantes, il trouve des investisseurs avec qui il met sur pied la Compagnie de colonisation et de crédit des Cantons-de-l'Est. Il en résulte l'acquisition de terres et le défrichage et l'exploitation d'une partie de plusieurs lots par la Compagnie pour faciliter l'arrivée des migrants. Des structures paroissiales sont aussi établies. La construction d'une scierie à un coût faramineux est au cœur du projet d'investissement. Celle-ci ne rapporte pas autant que prévu, particulièrement à cause de la crise financière et de la baisse de demande de bois d'œuvre aux États-Unis. Elle finit par être vendue. Fournier soutient que la Compagnie de colonisation et de crédit des Cantons-de-l'Est été un échec financier mais qu'elle a permis d'améliorer la région des Hautes-Appalaches en apportant des retombées économiques non-négligeables (91).

Des migrants de langue française arrivent avec l'aide de la compagnie de colonisation. Ceux-ci représentent 40% du nombre total des migrants d'Europe francophone (134); d'autres émigrent de manière indépendante. Les migrations se déroulent entre les années 1880 et 1900, mais le plus gros des arrivées se fait dans les années 1880. Quarante-cinq familles francophones d'Europe s'implantent dans le canton de Woburn, quarante-et-une françaises, deux belges et une suisse. On n'observe pas de chaîne migratoire importante; comme d'autres migrations françaises, celle-ci semble être parcellaire, avec tout de même une région privilégiée. C'est du Pays de Loire, lieu de fondation

de la Compagnie nantaise, qu'on voit partir la plus grosse concentration de migrants. Ils représentent presque 30% du total. Ce sont principalement des familles qui s'établissent dans la région, dans leur majorité catholique mais aussi quelques-unes protestantes. Toutes les migrations ne mènent pas à un établissement permanent. Fournier observe des migrations secondaires vers les États-Unis, particulièrement la Nouvelle-Angleterre, où ils suivent les Québécois, quelques départs pour d'autres régions canadiennes et peu de retours en France. Il conclut qu'il y a « un exode assez massif des immigrants français de la région pour s'établir ailleurs en Amérique » mais ajoute que « bien que le nombre de migrants soit modeste, il s'agit d'une des rares réussites d'une implantation française au Québec » (142).

L'immigration d'Europe francophone représente un pourcentage minime des migrations canadiennes. Ce n'est donc pas les chiffres qui représentent son intérêt mais le processus migratoire et d'établissement au Canada. Le livre de Fournier souligne l'importance des réseaux qui existent entre la France et le Canada dans le développement de ce mouvement migratoire. Les liens entre de prospères Nantais et des Canadiens engagés dans la colonisation francophone du Québec entraînent des départs malgré les objections du gouvernement français. Les liens avec le monde catholique français sont particulièrement notables puisqu'ils soutiennent le travail de colonisation. Par exemple, Fournier montre le rôle notable que tient le fortuné père Eugène-Marie Peigné, chanoine honoraire du diocèse de Nantes, qui prête à Chicoyne une somme considérable pour l'aider dans ses activités de colonisation (69–71). Chicoyne rencontre également en France des membres influents du Parti catholique qui s'intéresse à ce projet et sa promotion se fait par l'intermédiaire

de réseaux catholiques. Chicoyne entre en contact avec des émigrants potentiels par l'intermédiaire des Pères Trappistes (75). Ces informations confirment les mêmes processus soulignés dans d'autres recherches sur le sujet.

Il ne faut cependant pas chercher une analyse poussée des migrations ou de l'établissement des Français dans cet ouvrage. C'est un travail détaillé de généalogie qui explique comment une société de colonisation a permis la venue de migrants français au Canada. Il nous présente les communautés créées dans la région d'accueil et les migrants qui s'y sont établis. Nous aimerions une meilleure explication pour ces départs d'Europe et mieux comprendre la venue de migrants originaire d'autres régions que du Pays de Loire et les liens avec d'autres communautés françaises au Canada.

Il s'agit d'un livre ressource et, malgré les faiblesses de l'analyse, on y trouve un travail de recherche détaillé dans de multiples sources françaises, québécoises et américaines. L'ouvrage est illustré de nombreux tableaux, de documents primaires éparpillés à travers le livre et d'une imposante et intéressante collection de photos essayée tout au long de l'ouvrage. De bons index de noms de lieux et de personnes sont inclus et il est aussi possible de faire une recherche par mots-clefs sur le site Internet de Septentrion. Le répertoire biographique sur les 45 familles de France, Belgique et Suisse sera utile à ceux qui cherchent à suivre le parcours de ces migrants. Ce livre est écrit pour le grand public et intéressera les spécialistes de l'histoire de la colonisation des terres au Québec, de l'immigration française, belge et suisse au Canada, des relations France-Canada, des Hautes-Appalaches, et ceux qui étudient la généalogie des familles françaises de la région du lac Mégantic.

AUDREY PYÉE

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Steven Bittle, *Still Dying for a Living: Corporate Criminal Liability After the Westray Mine Disaster* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2012)

THE 1992 DEATHS of 26 workers at the Westray Mine resulted (11 years later) in federal legislation criminalizing some forms of corporate wrongdoing. The Westray amendments to the *Criminal Code* represent a departure from Canada's traditional (and ineffective) regulatory approach to occupational injuries and fatalities. Yet, despite several workplace deaths each day in Canada, there have only been a handful of prosecutions under Westray provisions of the *Criminal Code*. Steven Bittle's 237-page book examines this seeming disjunction by considering the reluctance of legislators and prosecutors to equate corporate wrongdoing with "crime."

Bittle's literature review suggests the notion of corporate crime sits uneasily in the dominant perspective on crime. Ideologically constructing crime as street crime performed by street criminals constructs wrongs committed by formal organizations as non-criminal matters. This perspective helps explain the historical development of regulatory mechanisms (emphasizing education and persuasion) to deal with corporate wrongdoing. The Westray explosion created an opportunity to revisit this predominant approach to corporate crime and corporate criminal liability. Yet analysis of the development of the Westray amendments to the *Criminal Code* reveals how such reframing efforts were constrained and redirected by the dominant discourses and antagonisms that exist in Canada's social, political, and economic context.

Bittle applies qualitative discourse analysis to parliamentary transcripts, interviews, and other reports about the Westray amendments. His theoretical

framework combines Marxist ("why?") and Foucauldian ("how?") analyses to reveal the relationships between discourse and social structures. This analysis highlights the privileged status of "The Law" and its role in constraining proposals to expand criminal liability to the boardroom. In this way, Bittle draws our attention to how discursive formations around legal norms (*mens rea*, in particular) can limit which reform options are considered realistic as well as the way such formations can marginalize those advocating (seemingly) unrealistic options.

Similarly, Bittle's analysis identifies how neoliberal "common sense" about the importance of corporations to society and the threat posed by corporate regulation constrained legislators' appetite for certain regulatory options. Interestingly, these economic "constraints" operated in the absence of any concerted public effort by corporate Canada to influence the eventual shape of the regulation (although there is some evidence of quiet lobbying). The reflexive acceptance by legislators that criminalizing corporate behaviour is contrary to the public good highlights how neoliberalism blurs the distinction between private and public interests.

In an interesting aside, Bittle notes the way in which unions and workers – groups who rarely have any control over which hazards exist in the workplace or how they are mitigated – were incorporated as potential targets for prosecution under the Westray amendments. This may reflect the freedom of choice narrative that makes workers responsible for the risks they assume upon employment – a notion that permeated 19th- and early 20th-century thinking about workplace injury. Bittle also explores the development of consultancies that emphasize employers immunizing themselves from prosecution, rather than preventing injuries.

Overall, Bittle's analysis demonstrates how the political sensibilities of corporate capitalism shaped how legislators evaluated proposals for heightening corporate criminal liability around workplace injury. While the Westray amendments provided a moral (in both senses of the word) victory for the labour movement, the amendments have largely gone unused. The (non)enforcement of the amendments is explained as a function of a competing regulatory framework (provincial Occupational Health and Safety laws) that are easier to convict under, a lack of awareness of the Westray amendments among prosecutors, and workplace safety having low societal priority. More important, non-enforcement also reproduces the existing order where-by corporations remain largely immune to the consequences of workplace injury.

A cynic might conclude that the Westray bill represents a politically palatable solution to a threat to government legitimacy flowing from an egregious corporate misbehaviour. In one sense this is true: clearly the amendment (and its subsequent non-enforcement) privileges corporate interests. But Bittle's analysis reveals that discursive formations also played an important role in shaping the opportunities available to politicians seeking to blunt efforts to increase corporate criminal liability and, perhaps, also shaped legislators' thinking. Bittle also provides a rare glimpse into how laws are actually made in the federal jurisdiction (most analysis emphasizes the impact of laws), including the lobbying, posturing, and manoeuvring. His analysis of the process by which an issue was converted into legislation holds useful lessons for legal scholars. Lobbyists may also benefit from considering the tactics, tradeoffs, and outcomes realized by the United Steelworkers of America.

From a teaching perspective, Bittle's book is an excellent extension of the

critical analysis of corporations set out in Harry Glasbeek's *Wealth by Stealth* (Toronto 2002). These two books could form the core of an interesting graduate seminar (LBST 607: Know Thy Enemy ... ?) that examines the political economy of corporations and their treatment by the law. This is an area of study often absent (or addressed only in passing) in labour studies programs. Alternately, Bittle's book provides a useful case study for OHS students. *Still Dying for a Living* could introduce students to an interesting alternative to the prevailing regulatory system and to the political considerations that shape contemporary injury-prevention schemes. Overall, this book makes a valuable contribution to the literature on workplace injury in Canada.

BOB BARNETSON

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Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2012)

IN THE AFTERMATH of World War II, educational policy makers and administrators placed great emphasis on preparing students to become equal, autonomous participants in the democratic order. They were reacting initially against the horrors of the Holocaust and totalitarianism, but as the Cold War intensified attention shifted to combatting "godless" communism more specifically. As Kristina Llewellyn demonstrates, secondary schools, "with their role in forming apprentice adults into citizens" (23), played an especially important role in this project, and female secondary school teachers, whose number grew in the 1950s, played a key role in citizenship education within secondary schools. The practice of educational democracy was, however, replete with contradictions.

On the one hand, democratic citizenship training promoted equality and tolerance, while on the other it left unchallenged a social hierarchy based on gender, race, and religion. Espousing equality of access to education, policy makers and administrators streamed students into academic and vocational training, the former clearly seen as superior to the latter. Educators, including women teachers, also continued to assume that minority children generally lacked the capacity to benefit from academic education.

Such contradictions created special difficulties for female teachers. Actively recruited because of a shortage of secondary school teachers, women who were asked to prepare their students for participatory citizenship were themselves denied equality within their profession and the polity because of prevailing gender assumptions. School officials and many male teachers subscribed to "masculinist" definitions of professionalism and intellectual ability. They deemed male teachers intellectually and professionally more competent than female teachers, whom they saw as caring and communicative, but irrational. Men's supposed intellectualism and greater commitment to their careers, as well as obligations to support their families, were deemed to give them greater claim to responsible, well-paid positions. Consequently, few women attained positions as department chairs, principals, inspectors, or superintendents. While officials promoted ideas of decentralization and participatory democracy, women teachers were thus denied the opportunity to participate in this system as equals. Female secondary school teachers found themselves in a paradoxical situation: asked to cultivate active citizenship among their students while being denied full access to it themselves.

Llewellyn's analysis of the attitudes of school officials and the characteristics of

the system they attempted to create is exceptionally well grounded in the theoretical literature on gender, citizenship, and educational labour. This discussion provides the necessary context for the core of the book: an analysis of the motivations, feelings, and reactions of female secondary school teachers in this patriarchal educational system. She relies on interviews with 20 women teachers: ten each from Toronto and Vancouver. (13) All but one of the teachers – a second-generation Chinese Canadian – are white, middle-class, and Christian. Llewellyn believes that the interviews allow her to uncover the informal ways whereby women teachers exercised a modicum of power within the patriarchal educational system. They did so, above all, by supplementing official curricula with materials they deemed important.

While *Democracy's Angels* enhances our understanding of citizenship education in postwar Canada, its narrowly circumscribed theoretical and research parameters exclude important empirical evidence. Although it is significant, as Llewellyn points out, that the 20 women teachers she interviewed deflected her attempts to discuss resistance to or protests about their unequal situation within the educational system, print sources suggest that such protest not only occurred in the 1940s, but also attracted public attention, some of it sympathetic to the quest for equality by female high school teachers. In 1944/45, for example, male high school teachers appealed to the Toronto Board of Education for higher pay than their female counterparts, invoking the family wage arguments. While many women teachers seemed to agree with this demand, others organized to fight against unequal pay based on gender. One of their spokespersons was the female vice-president of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Toronto District. The protesters received

support from women school trustees, a number of women's groups, the Toronto District Labour Council, and even the conservative *Globe and Mail*. In other words, resistance by women teachers was not necessarily covert and informal. Nor, apparently, was it radical dissenters unable to succeed within the system who necessarily carried out such protest. (129)

The book also underplays changes in the approach to race and ethnicity taken by both school officials and teachers during the 1940s and 1950s, in large part because it employs a binary white/coloured analytical framework. In fact, racial classification in mid-20th-century Canada was more complex. Women of colour were clearly perceived as being on the lowest ranks of the racial hierarchy. However, people of southern and eastern European descent (Jews among them) were also viewed as inferior to Anglo-Canadians and northern Europeans, and in many parts of Canada they found it difficult to obtain positions as teachers. The 1940s and 1950s witnessed highly publicized campaigns against racist discrimination – many of them initiated by members of these marginalized groups. Thanks to their efforts, experimental programs intended to eliminate racism were introduced in Canadian schools. At the same time, teachers from these groups were entering the profession in growing numbers. One suspects that their understanding of democracy was far more attuned to the goals and needs of minority group members than that of the educational officials and interviewees whose views Llewellyn examines.

CARMELA PATRIAS
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John Peters, ed., *Boom, Bust and Crisis: Labour Corporate Power and Politics in Canada* (Winnipeg and Halifax: Fernwood Publishing 2012)

BOOM, BUST AND CRISIS – an edited volume with eight chapters, along with an introduction by the author – is a wide-ranging and passionate description of the neoliberal restructuring of the Canadian economy, emphasizing “the increasing power and wealth imbalance favouring business and top earners, the declining power of Canada’s labour movement and the worsening of jobs and incomes for the majority of Canadian workers.” (8) The book is extremely interesting and useful. Its strengths lie in pulling together clear descriptions of the effects of neoliberal restructuring, capitalist globalization, and current state and private economic strategies and policies on the real lives of working people and their institutions; its critical approach to the challenge facing unions in this era; case studies which dispel some of the prevailing mystification and mythology about supposed economic success stories; and its outrage against the economic and political inequality that has resulted from Canada’s resource, real estate, and financial boom.

The book’s weakness lies in its lack of consistent systemic analysis of the drivers of the neoliberal restructuring of the Canadian economy. Too often it lapses into a kind of populist nostalgia for a postwar era that was supposedly better, fairer, or more equal – where business had less power and markets were “neutral” – and calls for a return to policies that favour the “broad middle class.” This essentially social democratic approach muddles the analysis of political parties and governments, and makes it very difficult to pose alternative strategies for addressing inequality and the larger economic and political structures underpinning it. The book offers very few of these,

and those it poses tend towards superficiality and naiveté.

John Peters' overview "Free Markets and the Decline of Unions and Good Jobs" challenges the claims of governments and business interests that the new economy has brought prosperity, arguing that the reality for working people includes low wages, precarious work, stagnation, and inequality. At the same time, he identifies a panoply of neoliberal policies driving the new economy. His description of the effects of the natural resource, housing, and real estate booms and the relationship between financial deregulation and corporate behaviour is extremely useful and clear. A particular strength of this essay is the way it deals with the defeat of the labour movement. He criticizes unions for failing to collectively resist or go on the offensive. His call for political mobilization of all of the segments of the working class in solidaristic projects around political programs that challenge the neoliberal policy agenda is critically important.

But there are also political weaknesses here. There is no structural explanation of where the neoliberal agenda came from and what drives it. It's almost as if, suddenly, the wealthy were able to sway the electorate and thus gain control over the state, with the help of new forms of lobbying and self-organization. The implication is that before the neoliberal era, the capitalist class never really wielded power. He writes, "Driving all these changes is one fundamental political fact – since the late 1990s, the power structure of Canadian society has fundamentally shifted to favour the affluent elite." (17)

But the capitalist class always wielded dominant political and economic power in Canada. The crisis of the 1970s arose from a series of structural crises that could only be addressed by either dramatic reforms limiting private ownership

and accumulation strategies, or a move towards liberalizing markets and attacking the structural gains of the working class. The defeat of the working class and the transformations associated with neoliberalism came about through choices made and power wielded by capital, given the political and organizational weakness of the working class. Neoliberalism has been institutionalized across the capitalist world and can't simply be reformed away without any necessary transformation of the economic (and political) structures underpinning it. The failure to clearly articulate this affects and weakens many elements of the book.

Dianna Gibson's and Regan Boychuk's essay, "The Spoils of the Tar Sands," and Sean Cadigan's "Boom, Bust and Bluster" look at the Alberta tar sands-driven economy and the Newfoundland and Labrador experience with oil and gas extraction and draw similar conclusions. The former describes the tar sands development boom as a disgraceful "business-driven social experiment" that led to inflation, housing shortages, and huge social and environmental problems in the boom area, as well as stagnant incomes and low wages across the non-tar sand areas of the province, along with cuts to social programs. Royalty rates are low, as a result of pressure from oil companies, and provincial finances remained problematic. In neither piece, however, is there any real alternative proposed or considered. The Alberta essay calls for a robust royalty regime, more pacing of resource extraction, addressing of environmental concerns, and redistribution of the wealth created through development. One would have hoped for a consideration of using tar sands bitumen to help ease a larger transition away from fossil fuels in Canada (and phasing out the tar sands), nationalizing resource ownership, and developing democratic forms of planning this transition. None is provided.

“Steel City Meltdown” by Stephen Arnold is an in-depth historical analysis of the evolution of the Hamilton-based steel companies Stelco and Dofasco. The essay does an excellent job of identifying key elements of neoliberal globalization that shaped the dramatic decline and current troubles of the two steel companies, the workers, and the community of Hamilton. But here again, this otherwise excellent essay falls short in its consideration of possible ways forward. It cites Steelworker President Leo Gerard’s call for a national steel strategy, but endorses a quixotic notion of a worker co-op, modelled on the Basque/Spanish Mondragon experience. This makes little sense (particularly given the failed experience of partial union ownership at Algoma) and avoids the difficult and protracted political struggle needed to build a movement for a publicly owned, democratically planned, and co-ordinated national steel industry (with all that would entail in challenging neoliberalism and globalization).

An essay by David Fairey, Tom Sandborn, and John Peters, “The Biggest Roll-Back of Worker Rights in Canadian History,” provides a rather compelling picture of the Campbell BC Liberal government’s attack on labour market regulation, its effects, and the response of the labour movement. This is another of the better pieces in this collection, especially in its descriptive detail, analysis, and broad scope. It critiques the union movement’s weak and ineffectual responses and suggests that it find new ways to activate members and build forms of solidarity across unions. It argues for more militant tactics and participatory approaches, and calls on the movement to *talk* less about building a more powerful and activist movement, and *do* more actual building.

Peter Graefe’s essay “Whither the Quebec Model?” outlines how the

corporatist relationship between the union movement, the state, and the capital in Quebec has been hollowed out by neoliberalism. He argues that although Quebec unions have maintained much of their strength in core sectors, they are unable to connect with newer and more precarious workers. With continued austerity and weakening of the social safety net, many of the previous gains that mitigated inequality have been undermined. He notes also that the blue collar unions are part of a kind of “coalition of the haves,” and the social forces leading the attack on the right and their neoliberal world view are not being led by the labour movement. Labour has to move beyond defending its core and start defending the entire working class.

The final two essays are rather unique and original. “Precarious Employment and Occupational Health and Safety in Ontario,” by Wayne Lewchuk, Marlea Clarke, and Alice de Wolff, explores the incompatibility between the forms of health and safety protection that unions have won through the Internal Responsibility System, and the massive development of precarious work. “Indigenous Workers, Casino Development and Union Organizing,” by Yale Belanger, is a fascinating exploration of the contradictions facing union organizing in First Nations-owned casinos. It touches on the interactions between sovereignty, private ownership, and class. It’s difficult, though, to see how this essay fits into the larger themes of the book as a whole.

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Benoît Grenier, *Brève histoire du régime seigneurial* (Montréal: Boréal 2012)

LA *BRÈVE HISTOIRE* du régime seigneurial de Benoît Grenier est « un ouvrage de base sur une question fondamentale de l'histoire du Québec et s'adresse tant au grand public qu'aux étudiants et chercheurs désireux de mieux comprendre les fondements et l'évolution de l'institution » (25). Cette synthèse paraît dans une collection dans laquelle les auteurs sont appelés à faire le tour d'une question en 250 pages environ, dans un texte dépourvu de notes.

L'ouvrage se divise en six chapitres suivant un plan à la fois chronologique et thématique, et menant des origines européennes de la seigneurie à sa lente extinction au 20^e siècle. Il s'ouvre sur cinq cartes — une du territoire seigneurial dans son ensemble et une par région (Montréal, Trois-Rivières, Québec, Est du Québec) —, assorties d'une liste des 271 seigneuries qui y figurent. Il comporte en outre un glossaire de plus de 50 termes relatifs au régime seigneurial ou à des réalités connexes, une bibliographie de plus de 125 titres ainsi qu'un index onomastique.

Au chapitre premier, l'auteur rattache la seigneurie laurentienne à ses origines européennes — et, plus spécialement, françaises — et montre que le modèle implanté en Amérique du Nord est « un modèle parmi d'autres » (33). Il fait ainsi ressortir le lien de continuité qui existe entre la féodalité en Europe et la seigneurie au Canada. Au chapitre 2, il brosse un tableau d'ensemble de la seigneurie en Nouvelle-France qui dépasse la simple nomenclature des droits et devoirs des seigneurs et des censitaires. Il y décrit le rythme des concessions en seigneuries et y explique le rôle de la seigneurie dans l'occupation du territoire, l'aménagement de l'espace et l'organisation de la société. Au chapitre 3, il trace le portrait des

seigneurs, tant ecclésiastiques que laïcs — un groupe diversifié dont la composition a évolué dans le temps —, et démolit deux mythes au passage : celui du seigneur-défricheur et pauvre et celui du seigneur résidant. Au chapitre 4, il explique que le régime seigneurial n'a pas disparu par suite de la Conquête et signale qu'il s'est même durci sous le régime anglais. Au chapitre 5, il analyse les rapports seigneurs-censitaires et se demande si l'harmonie ou les conflits caractérisaient la société seigneuriale. Au chapitre 6, il étudie l'abolition du régime seigneurial, devenu une institution anachronique, ce qui l'amène jusque dans les années 1970. En conclusion, il présente un bilan nuancé de l'institution et montre que de nos jours, elle n'est pas uniquement objet de patrimoine.

Docteur en histoire de l'Université Laval et de l'Université de Rennes-2, Benoît Grenier était particulièrement bien préparé pour dresser le bilan des connaissances sur le régime seigneurial, puisqu'il travaille sur le sujet depuis une quinzaine d'années. Après avoir consacré sa thèse de maîtrise à la veuve Marie-Catherine Peuvret, seigneuresse de Beauport, et sa thèse de doctorat aux seigneurs campagnards de la Nouvelle-France, il poursuit aujourd'hui ses recherches sur les persistances du monde seigneurial au Québec après 1854.

Dans son livre, l'auteur vise à « rendre compte des acquis des dernières décennies, lesquels ont considérablement transformé l'interprétation de l'histoire seigneuriale en plus d'avoir affiné grandement nos connaissances sur le sujet » (24). Il cherche ainsi à « contribuer à saisir la diversité du monde seigneurial au Québec » et à « comprendre l'évolution de cette institution jusqu'au 20^e siècle » (25). Ce faisant, il conteste la vision traditionnelle et idyllique de l'institution — celle du « bon seigneur paternel entretenant des relations

cordiales avec les censitaires » (26) —, vision inspirée en grande partie par deux œuvres maintes fois rééditées de Philippe Aubert de Gaspé (1786–1871), seigneur de Port-Joly : ses *Mémoires et Les Anciens Canadiens*. Mais il nuance aussi les propos tenus par les historiens depuis les années 1960. Sous l'influence de l'historiographie française d'inspiration marxiste, ces derniers ont dépeint la seigneurie comme un « instrument d'exploitation des paysans » (28) et mis l'accent sur les prélèvements féodaux et les conflits. « Des gestes favorables à l'endroit de certains censitaires peuvent coexister avec des poursuites judiciaires contre d'autres pour arrérages de rentes », rappelle Benoît Grenier (172). Le souci de l'équilibre est une caractéristique chez lui.

D'après l'auteur, la seigneurie n'est « pas seulement un mode d'organisation de l'espace [...]. C'est également la manifestation tangible d'une société hiérarchisée ». Elle est « aussi et surtout un rapport entre individus, rapport marqué par l'inégalité sociale » (22). Cette inégalité est présente tout au long de l'ouvrage. On la voit en particulier dans les obligations faites aux censitaires — redevances à acquitter, monopoles et servitudes à respecter, corvées à accomplir, droits honorifiques à reconnaître — et dans les conflits engendrés par toutes ces obligations. On la voit aussi dans le fait que les seigneurs ont été indemnisés deux fois pour la perte de leurs droits lucratifs : une première fois au lendemain de l'« abolition » du régime seigneurial en 1854 et une seconde fois en 1941. À cause des sources et de l'historiographie, la *Brève histoire du régime seigneurial* nous renseigne moins sur les censitaires que sur les seigneurs. Elle jette néanmoins la lumière sur le cadre de vie des habitants et les conditions qui leur étaient faites.

Les Amérindiens et les seigneuresse trouvent leur place dans cet ouvrage.

Les premiers ont eu des seigneuries mais en ont été dépossédés; les secondes ont parfois joué un rôle comme administratrices de seigneuries — Marie-Catherine Peuvret et les communautés religieuses féminines, par exemple. Les pages que l'auteur consacre à la lente abolition du régime seigneurial, dont l'Acte constitutionnel de 1791 marque selon lui le début, sont elles aussi novatrices. Contrairement à ses prédécesseurs, Grenier n'arrête pas son étude à 1854, date qui représente à juste titre pour lui le « début de la fin ». Il la pousse jusqu'à 1971, car les censitaires ont continué de verser des rentes jusqu'à cette date. Et il explique bien comment on a mis fin une fois pour toutes à l'institution seigneuriale au Québec.

L'auteur est muet cependant sur ce qu'il est advenu des seigneuries qui se sont retrouvées à l'extérieur de la *Province of Quebec* ou du Bas-Canada (lac Champlain et rive droite de l'Outaouais). Il aurait également pu être plus précis sur le sort des Amérindiens de la seigneurie du Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes ainsi que sur les circonstances dans lesquelles les seigneurs se sont fait reconnaître le monopole sur la force motrice de l'eau.

En lisant l'ouvrage de Benoît Grenier, on mesure tout le chemin parcouru par l'historiographie depuis la brochure de Marcel Trudel sur le régime seigneurial (Société historique du Canada, 1956) et plus particulièrement depuis 1970. Sur ce régime au Canada, il n'existait jusqu'ici qu'une synthèse récente, en italien : *Dalla Francia al Nuovo Mondo: feudi e signorie nella valle del San Lorenzo* de Matteo Sanfilippo (Viterbe, Sette Città, 2008). Le livre de Benoît Grenier vient donc combler un vide en langue française, et il le comble habilement : l'ouvrage est instructif, le propos est juste et nuancé, le texte est clair, il se lit bien, les chapitres sont tous plus intéressants les uns que les autres. Souhaitons que la *Brève histoire*

du régime seigneurial trouve son chemin auprès des enseignants et des auteurs de manuels scolaires, et pourquoi pas aussi auprès des auteurs de fiction. Ce livre est un petit bijou. L'auteur mérite des félicitations. Il mérite surtout d'être lu.

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Karen Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders: A History of British Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2011)

THE CARIBBEAN DIASPORA, embracing Spanish, French, Dutch, and English-speaking colonial legacies, spans much of the globe. While Dominicans work in service-sector jobs in France, Puerto Rican physicians tend patients in California, and Jamaican athletes score victories in English sports – among countless examples – their daily lives and aspirations are largely absent in academic studies. Hoping to ameliorate this profound shortfall in research, literary and social science scholars have attempted to capture the complexity of transnational identities in a growing number of anthologies and critical essays. The challenge remains to produce a robust body of knowledge attesting to the intermingling of cultures in our contemporary world. Due, in part, to the diversity of Caribbean cultural patterns and geographical trajectories, the task can be daunting.

Karen Flynn's *Moving Beyond Borders: A History of British Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora* offers an examination of the lives of Caribbean nurses in Canada and the UK. However, while the title assumes a broad panoply of transnational research, its focus is limited to women of African descent who migrated to these two regions in the

post-World War II era from the former British Caribbean colonies. The black-white binary that restricts her study flies in the face of current Caribbean research exploring multicultural and multiracial (including Asian Caribbean and Indo-Caribbean) diasporas. Thus, Flynn's newly published study, gleaned largely from interviews conducted in her graduate program, is reminiscent of earlier, racially fragmented studies that appeared in the last decades of the 20th century. Nonetheless, it offers valuable impressions of the values promoting professionalism in transnational communities.

Divided into seven chapters, the topics in *Moving Beyond Borders* range from "community, home and belonging for Black Canadians" to studies of identity and belonging in England's West Indian immigrant centres. Most Canadian interviews involve women born between 1915 and 1950 who lived much of their working lives as nurses in the Toronto area, but whose attitudes toward gender roles were largely formed in their Caribbean societies where colonialism, patriarchy, sexism, and racism prevail. Most of those interviewed between 1995 and 2007 were the first in their families to migrate, and none aspired to present a comprehensive view of self-imposed exile. The varying perspectives of community "belonging" add texture, nonetheless, as they underscore the fluidity of transnational identities, for while some West Indians subscribe to essentialized notions of Blackness, others experience race in broader contexts. National origin and reconstructed families also factor in their identification with Canadian and British societies. Rather astutely, we are made to understand that recollections of experiences are always muted by acts of reconstruction and that recollections are individually prioritized. Hence, context means everything to identity and belonging. "Diasporas require their inhabitants to engage in

ongoing identity negotiations, which are both global and local," Flynn writes; "depending on the context, interviewees chose their identifications, whether in their island homeland or Canada." (206) She hopes to redress the paucity of research in childhood and family studies incorporating Black Canadians whose experiences of segregation in housing and in public life underscore the myth of a multicultural national identity.

Chronologically organized, Flynn begins her study based on 35 interviews with 22 Canadian nurses with an examination of the effects of family, church, and school in the process of socialization as well as the institutional reproduction of hegemonic ideologies. As she follows Black professional nurses' career choices, she pays particular attention to the role of religion in their lives and in the formation of their career choices. Importantly, Flynn's analysis penetrates social settings highly charged with racism. She relates, for example, how entertainment venues in Canadian communities helped engrain stereotypes of Blackness. The popularity of minstrel shows performed in Canadian churches in the 1950s and even during a graduating class of nurses in Toronto's General Hospital in 1967 highlights the perpetuation of racial stereotypes that wrought humiliation among Canada's minority groups.

The second part of *Moving Beyond Borders* illustrates how the effects of the labour shortage in Canada and Great Britain after World War II fuelled Caribbean immigration. Flynn's interviews broaden understanding of the challenges of entering nursing schools, the routine patterns of job rejections, and the lack of acceptance by whites – all of which point to innovative areas of cross-cultural family studies. Her study provides insight, albeit limited, into regional differences, observing that "Blacks in Toronto were better

incorporated into society and fared better economically than their counterparts in smaller and less integrated cities such as Chatham and Windsor in Ontario, and in Nova Scotia in general." (20–21) Further transnational migration studies might incorporate demographic and sociopolitical data related to the reasons for these differences while offering testament to the myriad ways in which women strengthen social empowerment or, conversely, confine other women's freedom. This seminal topic has been explored in such excellent studies of transnational women's roles in the public and private realms as Marixsa Alicea's research into the contradictory nature of Puerto Rican women's role in the social construction of a transnational community. Alicea had demonstrated how women survive racial and class repression in the United States through caring work, mother work, and kin work. She argues that while essential to creating family and community, women's work paradoxically propagates the gender oppression they faced at home as they negotiate feelings of national identity and their desire to improve power relationships with men. [Marixsa Alicea, "A Chambered Nautilus': The Contradictory Nature of Puerto Rican Women's Roles in the Social Construction of a Transnational Community," *Gender and Society*, 11, no. 5 (October 1997): 597–626.] While Alicea focused on impoverished women's caring work in sustaining community in both locations, *Moving Beyond Borders* asserts that identities among Black Caribbean diasporan women in Canada are "deeply rooted to a sense of belonging to the Canadian nation state." (209) Remittances to family members and financial assistance to visiting family demonstrate connectivity to their home communities. While often feeling displaced, professional attachments in Canada transcend the desire to return.

Embellished by post-colonial feminist theory, this study of diasporan Black professional women would benefit from stronger evidence of research on transnational identities. Flynn's treatment of the family as an agent of socialization is burdened by a small sampling and hindered in its singular focus on Christian practitioners and the omission of rebels (did she not find one feminist who spoke of strong female bonding in relationships?). Also absent is information on the ways in which families interact with social workers and on relationships among West Indian and other Black immigrants in Canada and the UK. The study, which struggles with unnecessary repetition, also lacks hard data on secondary school retention, and it is vague in its treatment of sexual social control through Christian obedience as a regulator of social mores. Flynn offers few intimate details of her interviewees' lives in patriarchal families. What is missing is a feminist paradigm that helps to explain how Black women from various cultures might relate to one another as diasporan women in a growing health care field.

Yet, even with its inadequacies, *Moving Beyond Borders* is a valuable contribution to diasporan studies. Flynn's descriptions of travel to and settlement in the UK provide much needed insight into the lives of professional Black women. She shows the significance of shipboard relationships, the "first site" where Black women strategize to find nursing employment opportunities and community ties, and she describes some initial reactions to viewing impoverished whites in the heart of empire. She captures family dynamics that can lead to a persistent fear of being viewed as a failure among those at "home." Flynn also describes how, even when Britain desperately needed workers, Black West Indians were seen as a threat to Britain's national identity, and she captures contradictions and complexities in

family support and feelings of belonging among individuals. Her grasp of post-colonial theories is exemplified by her firm understanding of nursing as a contested space for Black women built on middle-class ideas of white womanhood. Certainly, this is a study that applies keen insight into identity formation, its complexity, and changing subjectivity. Her exploration of Black women's navigation of identity and power relationships is not only ambitious and valuable but it also directly challenges Canada's multicultural façade. This is an important yet imperfect work leaving one eager to learn more of transnational "crossings" and transnational feminist studies of a much more complex racial and cultural Caribbean diaspora.

CONSUELO LOPEZ SPRINGFIELD
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Barrington Walker, *Race on Trial: Black Defendants in Ontario's Criminal Courts, 1858–1958* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2011)

SINCE THE 19TH-CENTURY abolition of slavery throughout the Atlantic World, peoples of African descent have engaged in protracted and often violent struggles to realize the promises and potential of freedom after enslavement. Indeed, formal emancipation was not the end of racial oppression or discrimination, nor did it signal full and immediate equality for former slaves. Rather, abolition marked the beginning of a new kind of struggle by people who had attained the legal status of freedom but continued to face limits to those freedoms through ongoing political, social, and economic oppression and inequality. Throughout the Americas, the courts were often the forums for those struggles where former slaves asserted their rights as free people and demanded recognition, opportunity, and an end to

discriminatory practices which undermined their claims to freedom. As such, courts became important sites for the negotiation of ideas about race, rights, and equality.

In *Race on Trial*, Barrington Walker examines how the Ontario criminal court system functioned as “an integral part of how race was produced, managed, and expressed in the racial liberal order that framed the Black experience in Canada.” (20) To achieve this, Walker analyzes a variety of cases that involved Black defendants from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, investigating the ways in which the legal system constructed Blacks in Canada as racial subjects. Appearing in courts as they did, these defendants were also subject to particular ideas about Black criminality which reified (mis)perceptions of racial difference, while also promoting particular ideas about the Canadian nation and the place of Black peoples within it. His focus on Black defendants is revealing of how discourses of both blackness and whiteness in Canada functioned not only to condemn individuals to incarceration or execution, but also in some cases to exonerate them. Walker’s close reading and analyses of these cases, and the socio-historical context that frames them, contributes a great deal towards a better understanding of race and nation in Canada in the 19th and 20th centuries.

In setting up the context for the criminal court cases, Walker illustrates the collision and inherent contradictions and “tension between the veneer of the rule of law and biologically and culturally rooted ideas about race in Canada.” (184) While the Canadian liberal order held promise for all Canadians of equality, opportunity, and a colour-blind legal formalism (13), the lived experiences of peoples of African descent demonstrated the power of racial discourse in continuing to objectify, marginalize, and discriminate

against people of colour, placing clear limitations on their experiences of freedom and the realization of full equality. Blacks in Canada, Walker writes, “lived in a state of paradox, caught between formal legal equality and deeply entrenched societal and economic inequality.” (3) The cases that he reviews and analyzes demonstrate the negotiation of this paradox by accused criminals, lawyers, witnesses, and judges as they attempted to reconcile a particular vision of the nation with the realities of racial discrimination and dominant tropes of Black inferiority.

In his analysis and creative reading of criminal court cases, Walker offers a number of compelling and sometimes surprising insights into the intersections of race and nation with ideas about justice and the liberal order. First, the court cases demonstrate a clear and continuously negotiated tension between the objectivity of the law and equality of Black Canadian citizens before it, and the power of highly subjective discriminatory rhetoric in shaping the outcomes of the respective trials. The result, according to Walker, was a variability of outcomes that demonstrated a particular ambivalence about blackness in Canada, which “helps us to explain the flexible and contradictory position that Blacks occupied in the imaginations of many whites.” (22) On many occasions, Black Canadians on trial were disproportionately incarcerated and even executed for their crimes, moments which showcased “the considerable power of the state.” (45) At other times though, this ambivalence resulted in paternalistic sympathy, mercy, and the exoneration of Black Canadians on trial. Walker cites the example of a Black defendant, William McCathern, who was spared from execution through his portrayal as “a poor unfortunate creature or stupid animal ... to be regarded not only as a brute but also as an almost infantile object of pity.” (138) Other instances saw

similar efforts to explain Black "pathology as the product of both environmental and biological/racial determinants." (138) This "condescension and paternalism" directed toward Black defendants was a "dehumanizing strategy" which deemed them "incapable of appreciating the gravity of their crimes" (87), and "unable to control their passions." (91)

This paternalistic mercy and racial ambivalence leads to the second of Walker's most compelling and insightful conclusions based upon these criminal court proceedings: the function of such court cases in distinguishing Canada from the United States, and asserting the superiority of the Canadian justice system. Indeed, even when not explicitly acknowledged, the US looms large throughout this text, as notions of fair play and the rule of law in Canada are contrasted by contemporaries against the racial violence, mob rule, and lynchings that seemed to characterize US race relations. Explicit racial violence was thus constructed as a distinctly US phenomenon; the extension of "mercy" to Black defendants in Ontario's criminal courts underscored important rhetorical distinctions between the two countries, and, for Canadians, demonstrated "the superior nature of British justice, impartiality, and, tacitly, White Canadian nationhood." (55) Indeed, as Walker argues, the US was constructed as "a violent nation compare to Canada with its celerity of justice; (elite white) Canadians could control their passions and maintain their compassion towards (Black) lawbreakers whereas south of the border they would be subject to lynch law; and hanging such lawbreakers was the provenance of the Canadian state, not a mob." (46) Thus, it was not exclusively violence itself that distinguished race relations in the two countries, but the notion that in Canada it was legitimized and validated only through the authority of the state, not the caprice of the general populace.

This effort to distinguish Canada from the US through the former's dispensation of justice and the legitimate and impartial authority of the criminal court system also served the purpose of articulating a Canadian identity and further crystallizing the contours of the Canadian nation. As Walker asserts, these trials "often served as a venue for a larger and important discussion about the very nature of Canadian 'nationhood'" (20), achieved in no small part through "negative representations of US race relations" which "served the self-perceptions and interests of Canadian judicial elites and their nation-building ambitions." (117) Black defendants also employed such idealistic rhetoric of Canadian nationalism and notions of fair play and the rule of law when pleading for mercy from the courts. In one instance, an accused man argued before the court that, "Nowhere in the world is a colored man treated like he is under the British flag. ... I think civilization and patriotism in Canada is as great if not greater than any other country." (82, 84) Walker further analyzes such these cases as nation-building projects, noting how the identities of both Black and white Canadians were enmeshed and equally invested in the discourse of race that permeated these cases. Blackness, he argues, "was clearly helping to shape a White Canadian identity through the use of racialized discourse." (20) Thus, while Black Canadians were continuously marginalized and often rendered invisible within highly racialized conceptions of the nation, such cases demonstrate how at times blackness was central to defining white Canada.

Many of these themes and ideas are further exemplified in Walker's investigation and analysis of other crimes that surfaced in the Ontario criminal court system in the 19th and 20th centuries. In his discussion of Black patriarchy, for example, he demonstrates how "the law has

historically perpetuated and reproduced male power" (89), and comes to the conclusion that "Black men enjoyed a residual but fragile form of patriarchal power bestowed upon them by the dominant culture." (90) His analysis of race narratives reveals how the "archetype of sexual danger" is critical to "understanding the widespread anxieties about Black-White sexual contact in Ontario and beyond." (116) In the final chapter, Walker investigates cases of miscegenation and sexual violence within as well as across the color line as proof of the "instability" and "ambivalence" of racial boundaries "and the difficulty of policing them." (142)

Walker's analysis offers some creative and important insights, though his study might benefit from a more critical evaluation of scale (local, regional, national, and transnational) and the geographies of race as they were expressed, negotiated, and mediated through the criminal court system. He does an excellent job of identifying the national repercussions of local conflicts and trials, but might further consider how they framed national discussions about race, particularly in terms of discourses surrounding other non-white peoples. More could also be done to explore and analyze the urban versus rural settings, and the ways in which the cityscape framed and differently spatialized conceptions of race and criminality. Lastly, the breadth of this book is certainly commendable, as it covers one hundred years, but there is little sense of how particular conceptions of race changed over time as they were mediated and expressed through the criminal court system. Overall, however, Walker has written a well-researched, insightful, and compelling study of how race and nation was articulated, contested, and negotiated through Ontario's courts and the trials of Black defendants.

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Frances W. Kaye, *Good Lands: A Meditation and History on the Great Plains* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2011)

FRANCES KAYE DESCRIBES *Good Lands* as "a meditation about what happened when a mass of people hit a geographical and cultural region that they felt entitled to reclaim from deficiency." (5) It is also about the intellectual resistance of First Nations and Métis "who, unlike the settlers, began from the premise of sufficiency." (5) The contrasting paradigms have shaped human experience on the Great Plains, and Kaye explores aspects of each in alternating chapters. Her conclusion brings the two strands together as she looks to contemporary First Nations thinkers for a "21st-century solution" for the region. (319) While the themes of deficiency and sufficiency provide the conceptual framework for her study, Kaye is also interested in the history of ideas about the Great Plains. She thus includes chapters addressing such diverse topics as "The Women's West" and "Arts, Justice and Hope on the Great Plains."

Good Lands is essentially a literature review that brings together material from history, literature, journalism, and the fine arts. The approach is at once holistic and very general. Kaye makes sparse use of primary source materials, working instead with texts published by other scholars. The Great Plains encompass parts of both Canada and the US, and most chapters provide equal treatment of Canadian and US materials. This choice enables readers to delineate differences in ideology and policy between the two countries.

Kaye locates the origins of the deficiency paradigm in the era of Euro-North American exploration. Her chapter "Exploring the Explorers" examines explorers' narratives as documents of "covert conquest." Under the guise of scientific discovery, Kaye argues, explorers

like Anthony Henday, David Thompson, and Lewis and Clark laid the groundwork for imperial expansion. A later generation took the process further. Surveyors Henry Youle Hind in Canada and Ferdinand Hayden in the US promoted a vision of the Great Plains as “empty” territory of untapped economic potential. In this formulation, deficiency lay not in the land itself but in the Indigenous population’s failure to put it to optimal use.

Subsequent chapters trace the deployment of the deficiency paradigm in academic studies and government policies. “Intellectual Justification for Conquest” argues that Harold Innis, who posited the Great Plains as “hinterland” to eastern Canada’s “metropolis,” and Frederick Turner, who conceptualized the American West as a series of receding frontiers, articulated “the formulas for their respective Wests.” (131) Neither placed the Great Plains at the centre of the story, and both believed that First Nations’ ways of life could not survive sustained contact with European settlers. Unlike Turner, however, Innis recognized First Nations as a founding people, and his work contributed to the narrative of Canada as a multicultural society.

“Homesteading as Capital Formation on the Great Plains” finds the premise of deficiency shaping Euro-American settlement on the Plains, where immigrants had to “improve the land” to make it commercially productive. In “Mitigating but Not Rethinking,” Kaye considers the careers of Saskatchewan Premier Tommy Douglas and Nebraska Senator George Norris, progressive politicians who implemented measures designed to alleviate the hardships of Dust Bowl farmers. While accepting their efforts as well intentioned, Kaye considers them doomed to fail because they did not question the fundamental premise of the Great Plains as deficient. “It seems a waste,” she writes, “that, since they were challenging the

status quo anyway, these leaders did not have access to a frame of reference that would have allowed them to plan reforms that started out with the great fact of the land and the thousands of years of history of its use.” (241) Later chapters addressing growth pole economic theory and the “boom and bust” cycles of a regional economy based on resource extraction bring the story of flawed ideology and failed policy up to the present.

A First Nations perspective that values the Great Plains as a place of sufficiency, as heartland rather than hinterland, forms a running counterpoint to the narrative of deficiency. It comes across with particular clarity in Kaye’s discussion of Osage historian and philosopher John Joseph Mathews. This is also one of the few instances in which Kaye quotes primary source material. The choice is a wise one, as it allows Mathews’ distinctive voice and love for his Oklahoma “blackjack country” to shine through. Conversely, a chapter comparing the Riel Resistance of 1885 with the Lakota Ghost Dance movement and early Christian Gnosticism is probably the book’s weakest. Readers who are not already familiar with the history of the Riel Resistance will have difficulty following the course of events and are unlikely to grasp how different Métis, Cree, and Nakota communities took diverse positions during the conflict. And many who are familiar with this history will be puzzled by Kaye’s characterization of the Resistance as a religious revival movement.

Kaye brings the vision of sufficiency up to the present with a discussion of First Nations principles of restorative justice as articulated in Rupert Ross’ *Dancing with a Ghost* (Toronto 1992) and John Borrows’ *Recovering Canada* (Toronto 2002). Starting from the premise of “original sanctity” rather than “original sin,” restorative justice builds on an individual’s strengths. Like an errant human

being, Kaye argues, the Plains don't have to be transformed to be useful. Land-based measures such as the restoration of perennial grasses, the building up of bison herds, and the promotion of free-range cattle ranching emphasize "what this land does well." (325) In Kaye's view, they offer the best hope for restoring balance to a region and its citizens.

Clearly, a study of this scope mandates a broad approach. At times, though, the brush stroke becomes too broad, glossing over the complexity of historical experience or omitting information that is key to placing a person or event in context. To cite one example, her assertion that "woman suffrage in Wyoming was an essentially conservative movement, as shown by the lionizing of Esther Morris, the first woman Justice of the Peace in the world" (177), raises more questions than it answers. How and why was Morris lionized? Was she a conservative figure because she stood for law and order? As Victoria Lamont has shown in "More Than She Deserves: Woman Suffrage Memorials in the 'Equality State,'" *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 36, no. 1 (2006), 17–44, other Wyoming suffragists campaigned for causes like the recognition of woman suffrage in the state constitution and the inclusion of women on juries. Does the fact that Morris was memorialized and these suffragists ignored mean that the movement was conservative? Or does it speak instead to the conservatism of the politicians who made Morris a symbol of woman suffrage?

Overly broad brushstrokes are also evident in statements that Kaye offers from time to time without explicating her chain of reasoning. Perhaps the most startling of these is the observation that, "the Grange, the Populists, the Farm Holidays, and so on have marked the history of the Great Plains, although they have mostly been forgotten in terms of content and remembered only as a kind

of resentment of government and used to fuel movements like the militias of the sort that seem to have animated Timothy McVey [sic] in his part in the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995." (247) Kaye cites no source material to link, ideologically or otherwise, the Grange and the Populists with modern-day militia movements. Neither is it clear why a lingering sense of western alienation would have motivated McVeigh, born and raised in upstate New York, to commit mass murder.

Occasional factual errors also appear. While they do not invalidate Kaye's larger arguments, they should be corrected in any future edition. The Canadian Prairies did not "emerge from glaciations only four thousand or so years ago." (140) They have been ice-free for at least the past 10,000 years. Neither is it accurate to say that "archaeological and oral evidence agree that the Plains, away from the shelter of the mountains and the river valleys, was seldom traversed in the days when people walked and dogs carried their cargo on travois." (3) Archaeological evidence firmly establishes that people have lived and camped on the open Plains, well away from valleys and mountains, for as long as they have been here. And Harold Cardinal was not "from [a] Plains tribe" (302); the First Nations activist and law professor was a member of the Sucker Creek Cree First Nation in northern Alberta.

All in all, *Good Lands* is best suited as an introductory text for those seeking an overview of literature about the Great Plains. It offers points of departure for more in-depth exploration and introduces readers to a variety of intriguing ideas and historical figures. The writing is sometimes awkward, but the author's commitment to finding a way to "live with, not against, this demanding land" (44) comes through loud and clear.

Susan Berry
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Mary-Ellen Kelm, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2011)

RODEO CONJURES UP particular images in the popular imagination. Hyper-masculine riders decked out in leather chaps and plaid kerchiefs act out their manhood roping calves or riding bulls in a performance intended to celebrate a pioneer sensibility and harken back to an idealized West. But, as Mary-Ellen Kelm highlights in *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada*, life on the North American rodeo circuit in the first half of the 20th century was more nuanced than stereotypes suggest.

Rodeo combined events that tested toughness (such as horse, steer, and bull riding) with timed events (such as roping) that challenged the teamwork of rider and mount. The touring rodeo circuit, including those events hosted by small towns in Alberta and BC, and native reservation rodeos in BC, are the focus of Kelm's study. As well, she examines those that took place in the East or extended south into the US, involved men and women, Aboriginals and settlers, in a touring community that participated in rodeo's transition from pioneer exhibition to codified commercial sport.

As the circuit moved from town to town, each rodeo's competitions were inaugurated by a parade, intended to tell the back story of the events that were to follow. Parades celebrated the conquest of the environment and peoples of the frontier, and were often led by Aboriginal people "demonstrating their indigeneity and, in the minds of organizers, their pre-modern place in an unfolding history of settlement." (4) Yet, as Kelm illustrates, the role of Aboriginal peoples in western Canadian rodeo, as participants, organizers, and craftspeople is far more complex than paraded representations suggested.

Kelm approaches western Canadian rodeo using Mary Louise Pratt's notion of a "contact zone." Rodeo – both the individual events hosted by small towns and reserves as well as the roster of performers who travelled town-to-town competing in these events – offered a space where settlers and Aboriginals came together, both as participants and organizers. The concept of the contact zone enables Kelm to move beyond a straightforward portrayal of Aboriginal and settler interactions – as either working together or at odds with one another – to think of rodeo as a liminal space occupied by settlers and Indigenous peoples, men and women, who interacted in a multiplicity of ways. Rodeos may have been a site of struggle between settler and Aboriginal communities, but as is demonstrated in *A Wilder West*, we need to allow for the possibility of alternate relationships between the men and women who both participated in and organized rodeos.

Indeed, "Indian and reserve rodeos did not represent a complete retreat from the contact zone." (207) Aboriginal men were among some of rodeo's most successful participants, while in British Columbia there was a unique circuit of Aboriginal-organized rodeos, which welcomed both Aboriginal and settler competitors. Kelm argues that by and large rodeo eschewed racial identities in favour of masculine ones, offering spectacles that celebrated exhibitions of frontier manliness. The BC rodeos included Indigenous women who participated in the local economy as craftspeople, while women (cowgirls) appeared as performers in most rodeos in western Canada, albeit in different events from the men, contests that were deemed more gender "appropriate."

The experience of rodeo, and its perceived importance, was not limited to promoters and participants. The meaning(s) communicated by rodeo were important to the communities that hosted them.

For many civic boosters and entertainment entrepreneurs in these small towns, rodeos were among the events staged by communities to communicate something about their towns in a young nation that was expanding westward early in the 20th century. Performances of cowboy culture did not simply reflect these communities as they grappled with modernity, they actively constituted them.

In the early 20th century, rodeo was “included in community events for exhibition only, by the end of World War II, it was becoming a sport.” (108) Modern rodeo sought to celebrate the uniqueness of life in the rural West by codifying its events – creating a standard roster of events, setting out rules for each, establishing a circuit not unlike a sport league, and creating cowboy protective associations that anticipated attempts in other sports to establish player unions – and in this way invoking both the masculine respectability of organized commercial sport and the commercial potential of spectator events.

The emergence of modern sport in Canada in the late-19th and early-20th centuries has been well excavated by Nancy Bouchier, Colin Howell, Bruce Kidd, and Alan Metcalfe, among others. Responding to the pressures and opportunities of urban industrial capitalism, pastimes became organized and codified sports under the aegis of an emerging middle-class that draped their sporting ventures in the values of gentlemanly amateurism. Amateur, middle class ideologies, however, coexisted uneasily with the commercial imperative to profit from spectacle. Efforts to model respectability met rules and codes that celebrated a particular brand of masculinity. At the same time, the pursuit of physical activity for women gained increasing acceptance in the early 20th century as moderate exertion was prescribed for maternal health. By the 1920s, women were participating

in organized sport in larger numbers than ever before, and with greater (though not uncontested) visibility. During the same decade, commercial entrepreneurs took advantage of the expanding continental consumer economy (including the emerging sport media and the new technology of radio) and professional spectator sport began an ascendancy that would see the slow and steady decline of amateur sport as an ideological force.

What all this has to do with cowboys and horses, roping and rodeo, and western and Aboriginal cultures is a connection established by Kelm and a particular benefit of her study. She contributes to the literature on sport in small towns and also expands our understanding of the ways in which Canadian sport spectacles were incorporated within a continental economy. Despite its reliance on a rather dated modernization framework articulated by Alan Guttmann in *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), *A Wilder West* contributes narratives of Western sporting culture and community promotion to the historiography of Canadian sport. Kelm moves beyond the traditional sports and central Canadian focus that dominates this literature and perhaps most importantly contributes to our long-neglected understanding of organized sport as a cultural practice in non-urban, small-town settings.

RUSSELL FIELD

University of Manitoba

Robert C.H. Sweeny et l'équipe de MAP, Montréal, l'avenir du passé : le dix-neuvième siècle (CD-ROM, 2010); Montréal, l'avenir du passé, http://www.mun.ca/mapm/fra/accueil_cadre.html

EN L'AN 2000, la géographe historienne Sherry Olson a eu l'excellente idée

de mettre sur pied une équipe interdisciplinaire pancanadienne composée de géographes, d'historiens, de démographes et d'économistes dans le but de créer une infrastructure de recherche à la croisée du temps et de l'espace, Montréal en étant le laboratoire. Le projet *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* (MAP) a ainsi vu le jour. Novateur sur le plan méthodologique et pédagogique, MAP représente également un exemple réussi d'entreprise universitaire interdisciplinaire ouverte sur la démocratisation de la recherche. Concrètement, l'objectif de MAP est la construction d'un système d'information géo-historique modulaire qui s'appuie sur des documents cartographiques reliés de façon dynamique à d'autres sources. C'est dire que l'ajout de nouvelles strates est constant.

Lancé au Congrès de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française à Ottawa en 2010, le CD-ROM bilingue *Montréal, l'avenir du passé : le dix-neuvième siècle* est le premier outil d'envergure de diffusion du projet. Il compte six sections contenant chacune plusieurs dossiers. Les sections « Lisez-moi » et « Read Me » constituent à la fois une présentation générale et un manuel de l'utilisateur. La section « Documentation » comprend des dossiers pédagogiques sur l'utilisation des cartes historiques ainsi que des exemples de collaboration interdisciplinaire. Déjà se profilent des informations clés sur la croissance urbaine de Montréal. Pour sa part, le dossier sur les outils de recherche contient des diaporamas réalisés par certains membres de l'équipe. Un texte de Robert Sweeny, le maître d'œuvre du CD-ROM (et du site web), est la composante la plus stimulante de la section. Intitulé « Rethinking Boundaries : Interdisciplinary Lessons from the Montréal l'avenir du passé (MAP Project) », l'historien de Memorial – Montréal y déconstruit la notion de

frontière, créatrice d'inégalités. Sweeny explique également la nature des systèmes d'information géographique. Il montre comment les descriptions soi-disant objectives de l'espace physique se heurtent aux perceptions mêmes de cet espace par les contemporains. Pour ce faire, l'auteur présente trois cartes : celles d'Adam (1825), de Cane (1846) et de Goad (1880). Le reste du CD-ROM est constitué de trois sections qui permettent l'accès aux bases de données (« Apple », « Applications », « Arc Explorer »).

Plus détaillé et convivial que le CD-ROM, le site web de MAP est présenté par ses concepteurs comme une « expérience en histoire appliquée ». Il comprend cinq parties : « Accueil », « Applications », « Bases de données », « Documentation », « Galerie ».

Comme on s'y attend, la section « Accueil » présente le site et, par le fait même, le projet. Dans la section « Applications », le visiteur est initié à l'évolution du centre-ville de Montréal et il est invité à télécharger les applications Macintosh ou Windows grâce auxquelles il accédera à huit cartes interactives. En plus des trois cartes mentionnées ci-dessus, il pourra ainsi faire bon usage de cinq plans élaborés par l'équipe du projet et tous liés à la carte de Goad de 1880 : plan des bâtiments, plan des propriétaires, rôle d'évaluation, annuaire Lovell, recensement fédéral. Il apprendra ainsi dans cette partie à manier ArcExplorer.

« Bases de données » donne accès à des logiciels pédagogiques et à des fichiers en format DBF. En plus des données mêmes, les logiciels comprennent une introduction historique, une présentation de la source originelle et un programme de requête propre à chaque document. Quant aux fichiers, ils consistent en des bases de données relationnelles construites par les membres du MAP.

Dans « Documentation », l'utilisateur du site en apprend davantage sur l'historique

du projet ainsi que sur ses fondements théoriques et méthodologiques ; ce faisant, il peut lui-même voir « comment nous avons transformé les multiples traces du passé », en vue de développer sa propre contribution critique. Cette partie est l'occasion d'une mise en contexte des divers documents historiques exploités dans le cadre du projet. Elle contient aussi des diaporamas et des rapports techniques.

Finalement, la partie « Galerie » présente une dizaine d'images de Montréal au 19^e siècle. Il ne s'agit pas d'illustrations d'époque, mais de représentations spatiales de divers phénomènes urbains, telles la taille des lots, la valeur des propriétés, la distribution des rentiers, etc.

Ce n'est toutefois là que la pointe de l'iceberg. En effet, les véritables trésors mis à la disposition des chercheurs, ce sont les bases de données elles-mêmes, qui permettent des recherches poussées sur le Montréal du 19^e siècle et, bientôt on l'espère, sur la métropole au 20^e siècle. En effet, et le site web et le projet lui-même sont en constante évolution. Il n'en est pas de même du CD-ROM, que l'avènement du site rend désuet. On peut d'ailleurs se demander pourquoi les chercheurs du projet ont décidé de le produire, étant donné la supériorité de diffusion du web.

Quasi perpétuellement en construction, les sites web peuvent être enrichis et corrigés à volonté. *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* ne constitue pas une exception. Au fil des ans, il prendra de l'expansion et le matériel qu'il contient deviendra, il faut le souhaiter, plus accessible. Car si l'on ne s'attend pas à ce que la manipulation de bases de données sophistiquées soit chose aisée, on aimerait que les directives aux usagers la facilitent quelque peu, ce qui n'est pas le cas présentement (juillet 2013). En ce qui concerne le site même, la présentation et la navigation laissent aussi

à désirer. À cet égard, les membres du projet et le public y gagneraient si la partie « Documentation » était mise en valeur; elle apparaît tout aussi fondamentale que la partie « Accueil » pour que le visiteur profite pleinement du site, surtout si les concepteurs y inséraient les publications des membres de l'équipe. Même le texte de Sweeny discuté ci-dessus n'a pas migré du CD-ROM vers le site web. Enfin, ne faudrait-il pas accorder plus de soin à la présentation visuelle et s'assurer que la version française ne regorge pas de fautes ?

Ceci étant dit, le site web *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* s'avérera essentiel à tout historien du monde urbain. Espérons qu'il aura des émules!

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Roderick Stewart and Sharon Stewart,
Phoenix: The Life of Norman Bethune
(Montreal and Kingston: McGill-
Queen's University Press 2011)

NORMAN BETHUNE – doctor, revolutionary, communist, martyr – has been the subject of a series of biographies, films, plays, and novels in the decades since his death in 1939 serving the Chinese revolution. Following an earlier, brief biography printed in 1973 that did not do credit to his own extensive research, Roderick Stewart and his wife Sharon have produced a new biography. Medical historian Michael Bliss has declared that *Phoenix* “should become definitive for all serious discussion of Bethune’s career.” (*Globe and Mail*, 2 July 2011)

By some measures, *Phoenix* certainly should become the definitive treatment of a highly controversial man who had the good fortune (both as a man in his era and a historical figure) to live in interesting times. Yet for all the Stewarts' dedicated work, questions remain about

Bethune that will certainly lead some biographer to decide that *Phoenix* is not the final word.

Phoenix certainly is comprehensive. For his earlier biography Stewart talked with a huge array of people who knew Bethune in one or more of the various facets of his life (and he had many). For *Phoenix*, the Stewarts have drawn more completely from that research. Yet they have not rested on that very solid base. They have delved into aspects of Bethune's life that had previously escaped them.

For example, one of the neglected aspects of Bethune's life is his experience in London, England from the end of World War I to his marriage to Frances Penney in 1923. The superficial details are known – he completed several post-degree medical programs and worked on contract with hospitals in the city. On the side, he bought and sold art and antiques and travelled to the European continent to pursue this bohemian occupation. Then there were the rumours of his affair with a wealthy widow, hinted at in a less definitive biography written earlier by Ted Allan and Sydney Gordon. But the woman's name and the exact nature of their relationship were unknown. The Stewarts have established this to be an heiress of the Sassoon family, Isabelle Humphreys-Owen, and have discussed why Bethune was not able to establish a long-term connection with this highly attractive patroness.

In places the Stewarts' strict attention to detail is overwhelming, even excessive. This is particularly so in their reports of the villages Bethune forged through with a modernizing zeal while in China in 1938–39. Six years before Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong wrote his paean to determination, "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," Bethune personified it. He was convinced that armed with his scalpel he could excise the cancer of feudal backwardness

in China, and he cut his way across a huge expanse of China in that pursuit. The Stewarts follow him to every remote hamlet, describing his dedicated attention to helping humanity and encouraging progressive change. Most readers will be exhausted just by the recounting. If nothing else it helps explain that Bethune's death by septicaemia less than two years after reaching China was due at least as much to overwork.

And yet despite its wealth of data on Bethune, *Phoenix* breaks no new ground on significant aspects of Bethune's life and, in some cases, fails to ask intriguing questions about the information it presents. Two examples stand out. One is Bethune's reputation as a womanizer, which is a staple of almost all treatments of him. The Stewarts carry on that tradition, remarking about him in the post-World War I years that he was "never lacking in female companions." (35) Astonishingly, however, they don't do the simple math on their own subject and pause to consider the implications of one significant number in Bethune's life – zero. From the time he became independent of his parents at age 17 until 3 months shy of his 30th birthday, there is no hint of a non-family female companion. Here's a man whose love of flamboyant, fashionable clothing was renowned, who, after he did marry at age 33, went so far as to choose his wife's clothing and apply her makeup, and whose constant female companion in high school was his sister, until she finally ordered him to desist. What should we make of this "womanizer"? It's impossible to answer definitively. Readers curious about gender formation and roles might suggest several possibilities. But surprisingly, *Phoenix* doesn't invite the reader even to consider the contradictions in Bethune's practices and his image.

A second aspect of Bethune's life that remains disconcertingly sketchy in

Phoenix is the highly controversial issue of his departure from Spain in May 1937, at the height of the Spanish Civil War. Why he left – or was forced to leave – Spain has become the subject of considerable discussion over the past 15 years. *Phoenix* takes up the question in some detail but doesn't provide the necessary context to a deep understanding of what happened and why. The authors refer several times to the cause of Bethune being pushed out of Spain as his "behaviour" (202), his "erratic behaviour" (201), and his "personal conduct." (208) In focusing on Bethune's actions in Spain the authors don't sufficiently address the central element of Bethune's life after 1935 – politics – and how it meshes with the place of Spain in the world from 1936 to 1939. During the six months Bethune was there, from November 1936 to early May 1937, Spain was the world's political heartbeat. The heroic struggle of its people – aided by a brave band of principled internationals – against the attempted military takeover of the Spanish popular front government by Falange leader General Francisco Franco was the tale progressives told one another to sustain their hope that world fascism could be thwarted.

To grasp the significance of Spain and how Bethune fit into it, we must look beyond it, to neighbouring countries. Hitler and the Nazis had seized power in January 1933. By 1935, this new danger preoccupied virtually every country and leader in Germany's vicinity. In August 1935 the Communist International, pushed by the Soviet Union, opted for a United Front strategy to deal with fascism. In May 1937 the fascist appeaser/colluder Neville Chamberlain became British Prime Minister. The next month Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King visited Germany and was feted by the Nazis, coming away glowingly describing Adolf Hitler as a

"humanitarian." In France, the popular front alliance led by Leon Blum was voted into power in June 1936, just weeks before the election of Spain's own similar government. Over the next year Blum's coalition was assailed by fascists chanting "Better Hitler than Leon Blum!" and in, June 1937, he was forced to resign. In Austria, the German Nazi conspiracy to take over the country was rapidly advancing.

Thus, from the USSR to France, and to an extent even in North America, political life was transfixed by concern with fascism, its possibilities, and its dangers. But no less powerful was the fear of internal enemies – fascist/communist sympathizers who were seen to be conspiring with foreign powers to overthrow domestic governments. In Spain this took the form of extreme fear of the "Fifth Column" of fascist sympathizers who, according to the prediction of the Falangist General Mola in 1936, would pave the way to a fascist takeover of Madrid. But what did the enemy look like? Did they wear swastikas or hammers and sickles on their lapels so they could be easily identified? They were not so accommodating. In that case, suspicion fell on everyone.

Why would Spain be immune to this fear? Indeed, Spain, the heart of the struggle against fascism domestically and internationally, was a place where one would see the most careful scrutiny of every perceived deviation from expected political behaviour. An iconoclast like Bethune – who delighted in rampaging over conventionality – could not fail to provoke suspicion. And what would be the easiest way to dispose of such a maverick? To report that he was sleeping with a woman whose "morality" was doubtful. To complain that he misspent money intended for the "struggle." To say that he was rarely at his desk, and instead was gallivanting around the country – even if he was speeding blood supplies to the

front lines or testing the capacity of new equipment to deliver blood over widely separated battlefronts.

All these charges, and more that were patently absurd, were thrown at him. In this way, Bethune's challenges to convention, to hierarchies, to accepted medical norms, became "misbehaviour," and he could be unceremoniously run out of the country, despite his immense contribution to the anti-fascist struggle. The fact that the authors of *Phoenix* persist in speaking of Bethune's "behaviour" as the cause of him leaving Spain and do not adequately address the deeply fractured and complex political environment in Spain and Europe is a significant weakness. And it speaks, intriguingly, to the need for a more nuanced and all-embracing political assessment of that important moment in Bethune's life.

Phoenix, then, is an immense contribution to our understanding of a complex man in a highly conflicted time. But it is not the final word on Bethune – contrary to the views of conservatives who would happily lay to rest further discussion about an intriguing, tormenting, and tormented figure.

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Denyse Baillargeon, *Brève histoire des femmes au Québec* (Montréal: Boréal 2012)

IL FAUT SALUER la parution de ce petit livre bien documenté, relatant l'histoire des femmes depuis quatre siècles. S'inscrivant dans la lignée de l'histoire globale des femmes amorcée par *Quatre siècles d'histoire des femmes* du Collectif Clio, ce livre nous donne à voir, de façon claire et concise, la place des femmes au sein d'une histoire nationale en train de se faire. L'effort de synthèse y est d'autant

plus louable que c'est un exercice peu prisé des historiens, qui préfèrent le style de la monographie pour établir leur science. Mais l'auteure est bien placée pour réaliser cette synthèse, elle qui a publié des études originales dans le domaine.

S'inscrivant dans la tradition de l'histoire sociale, cet ouvrage relate, en huit chapitres concis, les grands et petits événements de l'histoire des femmes, dans une perspective de genre, où hommes et femmes, micro-histoire et grande histoire nationale se côtoient pour former une chaîne qui nous conduit de la Nouvelle-France à nos jours. L'auteure réussit à éviter l'écueil d'une histoire linéaire ou téléologique, dont le féminisme et les droits des femmes seraient l'unique fil conducteur. C'est donc résolument une histoire qui vise à inscrire les femmes dans tous les aspects de la vie sociale et politique du Québec que l'auteure s'est attelée à réaliser, au prix et aux dépens d'une histoire problématisée autour des grands débats qui agitent le champ, désormais étendu, de l'histoire des femmes et du genre, au Québec et au Canada. Mais comme tout choix, celui-ci a ses contraintes. La somme des travaux réalisés depuis une quarantaine d'années pour relater cette histoire, somme toute relativement nouvelle, permet à l'auteure d'alimenter sa réflexion, même si les références aux grands débats historiographiques n'apparaissent qu'en filigrane dans le texte.

Son premier chapitre, « Amérindiennes et Françaises à l'époque coloniale », établit en parallèle la place de ces femmes à l'époque de la colonisation de la vallée du Saint-Laurent au 17^e siècle. Les espaces distincts où vivent les nations autochtones qui vont être colonisées par les Français et les missionnaires catholiques traduisent la distance qui sépare leurs modes de vie et leurs façons de faire. Sans aborder l'impact des missions des Ursulines et des

Augustines sur la vie des Autochtones, sur leur santé ou sur leur éducation et en évitant d'entrer dans le débat sur les effets délétères de la colonisation sur les populations amérindiennes, l'auteure se fait ethnographe pour décrire le travail des femmes dans ce contexte pionnier, celui des domestiques comme celui des femmes de l'élite dans les entreprises familiales. Quant à considérer le Régime français comme un âge d'or pour les femmes, l'auteure s'y refuse, préférant considérer toutes ces femmes comme dominées dans cette société patriarcale.

Son second chapitre qui porte sur le Régime britannique (1780 à 1840) nuance les effets de la Conquête et souligne l'importance de la fin de la guerre de l'indépendance américaine comme élément marquant de la transformation de la composition ethno-linguistique du Québec (40). L'Acte constitutionnel de 1791 permet aux femmes propriétaires de voter, même si elles ne sont pas éligibles, et de travailler, essentiellement selon l'auteure, dans l'univers domestique. De fait, la liste des multiples métiers exercés par des femmes, dressée en 1825 par Jacques Viger, le futur maire de Montréal (46), et qui s'étend encore davantage plus tard (68), témoigne d'une réalité où les femmes occupent des emplois très diversifiés et pas nécessairement contraints à la sphère domestique, constat que fait aussi Sylvie Schweitzer pour l'Europe.

Les événements qui mènent aux Rébellions de 1837 et 1838, et les hommes qui les ont dirigées sont l'occasion pour l'auteure de revenir sur la difficile question du retrait du droit de vote des femmes. Baillargeon considère que les Patriotes ont intérêt à maintenir la transmission de la propriété et du pouvoir économique entre les mains des hommes. En liant citoyenneté et propriété, ils sont conduits à exclure les femmes du droit de vote et d'éligibilité, convaincus qu'ils protègent

leur modestie et leur décence. Adeptes de la séparation sexuée des sphères (la politique aux hommes, la famille aux femmes), le républicanisme des Patriotes lui apparaît comme une des façons d'exclure les femmes de la vie politique (56). Cette exclusion des femmes de la sphère publique chez les républicains, ici comme aux États-Unis ou en France, a toutefois pour effet d'élargir et de consolider le rôle des femmes dans la sphère privée, où elles sont appelées à déployer leurs talents d'éducatrices à la citoyenneté, par exemple. Certaines historiennes, comme Linda Kerber, y ont vu l'amorce d'une République maternelle (*Republican Motherhood*), où les femmes sont appelées à exercer leur pouvoir. Cette répartition inégalitaire des pouvoirs entre le privé et le public a conduit à maintenir les femmes dans des positions de dominées. Toutefois, la séparation républicaine des sphères, outre qu'elle est souvent symbolique, ce que Baillargeon indique à de nombreuses reprises dans son texte, a aussi pour corollaire la résurgence de l'engagement social des femmes ainsi que la naissance de la revendication de droits égaux. De fait, c'est à la suite de cette exclusion formelle que la plupart des mouvements de femmes, y compris les groupes philanthropiques, feront du suffrage leur revendication principale.

La période de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation du Québec (de 1840 à 1920), qui fait l'objet des troisième et quatrième chapitres de l'ouvrage, est celle des grands bouleversements. L'émigration massive d'un demi-million de Canadiens français en quête de travail vers les États de la Nouvelle-Angleterre principalement, ainsi que l'exode qui fait affluer des jeunes filles des campagnes vers les villes, et en particulier à Montréal, transforment considérablement les conditions de vie des femmes. Ces dernières contribuent à tous les niveaux aux changements en cours, que

ce soit comme éducatrices ou soignantes, au sein de communautés religieuses ou comme laïques, dans des organisations philanthropiques ou syndicales, dans des regroupements féministes mixtes ou confessionnels. Pour Baillargeon, les transformations du capitalisme industriel conduisent à des changements dans les rapports de genre, sans pour autant changer les rapports de domination de la société patriarcale. L'accès différencié des francophones et des anglophones aux études supérieures ainsi qu'aux professions libérales apparaît comme une nouvelle réalité, liée aux revendications féministes et philanthropiques de femmes de la bourgeoisie et des classes moyennes (112). Ce mouvement dit de la première vague annonce par bien des aspects la « modernisation » de la société québécoise.

Baillargeon note l'émergence de nouveaux modèles féminins, durant l'entre-deux-guerres, encouragée par les magazines féminins et par l'essor de la société de consommation. Mais c'est dans le contexte de la lutte entre les classes qu'elle perçoit les changements dans les rapports de genre. Ainsi, la grève des 5000 midinettes déclenchée en 1937 pour de meilleures conditions de travail permet à l'auteure de se pencher sur l'engagement militant des femmes. Le syndicalisme se conjugue alors au féminin, tant chez les infirmières que chez les institutrices que parmi les ouvrières et les employées de plus en plus nombreuses. En même temps, et à l'instar de ce qui se passe dans de nombreux autres pays occidentaux, la maternité devient un enjeu public important, même si ce n'est pas le problème de la natalité qui suscite cette préoccupation comme en France, puisque le taux de fécondité des Québécoises reste encore très élevé. Ce sont plutôt des préoccupations morales et religieuses (le péril national ou l'idéologie cléricalo-nationaliste selon les historiens) qui

conduisent à la réitération d'un discours familialiste, qui relègue à l'arrière-plan les revendications maternalistes portées par certains groupes féministes et retarde d'autant l'adoption du suffrage des femmes. Seule la réforme du statut juridique des femmes, qui a fait l'objet d'une Commission (Dorion), préconisant la reconnaissance aux femmes mariées du droit à la propriété de leur salaire, sera adoptée durant cette période (148).

La période de la Révolution tranquille (chapitre 6, « Une société en profonde mutation : 1940–1965 ») ainsi que « la révolution féministe » (chapitre 7, 1966–1989) font une large place à la contribution des femmes aux grandes mutations de la société québécoise contemporaine. L'impact de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale sur l'emploi durable des femmes (en particulier celui des femmes mariées) dans tous les secteurs est majeur. De même, la résurgence du mouvement féministe, qui fait une dénonciation en règle des inégalités entre les femmes et les hommes, conduit à l'éclatement des anciens modèles de femmes, comme ménagères ou comme mères de famille. Si la pilule permet aussi la révolution sexuelle et la baisse draconienne des naissances et des mariages, l'on doit à cette révolution l'avancée majeure des femmes dans tous les domaines de la vie sociale et économique.

Leur stagnation et même le recul du mouvement féministe (annoncé des ministres en 1989) sont dus, selon Baillargeon, à la montée du néo-libéralisme. Malgré les avancées de certaines des femmes dans le secteur de l'éducation supérieure, dans tous les domaines d'emploi avec une certaine équité salariale et dans certains lieux de pouvoir, les inégalités restent patentées. Les divisions, au sein des féminismes québécois, sur l'orientation sexuelle (radicales, lesbiennes, LBGT...), sur la question

nationale (immigrantes, amérindiennes, anglophones...), sur la prostitution, sur la pornographie, etc., expliquent aussi en partie cette nouvelle configuration. Plutôt qu'assagis ou légitimes (243), ces mouvements féministes multiformes, malgré leurs divisions, me semblent présenter deux traits principaux. Ils ont permis l'existence d'un féminisme d'État fortement institutionnalisé qui garantit d'une certaine façon l'égalité formelle entre femmes et hommes et un féminisme de contestation qui tente de pousser les frontières des rapports de genre pour rendre acceptable socialement ce qui ne l'était pas (le mariage homosexuel par exemple). Pour ma part, je considère qu'ils témoignent éloquemment de la vitalité des mouvements de femmes qui font du Québec une société où les rapports de pouvoir entre les femmes et les hommes sont désormais ouvertement posés et en constante redéfinition.

Cette brève histoire des femmes au Québec brosse donc un tableau synthétique des avancées des droits des femmes, mais pas uniquement. Denyse Baillargeon a su faire à la fois une histoire des femmes et une histoire des féminismes. Essentiellement préoccupée à retracer la place qu'elles occupent dans la société québécoise, l'auteure parvient à inscrire les femmes dans une certaine narration nationale. On pourrait lui reprocher de ne pas envisager cette histoire dans son contexte canadien, qui n'apparaît que de façon épisodique, mais il semble bien que cette division linguistique et nationale des historiographies est là pour rester, bien que tout le monde la déplore et la dénonce... (Je suis toujours étonnée de constater, en lisant les thèses et travaux des collègues anglophones, combien cette séparation, qui redouble l'ignorance de l'historiographie de l'histoire des femmes, est répandue.)

Plus fondamentalement, cet ouvrage reste ancré dans une vision de l'histoire des

femmes encore largement déterministe, faisant des femmes des victimes de la société patriarcale, capitaliste et néo-libérale. Malgré des tentatives de désenclaver cette histoire et de conférer aux femmes une certaine capacité d'agir, celle-ci se dilue dans une périodisation trop large pour pouvoir en identifier les principaux effets. La chronologie comme les titres des chapitres sont ceux d'une histoire globale dans laquelle l'auteure veut insérer les femmes. On ne voit pas vraiment quelle est leur contribution particulière, comment elles ont pu influencer sur des événements, si elles sont parties prenantes des politiques publiques, éléments qui sont bien documentés maintenant, mais ignorés dans cet ouvrage.

On se retrouve donc aujourd'hui, après quarante de recherche en histoire des femmes dans une situation semblable à celle des années 1970, où les divisions idéologiques entre féministes déterminent des interprétations historiques et définissent des clans historiographiques. C'est d'autant plus regrettable que cette histoire devient non seulement partielle mais aussi partiale...

Ainsi, tout un pan de l'historiographie des femmes du Québec, qui ne concorde pas avec l'interprétation que fait l'auteure de l'histoire des femmes, est absent de son cadre de référence. Je pense en particulier à la minorisation de la contribution des féminismes maternalistes (dont les Cercles de Fermières mais aussi la Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, la YWCA, etc.) dans le déploiement du féminisme québécois contemporain. Si les divergences de point de vue sont l'essence même de notre travail, et la discussion, le débat son moteur, il m'apparaît essentiel d'en rendre compte correctement. Ignorer les travaux qui ne concordent pas avec sa vision de l'histoire, c'est amputer nos connaissances de l'Histoire et s'exposer à des critiques légitimes. Alors

que la synthèse de nos connaissances sur le sujet est plus que jamais nécessaire et l'effort réalisé par Denyse Baillargeon plus que louable.

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Dale Barbour, *Winnipeg Beach: Leisure and Courtship in a Resort Town, 1900–1967* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2011)

DALE BARBOUR'S *Winnipeg Beach* is a compact account of the evolution of a Manitoba resort town from its founding by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1901 until 1967, the year the dance hall, roller coaster, and boardwalk were demolished. It pays particular attention to the intersection of heterosexual courtship and leisure at Winnipeg Beach. Barbour makes clear that the history of sexuality is not ancillary to other aspects of everyday life in the past. To the contrary, the book is evidence of the ways in which sexuality is central to the constitution of space, the creation of community, and the development of cultures of leisure. As visitors made their way to the boardwalk at Winnipeg Beach on the Moonlight Train, they were not just constructing the town as a space of leisure, but also as a heterosexual space.

Winnipeg Beach is Barbour's master's thesis transformed, aided by the author's training as a journalist. As a work of local history, it provides an engaging and colourful account of Winnipeg Beach that focuses on the early part of the 20th century. The book is organized thematically. In the later chapters, Barbour considers the transportation corridor that moved people to and from the beach, the tourism infrastructure that developed to house visitors, and the activities that occupied them in the leisure zone (the beach and boardwalk). The book concludes with

an examination of the changes wrought by the car and the decline of Winnipeg Beach as an amusement area.

Whereas other historians have located both the rise and fall of the resort in relation to the changing fortunes of the railway, Barbour maintains the importance of different courting rituals for understanding the evolution of Winnipeg Beach. Barbour divides the history of the town into three periods. Prior to World War I, the community was a model of British middle-class leisure devoted to the pursuit of healthful recreation in nature. Courting was the dominant mode of heterosexual encounter and was typically located in the private spaces of the beach, including the homes and verandahs of campers. The "transition from calling to dating helped to launch the resort's golden years": the 1920s and 1930s. (13) In this period, the commercial boardwalk replaced private spaces as the focal point of the emerging practice of dating. In the postwar era, Winnipeg Beach waned as a space of mass amusement. While the decline of the railway and the rise of the car were not insignificant to this transition, Barbour argues that it was also related to the shift from dating to "the more sexually active form of courtship that is linked with the sexual and cultural changes of the 1950s and 1960s." (13)

Barbour positions his study alongside work conducted on other amusement spaces, namely New York's Coney Island and England's Blackpool, while also making connections to similar leisure spaces in Canada that have received less scholarly attention, such as Toronto's Sunnyside Beach and Regina Beach in Saskatchewan. Somewhat surprisingly, Barbour omits any substantive discussion of Karen Dubinsky's *The Second Greatest Disappointment* (Toronto 1999), an important account of mass tourism and heterosexuality at Niagara Falls. Like the international literature, Barbour's

analysis of Winnipeg Beach centres on the liminality of the resort as a place not only where water met land and nature met culture, but also where “rules and boundaries could be challenged.” (3) It is a familiar interpretative framework, both for beaches and leisure spaces, and one Barbour might have interrogated further. Not only were there limits to challenging the rules and boundaries of the beach, but also Barbour’s evidence suggests that order and discipline were as common, if not more so, than disorder and freedom. The very fact that men and women needed to seek out the darkness of the beach or play husband and wife to gain access to a rented room suggests the limits of an interpretation that emphasizes an inversion of social norms.

To reconstruct the world of Winnipeg Beach, Barbour draws primarily on newspaper sources (including advertisements, classifieds, the Winnipeg Beach column, and articles) and oral history. The latter includes eighteen interviews that the author conducted as part of his research, as well as two pre-existing oral history projects. Barbour quotes extensively from the interview subjects, which at once personalizes the account and reinforces his contention that “the book is as much their work as it is [his].” (x) Barbour claims in the opening note on sources to be interested in the representation of Winnipeg Beach in visual culture, and yet only on a handful of occasions does he include an explicit reading of a photograph, this despite the fact that the book is full of images. While I enjoyed seeing Winnipeg Beach, a more critical engagement with the visual evidence, in particular a consideration of the authorship and intent of the images, might have yielded further insight into the construction of Winnipeg Beach as a space of heterosocial leisure.

Readers of *Labour/Le Travail* will appreciate the extended discussion of work in Chapter 2. Barbour pays close

attention to the labour that enabled the experiences of play so central to a trip to Winnipeg Beach. He is particularly attuned to gender. He shows, for instance, how employment both in the community and in specific workplaces such as the Dance Palace fell along gendered lines. In this way, the book disrupts the representation of vacation spots as merely places of leisure. More attention might have been paid to interactions between the workers and vacationers. *Winnipeg Beach* intimates that many of the seasonal workers on the boardwalk were drawn from the population of campers, suggesting that the lines between worker and vacationer were perhaps not as stark as at more elite resorts such as Saratoga Springs or Banff Springs.

The book would have also benefitted from a more nuanced account of the ethnic interactions at the beach. Barbour makes clear that much of Winnipeg’s “cultural mosaic” was represented at Winnipeg Beach, although he cautions against conceiving of the beach as a “cultural melting pot.” (6) He notes, for instance, that unlike American resorts where race relations turned on white versus black, identity formation at Winnipeg Beach owes much to the resort’s place in a colonial society. In other words, visitors to Winnipeg Beach collectively identified themselves in relation to Aboriginal people. While this may be true, it ignores the microphysics of relations within and between the groups that visited and worked at the beach. Barbour’s extended discussion on the subject focuses almost exclusively on Jewish patrons, raising questions about perceptions of and interactions with, to name just a few, the German, Ukrainian, and Icelandic communities that appear in the book.

Similarly, while Barbour includes some accounts of same-sex experiences in chapter two, he does not integrate or theorize this material in a way that

allows him to confirm or complicate his characterization of Winnipeg Beach as a heterosexual space. Here, and in the ways mentioned above, *Winnipeg Beach* would have benefitted from a more critical engagement with the relevant theoretical literature in order to provide a more complex and precise account of social relations at Winnipeg Beach. The book would also have benefitted from tighter editing and organization in the transformation from thesis to monograph. These limitations aside, *Winnipeg Beach* nevertheless contributes to the growing fields of leisure history and the history of sexuality in Canada.

JESSICA DUNKIN
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Joe Martin, ed., *Relentless Change: A Casebook for the Study of Canadian Business History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2010)

THE STUDY OF Canada's business development can teach valuable lessons. Improved decision-making processes can contribute to better outcomes and continue the progress that has made Canada the wealthy society it is today. (xii) Joe Martin's work emerges from this view: it celebrates business success, trying to show where entrepreneurs "got it right"; entrepreneurial failures appear, but "progress" prevails. That progress, writes Martin, occurs when politicians or administrators either stayed out of the way or helped business. Regulatory governments show up as villains. That this *is* pro-business history is also clear as one searches in vain for labour in the bibliography and index. One might ask who worked at reshaping the Hudson's Bay Company, making machines for Massey-Harris, mining for International Nickel, or developing the oil sands. Global economies, too, are praised in discussion of

the National Energy Policy (237), limits to the Free Trade Agreement, or the consequent commitment to deliver the United States oil. (322) After all, Martin notes, integration with the States "made economic sense." (226)

The point here is not to dismiss the book, but to point out its goal is not balanced economic history – it emphasizes how elite entrepreneurs built their firms. Or, less often, what they *failed* to do on the way to corporate chaos. Readers interested in broader visions of business including environmental impacts, human consequences of business, and "mixed" results for "economic progress" need look elsewhere. These case studies, interspersed with useful if very sweeping and succinct introductions, celebrate "relentless progress," not just *Relentless Change*. Readers not using the "case" method may find the cases limiting. This restriction is natural: one person's crucial case is another's lesser issue. One could certainly challenge the choices, which range from the 1850s to the last decade. First, one could critique the omission of early staples. Why almost nothing from electricity or agriculture (the Massey-Harris case is on manufacturing)? How about "public" business – Polymer Corporation comes to mind?

The answers lie partly in the book's background: Martin developed the cases to serve his own course, which focuses "upon Canadian business as it evolved beyond the initial staples phase." (xiii) Martin co-authored several cases, with others provided by contributors ranging from academics to young scholars to businessmen. (viii) Besides Martin, the most influential contributor was Stewart Melanson, then a PhD student at the Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto. A teaching assistant in Martin's course, Melanson wrote four of the thirteen case studies and aided in formulating the text. (viii)

Martin and company worked within the Stern Diamond Model, which contends that sustainable economies grow through the interaction of enabling political systems, effective financial systems, quality entrepreneurship, and sophisticated management. (xii) Thus all the cases have four elements: discussions of public policy, financial systems and circumstances, the role of entrepreneurs, and the manner in which corporations were managed once they achieved substantial size. (xiii) Sometimes that tactic requires rather weakly linked addendums of material – in the case of Eaton’s, a two-page addendum bringing us decades ahead to Wal-Mart. (156–157) The chronology itself is open to debate: although it reflects the case studies, one might wonder about 1905 as an end point to the National Policy era, or 1905 to 1955 as another era. Besides this shared framework, the cases, and four, era-based introductions provide useful data through appendices and charts, not least a series of “Top 30” firm listings.

More questions might be raised about the introductions to each “Part,” as outlining half a century in twenty pages or so results in sweeping generalities. For instance, in Part 3, retail gets half a page, room only to name the major firms. (171) Similarly, the complex takeover of Canada’s major mining firms after 1990 gets a few lines. Someone using this text would need supplementary material. Arguably, this requirement lessens the text’s utility: if adding material, why not adopt that best suited to *your* course, rather than fitting in bits and pieces? To be fair, the introductions provide useful overviews, especially if you already have some background.

The case studies, on the other hand, often offer minutia. Take Case 10, “The Free Trade Agreement and the Canadian Wine Industry.” It digs deep into Inniskillen’s history (even details on barn renovation

(266–267), and reminds us of the inimitable “Baby Duck.” (271) Fun to know, but in sharp contrast to sweeping generalities elsewhere; the massive impact of cars, for example, gets but a few lines. (120) In an unusual move, several cases use “imaginary” material; will students read the fine print stating that the conversation with Prime Minister Macdonald, or the report on Banking and Currency are imagined? (23–36) This is an interesting but risky device.

Variability is also characteristic of the cases. Some are sound overviews, others clearly admire the actors. Hart Massey seems a near-heroic figure in Case 3: “The Story of Massey Harris.” Overall, the *consequences* of entrepreneurial “genius” get short shrift apart from passing reference to Schumpeter’s “creative destruction.” Martin concedes losses caused by Conrad Black, Jack Gallagher, and Robert Campeau (251), but argues that gains emerging from the destruction outweigh the costs. (91) The Conclusion avoids the issue by using a more innocuous Schumpeter phrase: “continuous evolutionary process.” (354)

Such attitudes limit criticism of “economic progress.” Entrepreneurs are heroic males (to be fair, history records few major female entrepreneurs in Canada until recently). Pro-business themes permeate the book: free trade trumps tariffs; regulation is negative; government “intervention” is “intrusive.” (79) In the case of electrical utilities, the book claims that Ontario’s government “disrupted” the very private enterprise that sought public takeover. (11) Similarly, coverage of the 1950s to 1970s suggests growing “hostility” by government toward business, yet concludes it was a “remarkably stable era for business.” (274)

The *very* pro-free enterprise view is Martin’s prerogative. What is troubling is that opinion sometimes merges with *fact*. Readers are given few clues that private

enterprise has many foes, or that there are friends of government intervention. While this book is a class text with obligations to students and most partaking of business courses are “free enterprisers,” it is crucial that students *learn* to differentiate *perspective* from *fact*. Martin himself states that the “purpose of studying business history is not to know the details of the past but to understand the future.” (xiv) Understanding means awareness of differing views, not being provided with one.

To close on a perhaps ironic note, the “creative destruction” of history itself influences *Relentless Change*. As the title notes, nothing stands still: some of the case studies are “aging.” That is certainly not Joe Martin’s fault, but comments on oil pricing and the like can ring false. In the end, the merits of *Relentless Change* depend upon one’s opinion on how to teach business history and, more broadly, on business itself. For my part, this is not a “stand alone text,” but a useful resource if one has the luxury of additional readings. *Relentless Change* is rather like many of the businesses examined: real achievements won but not enough for market dominance.

PETER V. KRATS
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Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechthold, and Matt Symes, eds., *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press 2012)

WHY A COLLECTION of essays in honour of Terry Copp? Copp, professor emeritus at Wilfrid Laurier University, co-founder and director of the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, and prolific historian, is best known for his work on the subject of Canada’s participation in World War

II. The authors of these collected essays share a common bond: many (perhaps all; it is not clear from the author biographies section included in the book) were students of, or are colleagues of, or have co-written works with Copp. It is safe to assume, however, that whether or not they all know him personally, all are familiar with his work and his reputation as one of Canada’s preeminent World War II historians and, as such, consider him a mentor.

The list of authors featured in this publication includes academics, graduate students, active military officers, and a journalist – but all are well qualified academically to contribute to this collection of scholarly essays. The essays themselves are organized into five themes. “The Home Front” is the largest section, containing five articles, followed by “The War of the Scientists,” with three. The next two sections delve directly into combat operations: “The Mediterranean Theatre” (four essays, including one in French: “La culture tactique Canadienne” by Yves Tremblay, about 1944’s Operation Chesterfield); and “Northwest Europe” (also comprised of four essays). Three interesting articles under the heading “The Aftermath” round out the collection.

Obviously, the topics in such a collection are varied and eclectic, something which is often a weakness of such publications. In this case, however, the essays succeed, for the most part, in complementing each other. What ties them together, beyond the very general theme of Canadian participation in World War II, is that, taken together, they show how the study of Canadian military history – specifically, World War II history – fits into the broader subject of the study and interpretation of Canadian history, and the evolution of the field. This is why a book of essays in honour of Terry Copp makes sense. The opening essay, in particular – “Terry Copp’s Approach to History”

by Mark Osborne Humphries – breaks down Copp’s own philosophy of, and methodology in, the study of history, explaining how these evolved, and how they shaped Copp’s work, including his teaching. Humphries situates Copp’s methodology into the larger context of the field of history. (One of the “Home Front” essays, “How C.P. Stacey Became the Army’s Official Historian” by Roger Sarty, also contributes to this.) Humphries’ summary of Copp’s way of “doing history” provides an interesting glimpse into the way a historian’s mind works (and the notes reveal that Copp read drafts of this article, suggesting that Humphries’ description of Copp’s thinking processes is accurate). This essay succeeded in enticing me to read the essays that followed; I wanted to see examples of how Copp did, in fact, influence his students and colleagues.

The “Home Front” section of essays covers such diverse topics as Canadian youth during the war, and First Nations participation in the war effort. Of particular note is Mark Bourrie’s fascinating piece about the role of journalists as part of the Canadian war machine. Himself a journalist, Bourrie describes how Canada’s press censorship system operated during the war, and introduces us to some of the key personalities involved.

Andrew Iarocci’s essay about Canadian drivers and mechanical transport during both world wars is framed by his experience as former Collections Manager of the Transportation and Artillery Collection at the Canadian War Museum. He delves into questions not often considered, for example the difficulties inherent in the introduction of mechanical transport, including how to find, recruit and train skilled drivers and mechanics in an age when the automotive industry was still so new.

Iarocci, and several of the other authors, include references to Copp’s work

and methodology in their essays, illustrating how it informed or shaped or inspired their own research. Such references add cohesion to the essay collection; it would have been beneficial if all of the authors had been required to include at least some brief reflection in their essays as to how Copp’s work influenced their own. All three of the book’s editors, who also contributed articles themselves, make reference to Copp’s work in their own essays; it is too bad that, as editors, they did not require the same of all of the authors.

Often such collections of essays vary not only in specific subject matter, but also in writing style and readability. In this case, all of the essays are well written and highly readable, marred only by the occasional incorrectly placed, or missing, comma, and a few other small typographical errors, which occasionally hamper the flow of the text. Despite the overall good writing, there was great variation in the quality of the footnoting: some essays are carefully and impeccably footnoted, while others were more vague and left me guessing as to whom, exactly, certain quoted sentences and phrases should be attributed. Cynthia Comacchio’s essay on Canadian youth during the war, for example, fascinated me with its topic, but left me guessing as to the exact attribution and what types of documents were being cited within the essay, even as I constantly referred to her footnotes while reading. Photographs and other illustrations are included throughout the book; unfortunately, not all have credits indicating the source. Similarly, only one of the several maps included indicates the source.

The concluding essay, by Jonathan Vance, discusses the differences, and similarities, in the way the two world wars have been remembered and memorialized by Canadians. In covering both world wars Vance’s article, like Iarocci’s,

may seem like a stretch for a collection specifically focused on World War II; instead, these two essays make perfect sense, providing context and a sense of continuum. World War II did not occur in a vacuum. All historical events are part of a larger context, and all historiography owes a debt to the historians and historiography that preceded it. These essays, the majority of which show how a senior historian has influenced and shaped the work of his students and colleagues, provide proof of that, while also informing the reader about several unique aspects of Canadian participation in World War II.

ALDONA SENDZIKAS

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**Nicole Neatby and Peter Hodgins, eds.,
*Settling and Unsettling Memories: Essays
in Canadian Public History* (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press 2012)**

IN THE 1990s Canadian historians began adopting new cultural approaches to history. One of these emerged, in part, in response to the so-called “culture wars” then being waged in English-speaking countries over supposed threats to the historical canon of celebratory nation building. It gained momentum through the late 1990s and the first decade of the new century, and now enjoys widespread acceptance among Canadian scholars. Some call this particular approach “history and memory,” others prefer “memory studies,” and still others subsume it into the related discipline of public history. Indeed, the word “memory” has become so commonplace (at the same time stripping it of its original definition and its distinction from history) that perhaps it is time to take stock of Canadian memory studies.

In *Settling and Unsettling Memories*, Nicole Neatby and Peter Hodgins have produced what the volume’s introduction

describes as the first single, interdisciplinary volume on Canadian “sites of memory.” (8) After a brief introduction outlining the standard narrative of the intellectual roots of the approach, the book brings together eighteen chapters by eighteen authors from a range of disciplines including history, geography, literature, education, communications, and art history. But it is not the interdisciplinarity that is new. The majority of contributors describe themselves as professors of history, and a similar range of disciplines can be found in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Toronto 2004), edited by Peter Seixas, and produced by the same press. What distinguishes the current collection, then, is its exclusive focus on Canada.

Yet, the Canadian focus aside, it is difficult to discern exactly the purpose of this collection. The chapters are not the classics of Canadian scholarship on memory, although some might be described that way. Nor do they represent new approaches, although again some might be so characterized. Instead they represent a selection made by the editors of some studies of Canada’s “sites of memory.” This is fair enough, as the subtitle describes them unpretentiously as “Essays in Canadian Public History.” Certainly one can quibble over the inclusion of one article over another and editors need to balance the contributions to create a coherent whole, but surely this “first” collection could aspire to do more. As it is, *Settling and Unsettling Memories* is divided into five sections. The first is devoted to heroism and the remembering of heroes and heroic deeds. The second looks at teaching about history in the classroom and in the public sphere. The third section unpacks some of the construction of the nation building story, balanced with resistance to its easy narrative, primarily through the lenses of literature and the visual arts. The final two

sections examine tourism and commercial entertainments.

The collection does capture the bias in Canadian memory studies towards the 20th century, but as a review of the field up to 2012, it falls short. Foundational authors and central topics are simply ignored in this book. For instance, there is nothing in the volume on museums or on music and song, although admittedly these aspects of public history remain comparatively underdeveloped in Canada. But two other topics are conspicuous by their absence: parading and war commemoration.

Let us begin with parading. Studies of parades were among the foundational works in developing Canadian memory studies. Parade studies emerged on the one hand from social history studies of sectarianism and ethnic conflict. For instance, in the early 1990s, Michael Cottrell used St. Patrick's Day parades to uncover tensions in the strategies of protest and accommodation in negotiating legitimacy for Toronto's 19th-century Irish Catholics. At about the same time, Peter Goheen saw that parades could reveal popular conceptions of public space. These ideas became standard components of graduate theses by the end of the 1990s and laid the groundwork for Ronald Rudin's book *Founding Fathers* (Toronto 2003), probably the most famous study of parading in Canada. But aside from its centrality to the development of Canadian memory scholarship, parading is a valuable topic because it reveals the place of class in collective memories. Readers of this journal should be especially concerned about the lack of attention paid to questions of class in *Settling and Unsettling Memories*. The international literature on parading highlights class consciousness and parading was an important part of both Craig Heron and Steve Penfold's *The Workers' Festival* (Toronto 2005) and featured in

a 1996 theme issue of *Histoire sociale / Social History* on "Spectacle, Monument, and Memory," as just two domestic examples. As they show, class struggles can certainly be unsettling.

Similarly, considering the place of war commemoration in Canadian scholarship, this collection is muted on questions of martial memories. Arguably, war commemoration has been central to settling a Canadian national memory and has certainly been foundational in the development of memory studies in Canada. From Jonathan Vance's *Death So Noble* (Vancouver 1997) through David Lloyd's Commonwealth perspective to the works of legions of graduate students, war commemoration has become a standard topic. You would not know this from *Settling and Unsettling Memories*. It is not that memories of war are absent from the study. Ian Radforth's fascinating chapter on late 20th-century efforts at redress for wartime injustices committed by the Canadian government points to a new direction in Canadian scholarship. (It is a shame Radforth did not link Canadian issues with the global literature now emerging on redress and for "truth and reconciliation," but then the focus of the volume is Canada.) But the absence of war memories in this book distorts any understanding of how this field developed in this country.

What is most concerning about the collection is the editors' reluctance to grapple with a crucial question: after two decades of scholarship, is there a "Canadian" approach to the study of collective memory? The editors point to this collection's Canadianness as part of its justification, yet neglect to make a case for what is unique about Canada's contribution to the literature. One possibility might be that Canada is a bilingual country. The editors acknowledge the importance of French-language studies going back at least to the pathbreaking

accomplishments of the 1980s by CÉLAT, Quebec's Centre interuniversitaire d'études sur les lettres, les arts et les traditions. (10) Works on "mémoire," as opposed to memory, sprang from a different combination of intellectual fonts and have followed a distinct but parallel path in many ways. Yet, surprisingly, only four of the eighteen chapters deal with French-speaking parts of Canada and only one is written by a francophone scholar. The editors did not see fit to include the works of Jacques Mathieu, Christian Laville, Jocelyn Létourneau, or Patrice Groulx alongside those of H. V. Nelles and Cecilia Morgan. This is a missed opportunity. Canada's potential for cross-language discussion, however little it occurs, could be the starting point for an argument about what Canada can bring to the international literature on memory and public history.

Edited collections are odd titles for review. No book review provides the space for a thorough assessment of the disparate arguments and impacts of eighteen chapters. Each in this collection deserves to be read and the editors' interdisciplinary approach will hopefully cast some eyes on new methods. But taken together, the collection fails to capture the field in Canada in the last two decades and offers no manifesto for future directions.

ALAN GORDON

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Karen L. Wall, *Game Plan: A Social History of Sport in Alberta* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2012)

IN THIS MONOGRAPH, Karen L. Wall engages in an ambitious and wide-ranging examination of sport in Alberta from the period of Euro-Canadian settlement in the 1800s to the present. The discussion is presented in three parts. The first section, "Inventing Alberta Sports Culture,"

outlines Wall's social and cultural position based within the theoretical concept of modernization. Next, "Writing the Rule Book" focuses on "core" sports, both team and individual, played in either summer or winter. The third part, "The Social Body," assumes a theme-based approach that addresses specific questions related to sport's place in Alberta's social and cultural milieu. Topics examined here include social control, gender, risk and aggression, mass media, and community engagement. Assessing whether Wall adequately and effectively treats the broad range of questions surrounding the history of sport in Alberta will depend upon the reader's comfort with modernization theory and their familiarity with broader issues addressed in the study of the history of sport and specifically Canadian sport history. Ultimately, the question is whether Wall provides sufficient insight into the historical role of sport in Alberta while simultaneously engaging the sport enthusiast's interest in the topic.

Wall addresses the theoretical underpinnings of the study, primarily within the social concept of modernization, in the introduction. She provides the caveat that this approach seeks to avoid a deterministic view of sport development by recognizing that "active human engagement is as important as such economic trends as modernization and urbanization in explaining socio-cultural developments in leisure and sport." (10) She argues, therefore, that sport in Alberta developed over time, not necessarily uniformly, from traditional or unorganized activities to organized sport in the form of developed and organized social practices. This modernization thesis certainly will be received with some resistance from scholars actively engaged in the production of sport history, where increasingly arguments for cultural approaches that deconstruct understandings of sport

in society have become prominent. A consideration of the book's structure and organization, its content and analysis, and its sources, will show the strengths and limitations of Wall's project. It is important to note that her monograph is, in many respects, breaking new ground in Canadian sport history and the comments that follow must be considered in this light.

The two most substantial parts of *Game Plan* are the examinations of the core sports and the final set of chapters that provide a thematic approach centred on the concept of the social body. Organizing the discussion in this manner effectively provides several distinct entry points into the examination of Alberta's sport history, albeit at the expense of some repetition. This is evident, for example, in the case of the Edmonton Grads basketball team. (71–73, 241–242, 255–58, 315–16) Although teams such as the Grads provide an important window into the history of sport in the province, such examples could have been addressed more concisely. In fairness, given the breadth of topics and availability of research, Wall has had to make difficult decisions regarding specific topics to include. This awareness of the limitations of inclusion is evident in Wall's acknowledgement that the history of Aboriginal sport and specifically that of First Nations women in Alberta has not yet been sufficiently addressed. (19)

Wall must be credited for exploring the major social and cultural concerns related to sport in Alberta's history. In addition, the analysis provides a clear break from sport histories that have traditionally focused on men and the male sport experience. The author fully integrates the experiences of both males and females, along with "others." Throughout the text, Wall demonstrates a well-developed and nuanced approach to situating sport within broader social and cultural themes. For example, in the introduction

to Part Three of the book (183–188) she provides a lucid discussion of the concept of the social body as it relates to sport history. Yet, in other instances one is led to question the author's depth of understanding of Canadian sport history. For example, the discussion of the role of mid-20th century federal legislation in the form of the National Physical Fitness Act of 1943, and the links between this program's failure and the subsequent passing of the 1961 Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, is confusing and inadequately developed. A further example that caused pause for thought is a brief reference to the Mormon Church's role in promoting sport in southern Alberta, where it is noted that this group "were the first Americans to bring basketball training facilities to the region beginning in the 1870s." (37) Of course, basketball did not exist until its invention in 1891. This error may be typographical, but these are two of several examples that unfortunately distract from the otherwise well considered analysis of sport's social role in Alberta.

One of the most important contributions of *Game Plan* to the field of sport history is the compilation of primary and secondary source materials. Additionally, the images and photographs interspersed throughout the text provide vivid connection to the individuals who have lived the sporting history of the province. These sources are understandably dominated by Alberta's two largest cities, Edmonton and Calgary, although materials are also gleaned from smaller centres including, for example, Banff, Viking, and Granum. However a significant oversight in the "Public Archive Collections" (436–38) accessed is the Medicine Hat Archives at the Esplanade Arts and Heritage Centre. Additionally, a number of secondary sources published prior to 2010 are not present, including a book chapter on hockey and a journal article examining

the origins of rodeo in southern Alberta (written by this reviewer) published in 2009 and 2007 respectively. A further concern is that of inadequate referencing as, at times, insufficient information is provided within the endnotes. These are issues that detract from an otherwise a well-researched work.

This book represents a valuable reference guide for students and researchers involved in the study of sport in Canada and in Alberta's past. However, as a sport history instructor, I would not employ this work as an undergraduate course text for two reasons; Kinesiology programs generally do not offer sport history courses at the provincial or regional level, and the length and structure of the text suits a graduate rather than undergraduate audience. *Game Plan* is, though, an important contribution to the field in its contribution to the growing body of literature concerned with Canadian sport history at the political and social space below the national level. Ultimately, Wall has compiled a cogent history of sport in Alberta while engaging and integrating individuals and groups who comprise the margins of sport in the province.

ROBERT S. KOSSUTH
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Christine Ramsay, ed., *Making it Like a Man: Canadian Masculinities in Practice* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press 2011)

THE STUDY OF MASCULINITY is a relatively recent phenomenon. It has only been since the rise of contemporary feminism in the 1960s and 1970s that critical analyses of masculinity have emerged. In Canada in particular, critical analyses of manhood are relatively few in number, although the literature is growing. Christine Ramsay's edited collection, *Making it Like a Man*, offers a significant and welcome contribution to the growing

body of work on masculinity. Considered as a whole, *Making it Like a Man* is a groundbreaking study of Canadian masculinity in art, culture, and film. The text is one of the first to interrogate Canadian masculinity from a cultural perspective and joins with other similar work in offering a corrective to mainstream visions of manhood.

The contributors to this collection come from a variety of academic disciplines. The book's essays take on many different subject matters from visual arts to sexuality and gender studies to Canadian literature and, perhaps most strongly, film studies. In her introduction, Ramsay properly states that the essays in *Making it Like a Man* focus on the "representation of men's gender practices in specifically Canadian arts and cultures." (xv) In interrogating and challenging the traditional – white, heterosexual, and able-bodied – perception of Canadian masculinity in art and culture, the text succeeds magnificently.

Making it Like a Man contains many essays that will interest scholars of Canadian film, art, music, and literature. The book is divided into five sections, each of which deals with a particular aspect of Canadian masculinity. The essays have many strengths. In a section entitled "Emotional Geographies of Anxiety, Eros, and Impairment," I was struck by Piet Defraye's deconstruction of Attila Richard Lukacs' paintings. Defraye demonstrates the homoerotic elements of Lukacs' work, as well as the influence of European, especially German, erotic art. Defraye connects Canadian cultural studies with the broader study of masculinities worldwide.

This international focus is also present in the first section of the book, "Identity, Agency, and Manliness in the Colonial and the National." Jarett Henderson's fine essay integrates the study of masculinity and gender into the context of colonial

Western Canada during the late 19th century. Henderson makes it clear that notions of acceptable manhood were key to the establishment of a white, settler society in Western Canada. "Civilizing" the West meant introducing immigrants – men and women – who would subscribe to conventional definitions of what it meant to be male and female. Henderson's piece is followed by Michael Brendan Baker's account of the masculine images present within National Film Board (NFB) movies during World War II. As a Canadian historian, I found both of these essays to be particularly groundbreaking in introducing gendered themes into Canada's past.

The section entitled "The Minority Male" will be especially useful for Canadian and international scholars and activists concerned about Aboriginal and minority masculinity. Charity Marsh's sensitive analysis of indigeneity, masculinity, and "gangsta" rap in Regina is representative of the essays in this section. Marsh discusses the experiences of a particular kind of minority masculinity – Aboriginal gang members in Regina's North Central neighbourhood – and offers a strong critique both of "gangsta" masculinity and, more trenchantly, of colonialism, racism, and the construction of Canada as a settler society. Kit Dobson's interrogation of Douglas Coupland's novel *Generation X* (New York 1991), in a section entitled "Capitalized, Corporatized, Compromised Men," offers a similar perspective. These essays speak to what is perhaps the central purpose of the book: to interrogate the conventional perception of Canadian masculinity and discuss how it might be overcome, even by people – academics, scholars, and cultural workers – who benefit from the dominant view of masculinity.

The fifth and final section of the text, "Abject Masculinities," dissects heterosexuality through the study of various

mediums. Thomas Waugh presents a fine account of the heteronormative nature of much Canadian cinema. Waugh's essay includes a section where he critiques *The Boys of St. Vincent* and *The Sheldon Kennedy Story*, two films dealing with the topic of sexual abuse of boys. I found this section to be particularly revealing of the heterosexist base of traditional Canadian culture with its focus on the "Northern" nature of Canada and its virile "men of the woods" themes. In the same section, Bobby Noble's essay on the history of drag kings in Toronto suggests that marginalized groups can perform, and thereby undercut, traditional masculinity.

In spite of its many strengths, *Making it Like a Man* has a narrow focus. It is very much a text that would fit in with the Canadian studies or cultural studies disciplines. I suspect that many readers of *Labour/Le Travail* will find many of the essays to be of limited interest. The study of class relations among men and especially of working-class and union masculinities is notably absent. None of the essays discuss masculinity in conjunction with work, workers, and the labour movement. This is a strange omission since there is now a good deal of suggestive material dealing with masculinity and its connections with work and workers. Including even one or two essays that dealt explicitly with masculinity and work would only have added to the diverse perspectives represented here. Similarly, most of the essays deal with the *representation* of masculinity in various forms of media. Charity Marsh's essay on "gangsta" rap and Bobby Noble's piece on drag kings are notable exceptions. The actual lived *experiences* of men (and women for that matter) are oddly absent. This is a problem for this reader: the traditional conception of masculinity, and patriarchy itself, must be countered by activism on the streets, not simply with deconstructions of art, music, and film.

Since most of the authors in the volume want to see an end to hierarchical and heterosexist conceptions of manhood, this is a troubling absence.

Nonetheless, Christine Ramsay and the authors included here are to be congratulated for providing Canadian scholars with a diverse group of essays that will add a great deal to our knowledge of masculinity and gender in the Canadian context. Ramsay's work will no doubt become a standard textbook for courses in gender and sexuality studies, media studies, and Canadian studies. No matter where future research and writing goes in terms of the study of Canadian masculinities, future scholars and activists will have to read *Making it Like a Man*.

BRIAN THORN

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Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2012)

"FIGHT FEAR, FIGHT DISTRESS, fight chaos": so urges a recruitment commercial to encourage young Canadians to join their nation's encounter with the War on Terror. Ian McKay and Jamie Swift's new book, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in An Age of Anxiety*, is a clarion call to fight the fear mongering behind that message. According to McKay and Swift, these recruiting videos are part of a larger project, or what they call "a toxic rebranding by right wing elites" (xi), of Canadian identity that places soldiers and generals rather than citizens and social activists at the forefront of the emergence of Canada as a modern liberal democratic nation. This new image of Canada, they warn, is not simply a recasting of history in which Canadians' traditional ambivalence towards war takes a back seat to more robust understandings

of Canada's role in ridding the world of fascist and terrorist scumbags. It is, they assert, part and parcel of a regime change that uses military metaphors to promote a vision of "ordered liberty" (16) where citizens effectively become spectators to, rather than agents of, their own destiny.

McKay and Swift's argument begins with a number of biographical accounts of prominent Canadians, including explorer-cum-mercenary William Stairs, General E.L.M. "Tommy" Burns, diplomat and politician Lester Pearson, and peace activist Rev. James Endicott. The key message in these personal histories is that Canadians have always vacillated between warriors and peacekeepers. Indeed, they note that the image of Canada as the "peaceable kingdom" was "always something of an illusion because its many Anglo subjects were so often captivated by quite warlike visions of the White Man's Burden." (62) Using the example of William Stairs, McKay and Swift note that Canadians have long been a crucial part of the larger Anglosphere's imperial project to extend the Victorian liberal values of peace, order, and good government to the deepest darkest regions of the globe. (62) But McKay and Swift note that not all Canadian soldiers have been eager crusaders of the cult of blood and soil. Tommy Burns, perhaps Canada's brightest general, who led troops at Vimy, Ortona, and Suez, illustrates that not all soldiers drank the propaganda "moonshine" (82) that led to "Vimy Fever." (74)

It is the chapter on Pearson and peacekeeping where the crux of their argument appears. Here McKay and Swift present Pearson not so much as Canada's Prince of Peace, but as a loyal and eager Cold Warrior. Though they note that Pearson may have had his private misgivings about the rabid Cold War anticommunism, he "backed it solidly in public." (121) Pearsonian internationalism, the authors argue, contained the *potential* for

a more sophisticated analysis of Cold War realities (134), but not to the extent that it would imperil Canadians' cozy relations with Washington and London. Thus, instead of a world without war, Pearson sold Canadians a militarized and partisan form of peacekeeping, which sought not only to maintain the dominance of West over East, but more importantly North over South. Indeed, as Des Morton claims, peacekeeping satisfied "a kind of benign imperialist urge among Canadians – how good the lesser breeds are being kept in order by our lads in blue berets." (182)

The latter half of the book details how the new Warrior Nationalists have sought to dismantle what is left of the Pearsonian paradigm. According to the new warriors, peacekeeping was not only irrelevant in the post-Cold War world, but had always been a woolly headed distraction from real soldiering. More importantly, peacekeeping represents all that is wrong with the Liberal vision of Canada. Canadians have become too flaccid from peace and love permissiveness, so focused on individual rights and welfare state handouts that they have forgotten the duties they owe to their tribe. These corrosive attitudes were not limited to civilians, but by the time of the Somalia Affair had infected the Canadian Forces. Peacekeeping, these pundits argue, had not allowed Canadian soldiers to experience the Darwinian blooding of battle necessary to test their true mettle. Thus, Canadians should not have been surprised that when sent into messy conflict zones they did not act like real soldiers. (204)

To the new Warrior Nationalists 9/11 was a godsend that would enable the Canadian Forces to finally do some real soldiering and put the Blue Beret to rest. However, as McKay and Swift note, undoing Pearson's legacy was much more difficult to achieve in reality than in rhetoric and imagery. Despite red shirt

Fridays, Highways to Heroes, and fly-pasts at the Grey Cup, the only way that successive Liberal and Conservative governments could sell the Afghan mission was to brand it not as a combat mission to kill the terrorist scumbags, but to help young Afghan girls go to school. Even so, they remind us, this message echoed Kiplingesque assumptions that the mysterious mad mullahs of the East needed to be tamed and pacified by Western conceptions of peace, order, and good governance now recodified as the three-block war.

McKay and Swift's rollicking road less travelled through Canadian military history is a good read. They are right to warn that the quasi-militarization of everyday life in Canada is not simply a selective retelling of Canadian history, but a conscious political project to silence divergent and progressive voices on all fronts. At times, however, they overplay their hand. For one, evidence suggests that all of the attention lavished on the military has not had a significant impact on Canadian attitudes. A recent poll found that most Canadians would have rather spent money to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Charter or a celebration of women's suffrage than on the Bicentennial of the War of 1812. Equally important, the recent budget cuts, which have fallen disproportionately on the Canadian Forces, also pose a challenge for the Warrior Nation narrative. Without calling on Canadians to make massive sacrifices in their standard of living, no Canadian government with a mandate of fiscal restraint can square the circle with the demands of Warrior Nation no matter how many homages are made to the martial spirit that supposedly lurks inside "Joe [or Jane] Canada."

McKay and Swift are also right to take some of the gleam off of Canada's golden age of peacekeeping. But this is not a new revelation. As numerous Canadian diplomatic historians have noted, Canada

has traditionally tried to play the game of constraint but has always come up short for both practical and ideological reasons. Much of this is rooted in the Canadian security conundrum. The country is simultaneously too large and too small to provide more than a modicum of its own security. Thus, Canada has always relied on imperial powers for its defence and has sought out multilateral alliances to protect what little sovereignty remained. But it has also meant that Canadians have gone along to get along or, as McKay and Swift note, proclaimed peace and abetted war. (154) But here too, their lack of nuance undercuts their arguments about what makes the current “rebranding” so “toxic.” As a result, the current hyper militarism becomes merely part of the longer historical continuum whereby Canadians have always been more than willing to “Hold the Bully’s Coat.” In doing so McKay and Swift fail to adequately recognize that Pearson, Burns, and others were rarely content with the compromises they made and continued to seek out more just conceptions of peace and security, whereas the Warrior Nationalists have freely offered a Canadian *carte blanche* to anyone wearing the right coloured hat.

KEVIN BRUSHETT

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Ian Angus, *Love the Questions: University Education and Enlightenment* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing 2009)

ANGUS, A PROFESSOR at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, considers the dramatic changes that are occurring to universities in post-Fordist, neoliberal western societies. In the first three chapters of this short book Angus presents his view of what a university is, the concept of education as enlightenment, and a

brief history of the university. Chapters 4 through 6 present a shifting model of the university from its traditional roots to one as a corporation [in its pejorative and legal senses] with knowledge becoming a commodity and individualized product. Two notes follow the chapters and clarify Angus’s use of the term “enlightenment”: “humans’ attempt to inform their lives through relationship with thought” (134), and the integration of technology and science, which he calls “techno-science.”

Economic considerations are primary drivers of the modern neoliberal university rather than an “impractical” traditional liberal arts education – a place of enlightenment. The university has become a place of imbibing the individualistic discourses of commodification and corporatization. Historical social and public purposes of the university are being abandoned for a new focus on knowledge transmission, instrumentalism, and corporatism. Universities are simply becoming another public-private partnership with information transmitted to students for credential, career, and individual marketing purposes, not for the love of enquiry itself.

As a corporation, the university includes five groups: owners (taxpayers through government), managers (university administration), workers (faculty and students), products (students with credentials), and support staff. As different classes of universities are created (research and training) different classes of university instructors have also emerged (techno-science research, liberal arts and professional, and sessional). Indeed, in the United States 70 per cent of the professoriate consists of untenured, low paid, part-time, or sessional contract workers. These classes of the university professoriate command different levels of salary, funding, and resources and ultimately impact the status of the university on an increasingly globalized postsecondary

education marketplace. Angus responds to class rankings by calling for professors to unionize.

One of the major forces in university education is workers' belief that "the confinement of a worker's education to job training ... is undermining the university." (58) Using classic Marxist analysis promoted by the student movements of the 1960s the university was viewed an agent for the bourgeoisie to maintain class rule. Angus argues that the use of universities for job training "overwhelms higher self-fulfilment and self-knowledge" (58) that will forever be kept from the working classes if the trend towards training continues.

The drift towards for-profit and corporate universities in the United States is worrying. Vestiges of private universities are appearing in Canada. The two drivers leading towards the corporate university are underfunding and the corporate world's efforts to appropriate university investment in technological infrastructure by using public money to supplement or replace expensive investments in research and development. Extending the argument, university research and development centres "sponsored" by corporations become corporate instruments created to increase profit making. Increasingly, publicly generated and readily available knowledge is becoming privately owned and controlled. (71) Corporate involvement in universities is encouraged by governments through the reduction in corporate taxes paid and tax write-offs for research and development. As public funding is removed, universities do not serve the public but operate within the national economy producing a product for the market – essentially privatizing the work universities do.

Underfunding is caused by the state withdrawing public funds that have traditionally supported universities and the liberal arts in particular. Corporations

have moved in offering much needed dollars for research in the techno-sciences. Indeed, in the recent 2013 Canadian Federal budget \$37 million in annual university grant funding will be made available to support research partnerships with industry, promoting increasing corporate involvement and marginalizing funding for liberal arts initiatives. Corporate brands appear, naming rights to buildings and institutes are prominently displayed, and product monopolies are granted, "effectively appropriating the needs of students, faculty and staff as a private source of income." (80)

If university administrators are managers then students are consumers. The universities' student customers cannot escape corporatization. Instrumental individualism promotes the idea that because students will be benefitting from their education they should be paying a much larger share of the costs through tuition and other fees. The individual student will have to pay a larger proportion of the cost of her education as payments from the state decline. We have seen the results of this kind of thinking in the numerous arrests in recent student strikes in Quebec.

Angus convincingly argues that the pressure of financial burden forces students to work part time, take fewer credits or years off study and, importantly, seek credentials that will create a greater opportunity for employment upon graduation. Universities have responded by increasing enrolment in professional faculties such as engineering, business, medicine, and law while the traditional liberal arts faculties create degrees such as management, criminology, communication/journalism, and leisure studies. These fields are "utterly foreign to, and out of place in, the university" (81) because they undermine acquiring knowledge for the sake of knowledge and the enlightenment purposes of the university. Yet they

continue to see increases in enrolment. It appears as if the majority of Canadian students have become willing to accept their roles as consumers of education.

Thus the central issue facing the traditional university becomes one of training versus enlightenment. Once the university accepts training as a core function of the institution, as in nursing or teaching, any form of training such as hotel management, food preparation, or police studies can “claim entry” and receive the legitimacy and status world-renowned universities provide.

Though I support Angus’s astute philosophical and political analysis I’m not sure all faculty, staff, and students would. He considers his approach critical, void of “conservative nostalgia and progressive optimism.” (125) He suggests that dumbing down curriculum is the order of the day, downloading by management intensifies bureaucratic and reporting procedures, and managers’ rampant use of performance indicators to measure faculty efficiency creates dissonance amongst faculty. However, he sees these changes as intentional and necessary in order to alter working conditions.

What can be done? Angus offers hope reminding the reader that the liberal arts university is not the only place for enlightenment – coffee shops, art galleries, politics, literature etc. also help people to think and understand their role in the society. The university has changed and there is no going back; however, socio-economic, and political forces and increased funding may impede the decline into corporatization. Restating the purpose of the university as a commitment to citizenship would help replace the vision of university as training institution with one in which social and community development could be emphasized.

A fundamental cultural shift in society is required to alter the neoliberal doctrines of individualism, commodification,

consumerism, and knowledge transmission. By reforming research grant opportunities and pulling together social movements, government agencies, and ethical locally based business to produce non-proprietary publicly available research, the role and function of universities may shift. Students may change too. Angus concludes his book with a call for “widespread reflection and debate about the role of higher education in society.” (133)

The book is accessible to all readers; it is sufficiently brief to succinctly illuminate well-tread topics yet provide the reader with a sense of what has to be done to ensure the continued traditional role of universities within civil society.

ROBERT WHITELEY

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George Harwood Phillips, *Vineyards & Vaqueros: Indian Labor and the Economic Expansion of Southern California, 1771–1877* (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company 2010)

GEORGE HARWOOD PHILLIPS has executed a much needed intervention on “Indians as workers” that adds to the research about the central role Indigenous peoples played in the development and maintenance of the mission, pueblo, and rancho. But, as he is careful to note, this contribution is neither a history of Los Angeles County nor a labour history of the region. Nor does it claim to be a tribal history of the Gabrielino-Tongva. Rather, Phillips’ ethnohistory attempts a more complex narrative of “neophytes” and “gentiles” as more than either assimilated within or remaining outside of frontier institutions. Phillips argues that they were a vital labour force successfully negotiating the Spanish, Mexican, and American economic systems. Placing

the region's Native American population at the centre of "the first economic revolution of the Los Angeles region" (34), Phillips narrates the region's earliest inhabitants as more than victims of colonialism in general and extreme forms of labour controls specifically. According to Phillips they were able to maintain "social continuity" and built or expressed "new practices and identities." (17) In accounting for both pre-contact "authentic work" and post-contact labour, Phillips demonstrates that "labor constituted one of the primary and most influential interpersonal and intercultural relations in a pluralistic society." (17)

Neither "defenders" nor "denigrators" dominate in Phillips' examination of the Spanish mission system and its impact in Southern California. He successfully shifts the discussion from a too narrow study of the violence of the system back to "those experiencing the mistreatment." However, "recognizing adaptation and efficiency," Phillips explains, "is far different from approving the system which they were achieved." (19) Phillips underscores the point by reminding us, "the missions radically altered Indian culture, but they did not destroy Indian people." (21) More importantly, the strategic significance of the world constructed by the mission continued after secularization, as evidenced in the critical role Indian labour played in the profitable ranchos and vineyards of later periods.

Similarly, Phillips paints a more nuanced canvas of *rancheros* and Indians, documenting how they cooperated on newly formed, successful working ranches. But, it was Indians that made the idyllic lifestyle of the Dons possible. Although both "realists" and "romantics" have celebrated the *ranchero* and the idyll of Californio life it is Indian labour that proves to be essential to all aspects of the period, including the slow market integration of the region with New Mexican

traders and later Americans. "Only through a system of social and economic reciprocity," Phillips insists, "were the most successful *rancheros* able to secure and maintain Indian labor." (334) The "economic interdependence" of the *ranchero* era and the "mutual benefits" shared between *ranchero* and Indian worker shift debates about the *ranchero* system as either a feudal or plantation system and the Indians as little more than peons or slaves.

Not surprisingly, Native Americans of the region were not a homogeneous group. The diversity of Indian workers transcended easy dichotomies of gentile and neophyte and between those tied to or outside of colonial institutions. Indians were skilled horsemen and pastoralists, and were vital to the agricultural development of the region. More importantly, Indians were fundamental to the defence of settlements against, in large part, other Native Americans. Although this is a critical intervention in examinations of mission brutality, the idyll of the *ranchero* world, and the avariciousness of the Americans, an examination of labour needs to be done with regard to the complexity of Indigenous rebellion and resistance. Especially important is the role of Indians who maintained communities outside of corrupting colonial institutions. Indians negotiating the imposition of the labour management systems of successive colonial powers constructed complex communities both within and beyond dominant institutions. Phillips' recuperation of the Indian worker as more than victim introduces Indian cultural strategies associated with village life and its relation to Los Angeles and the surrounding area. In each instance, Native Americans maintained their own vibrant communities, all the while serving as the vital labour force for the region's development.

Unfortunately, Native Americans do not appear in Harwood's narrative as

complete agents. One source of the problem stems from Harwood's too casual use of familiar primary and secondary sources that put forward ethnographies of working Indians evoking well-known criminalized figures. Phillips makes an important case for the reliance on "amateur ethnographers" whose documents are not "so biased to be useless." He notes that ethnographies of historical actors can be useful, "simultaneously describing the behavior and activities of Indians and the values and attitudes of those writing them." (33) However, more care is needed when mining for ethnographic and historical data from "obscure publications," travel literature, official reports, and local newspapers. These early ethnographies, although useful, betray a number of biases that persist to the present day. Without a strategy to interrogate them we are likely to reproduce what Ranajit Guha called the "prose of counter insurgency" [Ranjit Guha, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," in Nicholas Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner, eds., *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton 1994): 336–371], or the codes that establish and reinforce long-standing stereotypes of Indians as either "depredators" or "drunks." The lack of a postcolonial lens runs the risk of naturalizing the violence and brutality of a turbulent "frontier." This not only limits the discussion about resistance and depredations, but also undermines more careful investigations into Indian contributions to frontier defence. More importantly, too casually re-presenting depredating and drunken Indians overshadows how Native Americans both disrupted and negotiated the imposition of labour discipline.

Although Phillips successfully presents a more complex picture of the still poorly understood lived experience of the settlements and life outside the settled areas, there remains a major gap in the

research and analysis to fully appreciate the complex relationship of the Indian worker to shifting strategies of labour discipline. Leaving labour as simply work without a theory of value limits any insights about the arrival of capitalism and the shifting strategies of labour controls associated with economic integration of the region over time. Phillips relies heavily on the ethnographic observations of such notables as Richard Henry Dana, who explains that Indians "are virtually slaves." (173) But, he abdicates any obligation to further investigate whether competing labour controls amounted to a condition of slavery akin to the American South. Phillips concludes that terms such as "slaves," "wards," "vassals," "peons," "serfs," or "inmates" "may fit better than others," but it is "Indian participation in the economic expansion of the Los Angeles region" that is most important. (329) Phillips' disregard here misses a critical opportunity to interrogate the intersection between racial systems and labour controls specific to the labour regimes of the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods, overlooking the link between structural conditions and cultural formations that help explain strategies of oppression and exploitation.

In short, Phillips' ethnohistory of Indian labour successfully engages Hispanicists and Americanists re-activating important debates about Indian labour in relation to Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo economic integration. His examination of Indians as workers sheds new light on a region that completely depended on Indigenous communities that themselves negotiated a series of economic transformations from the Spanish through to the American periods. Phillips' insistence on recuperating Indian as "worker" and not as victim provides valuable insights to the competing labour controls imposed on the region as it underwent its own transformation

from colonial institution to economic enterprise.

MANUEL CALLAHAN

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Paul Avrich and Karen Avrich, *Sasha and Emma: The Anarchist Odyssey of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2012)

THIS ENGAGING BOOK is both a love story and a narrative of revolutionary communist anarchism. It covers the period from the late 1880s, when Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, two Russian émigrés, first met in a New York City café, to 1940. These years, arguably, mark out a particular kind of anarchism's most robust accomplishments and notoriety. They are bookended by the trial and execution of Albert Parsons, August Spies, and other victims of the repression following the May 1886 bombing at Haymarket Square and the denouement of the promise of anarchism evident in the struggles associated with the Spanish Civil War. By this latter point in time, Goldman had died in Toronto after being incapacitated by two strokes. Berkman predeceased Goldman, committing suicide at his apartment in Nice, France, despondent during his last days in 1937 at the prospects of ongoing ill health and financial dependency. Too poor to be buried according to his wishes, "Sasha" Berkman's final resting place was what is referred to in France as a communal grave. Goldman fared better, but not without bitter irony. Deported with Berkman from the United States in 1919, ostensibly for the threat she posed to order and good government, and barred from re-entry except for a brief period in 1934, Goldman was interred in Waldheim Cemetery, the burial plot of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs whose example so galvanized Berkman,

Goldman, and an entire generation of revolutionary anarchists.

For five decades Berkman and Goldman were loved and revered figures within an international movement fractured by strategic differences but united in its utopian idealism. They were, at the same time, reviled and demonized by anarchism's foes, their principles a body blow to bourgeois power and propriety. Berkman's and Goldman's commitments, which included the rights of men and women to freely constitute their relationships of love and the rights of labour to oppose exploitation and oppression, rested securely on cherished freedoms in which speech, conscience, association, and thought always loomed large. The defining feature of their anarchism was their accent on individual independence, refusal of all constraints on liberty, and resistance to authority, especially that of the established state. This aligned them with the Autonomist wing of early American anarchism.

The *leitmotif* of their lives together was Berkman's unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Henry Clay Frick, manager of the Andrew Carnegie-owned Homestead steel works. This act is commonly understood to be one of the first instances of unambiguous anarchist terrorism perpetrated on American soil. It was a conscious effort to kill a symbol of capitalist exploitation, conducted by a revolutionary who denied that murder was his intent, proclaiming instead that he was an idealist and his purpose was to unleash the pent-up resistance of the constrained masses. Goldman knew of Berkman's plan, approved of it, enabled his actions, and agreed with his decision to forego a legal defence and instead use the courtroom to mount a political challenge. She was forever cognizant of her responsibility, writing in *Living My Life*: "I had planned the *Attentat* with him; I had let him go alone." (84)

It was not Frick's humanity that Goldman and Berkman imagined themselves lethally attacking, then, but rather his class purpose. Frick, engaged in an epic labour-capital confrontation in 1892, was determined to break the spirit and organizational stranglehold of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers over Carnegie's plant, located on the outskirts of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He refused demands for an increase of hourly rates on the part of the union men, imposed a wage cut, locked the workforce out, brought in scabs from employment agencies in Boston, St. Louis, and Philadelphia, and turned the steel works into an armed camp, protected by an imposingly tall fence topped with barbed wire and patrolled by Winchester rifle bearing Pinkerton detectives. Dubbed "Fort Frick," Homestead soon became a war zone, with the workers using dynamite and cannon to bombard the Pinkertons. As the death toll mounted, workers across the country celebrated Homestead Days and raised tens of thousands of dollars for the striking Amalgamated. Eventually the Governor of Pennsylvania ordered 8,500 state militiamen to assemble and occupy the strike-torn town; a Grand Jury issued 167 indictments against union leaders and activists, charging them with murder, conspiracy, and riot. The uprising was thus subdued, the once powerful labour organization defeated, and unionism driven from Homestead, not to return until 1936.

In the midst of the Homestead struggle, on 23 July 1892, Berkman burst into Frick's downtown Pittsburgh business office, shot the industrial magnate twice and, in an ensuing struggle, stabbed him repeatedly with a dagger. Frick lived, and Berkman's notoriety was born. It would stay with him until his death. As far as Frick was concerned, Berkman managed to have the last wry word. Twenty-seven

years after Berkman's abortive attack and a week after the Bureau of Immigration recommended that Berkman and Goldman be exiled from the United States, a reporter accosted the anarchist duo as they dined with friends. Frick, at 69 years of age, had just died of a heart attack. The invasive journalist begged for comment. "Deported by God," Berkman quipped, adding later for good measure, "I'm glad he left the country before me." (294)

Berkman was sentenced to a prison term of 22 years for his shooting and stabbing of Frick. He would serve fourteen of them. Goldman, with whom Berkman and his cousin Modska Aronstam had been entangled in a *ménage-a-trois* that combined the sexual and the political, took it as her cause to defend Berkman. For while some in the anarchist movement defended and indeed extolled the virtue of Berkman's act, there were others whose comments were anything but charitable. Johann Most was perhaps the most condescendingly dismissive of both Berkman and Goldman. Arguably America's leading anarchist advocate of exemplary acts of violence, Most was perhaps not coincidentally also a somewhat jealous former (albeit briefly) lover of Goldman. He clearly did not want to play second fiddle to the younger, darling Alexander Berkman, who later wrote in *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* that Most had revealed himself a "traitor" who "preached propaganda by deed all his life – now he repudiates the first *Attentat* in this country." (88)

For her part, Goldman struck out at Most with her own *Attentat*. In a Lower East Side Hall, with Most scheduled to speak before an anarchist audience, Goldman sat herself in a front seat, rose before the lecture commenced, and demanded that Most publicly account for his derision of Berkman's act. When her mentor and erstwhile intimate rebuffed

her as a “hysterical woman,” Goldman jumped on to the stage, pulled a concealed horsewhip from under her cloak, and slashed Most about the neck and face. She then broke her weapon into pieces, flung them at the podium contemptuously and – pandemonium erupting – was spirited out of the hall by two comrades.

Goldman and Berkman did not remain lovers who either cohabited or shared a sexual bond. A physical attraction had, it turned out, burned intensely but briefly in their time together. But the passion of a political union remained, articulated in the journals associated with their joint endeavours, *Mother Earth* and *The Blast*, published between 1906 and 1917. As lovers of liberty, Goldman and Berkman put their stamp on an era. They were the closest of comrades, inseparable even as they were geographically distant or arguing through differences. Mutually supportive, their affection for one another survived a series of harsh blows: exile from the America that Goldman loved and Berkman shunned; disillusionment with the Russian Revolution from which they had both expected so much; the imprisonment and even execution of fellow revolutionaries such as the McNamara Brothers, Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan, Tom Mooney, and Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti; and the rise of fascism. In their anarchist odyssey they left a legacy of principled struggles, decisive (if at times ill-advised) acts, and unshakeable commitment to values and ideals that ran defiantly against conventionality. Berkman’s *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* and Goldman’s *Living My Life* are texts of these times, revealing of the richness of dissent.

Paul Avrich, who originally researched this history, and his daughter, Karen Avrich, who experienced a reconnection with her dead father through reworking his early drafts and drawing on his

notes, interviews, and assembled primary sources, have produced a memorable book addressing a memorable couple, whose meanings, for life both private and public, seem unrivalled in their powerful articulation of the symbiotic nature of the personal and the political.

On the occasion of Berkman’s 65th birthday, Emma wrote to him. “It is fitting that I should tell you the secret of my life,” she wrote, confessing, “True, I loved other men. ... Men have come and gone in my long life. But you my dearest will remain for ever. ... Our common struggle and all it has brought us in travail and disappointments hardly explains what I feel for you.” In the end, for Emma Goldman, it was Alexander Berkman’s presence in her life, “and the love and affection you have roused,” that was “rooted in her being” like nothing else. Born in what has come to be a distilled designation – terror – was a human tenderness that managed to survive a much larger, routinized and deadly attack, the tyranny of inequality and its perpetuation through power. “Of all the letters I received,” Berkman wrote back, “yours is the most beautiful. Naturally so, everything considered.” (401)

BRYAN D. PALMER
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Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London 1917–1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2011)

AFTER HEARING Minkah Makalani’s 2008 lecture, I waited in great anticipation for *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London 1917–1939*. This well-researched book explores the history of Black internationalism to examine how the African Blood Brotherhood (1919) and the International

African Service Bureau (1937) promoted Black Diasporic alliances to create a Black radical internationalism of Marxist social and political thought. It presents exciting stories of intrigue, espionage, and revolution, with exotic locals, narrow escapes from Nazis and Stalinists, and constant surveillance by US, European, and Colonial African governments. Black socialists remain central to the story, working for socialist revolutionary change, partnering with Asian radicals to actively fight racism, colonialism, and classism, advocating for pan African, Asian, and Latin American liberation.

In Chapter 1 Makalani complicates notions of race by looking at how light-skinned middle-class Barbadian Richard B. Moore, Nevisian Cyril Briggs, and Dutch Guianese Otto Huiswoud held privileged positions in the Caribbean but found themselves raced in New York. Makalani contends that their consignment to Blackness led them to radical activism in Harlem and with African American Grace Campbell they founded the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) in 1919. They maintained a long-standing intellectual engagement with Sen Katayama, leader of the Japanese Socialist Group in America (1916), who proved pivotal in their political growth. Makalani touches on Campbell and Louise Jackson's work on Black and Asian liberation, their founding of the Peoples Educational Forum, and the white left's unwillingness to work for Black equality, which led to the 1919 Black exodus from the Socialist Party of America (SPA).

In Chapter 2 Makalani explores Blacks' radical alliances with Diasporic Africans through their understanding of race with the point of entry as the establishment of the ABB, and the *Crusader* (1918). Of incredible interest to understanding Black self-defence ideologies is Makalani discussion of Briggs, Campbell, Huiswoud, and Claude McKay founding the ABB as

a working-class socialist-based secret paramilitary group who promoted self-defence and Bolshevism in their constitution. Of salience ABB World War I veterans fought white supremacists during the Tulsa Riots (1921). Makalani notes that the ABB's mission involved community organizing, intellectual education, studying theories of race and class, building alliances across races, fighting oppression through anti-racist and anti-imperialist politics, and working towards African Diasporic and Asian liberation, to lead worldwide freedom struggles. Makalani offers that the ABB supported the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), but fissures arose given Marcus Garvey's myopic strategies and his deal with the US government to inform on and publicly attack Black radicals, compelling Briggs to use US authorities to suppress Garvey. Their partnership with the SPA and struggles with Garvey marked the ABB's demise. Of interest is the verity that while fighting for Black liberation, both Garvey and Briggs informed on the other to the government. The utter absurdity of advocating ending oppression while using the tools of hegemony to suppress the other remains mindboggling. It leads to the question of these men's trustworthiness in leading revolution.

Chapter 3 proves thought provoking as Makalani considers how in 1922 McKay and Huiswoud shaped a Black International communism by working with Katayama, Bengalese M.N. Roy, and at Moscow's the Fourth Congress Comintern, to successfully compel them to actively engage in pan-African activism and liberation. Makalani reveals how Vietnam's communist leader and future president Nguyễn Ái Quốc (Ho Chi Minh), at the Parti Communiste Français and the Union Intercoloniale, and Katayama, Roy, McKay, and Huiswoud at the Comintern, re-centred discourse towards anti-colonialist struggles in Asia,

Africa, the US, and the Caribbean as essential to “Proletarian Revolution.” They argued that white workers’ liberation would only occur through Asian liberation, and gained Comintern support despite white leftist resistance. Makalani explores their internationalism through Roy’s 1914 attempted uprising with his Jugantar Party, the San Francisco Ghadar Party, and the Berlin Committee of Indian Revolutionaries, with German-bought guns; his escape across countries; his membership in the leftist Partido Comunista Mexicano; and his attendance at Russia’s 1920 2nd Comintern, where he put Asia, Africa, and workers at the centre. This chapter remains most astounding given Katayama’s, Roy’s, and Ái Quóç’s roles in pan-African revolutionary thought and practice. This chapter offers a new discussion of African and Asian alliances in conversation with Rychetta Watkins’ *Black Power, Yellow Power* (Jackson 2012), and writings by Heike Raphael-Hernandez, Fred Ho, Bill Mullin, Robin D. G. Kelley, and Betty Esch.

Chapter 4 examines Black radicals’ failed attempts at organizing at Russia’s 2nd Comintern Congress, and reveals that the racism of the white left actually allowed them to build international relationships. This, according to Makalani, led the ABB to build an African Diasporic organization, explore race through this prism, embrace Black differences and similarities, and challenge the Comintern and the white left. Makalani also explores the Black elite’s anti-Garvey plan, Kelly Miller’s 1924 Chicago Sanhedrin All Race Conference, where his racism and conservatism alienated ABB and Black Workers Party (WP) members. Makalani contends that with the disbanding of the ABB some joined the WP, who obstructed Black-organizing efforts by denying seasoned activists positions of power in favour of easily controlled novices who fit

their image of Blackness as Southern, like Dallas-born Harlem transplant Lovett Fort Whitman. They charged him with heading the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC) over Briggs, Huiswoud, and Moore. Makalani reveals that the white left across the globe used this strategy over time to prevent Blacks from achieving social equity, and to maintain white power through a socialist framework. Makalani contends that regardless of their betrayals and opposition from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Federation of Labor, the 1925 ANLC’s Chicago conference remained productive as they tackled Diasporic Black issues and supported liberation and anti colonial struggles in the US, the Caribbean, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico.

Chapter 5 looks at the international anti-imperialist conferences of 1927 and 1929 to examine how US Black radical encounters with radicals abroad refocused their organizational efforts from the US to Europe. Makalani suggests that the 1927 Brussels World Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism was a site where Moore and Senegalese Lamine Senghor of the Committee on the Negro Question pointed to Chinese as true revolutionaries, and proposed a resolution arguing for the need for African and Caribbean revolution. Makalani considers how Moscow’s non-funding of Blacks and white radicals’ duplicity in underfunding the ANLC and dismissing Comintern directives did not dampen the hopes of Black and Indian delegates, for they left with a reason to maintain Communist Party affiliations. Makalani chronicles how Black radicals shaped a politics of radical internationalism, which took on institutional form with Otto Hall, Harry Haywood, Maude White, William Patterson, and James W. Ford studying in Moscow in 1926 and

1928. In Cologne, at the League Against Imperialism (LAI) meeting Ford argued that the LAI and the German and French communists “missed opportunities” to organize Black workers in their countries and colonies, and urged them to action. (154) Makalani considers Ford and Williana Burroughs’ attendance at the Sixth Congress in Moscow where, with South African delegates, they proposed the International Bureau of Negroes, leading to a resolution defining “Blacks as an oppressed nation, with the right to self-determination.” (133) Makalani contends that some Black radicals left the Comintern and white communist organizations, given their disruption. Makalani briefly mentions Campbell and Elizabeth Hendrickson’s 1928 Harlem Educational Forum, their Harlem Tenant’s League, and their success preventing rent increases. Finally Makalani introduces us to the electrifying activism of Afro Trinidadian Howard-educated George Padmore, a star in the Comintern and the white Left who organized at Howard University. Campbell, White, Burroughs, and Hendrickson deserve more attention than Makalani gives them, and I hope this book acts as the impetus for a dissertation and book on these women, most especially Campbell.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 are very engaging chapters, for Makalani captures the exhilaration of Black radicals successfully making Diasporic political change. With crisp writing, Makalani draws us into the narrative, the duplicity of the white left, and colourful locales where Black radicals like Sudanese leftist Garan Kouyaté, the über erudite Trotskyist C.L.R. James, Amy Ashwood, Wallace-Johnson, and Padmore worked. Makalani provides intrigue by detailing Padmore’s disillusionment with the Comintern, his narrow escape from Nazi Germany, his criticism of Stalin and the Communist Party, his evading the fate of South

African communist Albert Nzula who was murdered by Stalinists in Moscow for criticizing Stalin, and Padmore’s circumventing his London kidnapping by Stalinists.

In Chapter 6 Makalani recounts how Ford (the leader of Moscow’s Red International Labor Union and the Negro Bureau, and Hamburg’s International Trade Union of Negro Workers), his replacement Padmore, and Kouyaté built a Black International of workers, developed answers to the “Negro Problem,” and promoted independence in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. Makalani details white communists’ order to “subordinate theorizing black liberation” (173–174) and replacement of Ford with the unproven albeit favoured Padmore. Makalani writes that despite this, in 1931 Padmore successfully built a Black International, contacted thousands, organized Black maritime workers, established trade unions, and cultivated Black workers in Hamburg, the Caribbean, Africa, Nigeria, Amsterdam, and London. Padmore edited *The Negro Worker*, produced the *International Negro Workers’ Review*, covered issues in the US, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa, and distributed the publications through sailors in the Caribbean and Cyril Briggs’ *Crusader* news agency in Paris, New York, and Capetown. Like the ABB he looked to China and India for strategies of revolution. His accomplishments remained incredible; for his work, white leftists suppressed him. The Nazis kept him under constant surveillance in Hamburg, raided his office in 1931 and 1933, and arrested and deported him to England.

Makalani notes that Garan Kouyaté also built the Black International as the leader of the Ligue de Défense de la Race Négré (Paris), arguing for their autonomy from the Parti Communiste Français (PCF) and causing their ire, and criticizing the white left. He rallied for global

pan-African liberation, and in 1930 successfully identified Black seamen in Germany and organized African dockworkers in Marseille and French ports. The PCF and the Comintern suspended him and the funding for *Le Cri des Nègres*, replacing him with Senegalese Emile Faure. Makalani proposes that given Kouyaté's treatment, the Comintern's refusal to engage in anti-colonial work, and his friendship with Trotskyist C. L. R. James, Padmore resigned from "the international communist movement" and the Comintern discharged him. What remains most interesting for understanding Black Marxism is Makalani's assertion that Padmore "was not rejecting communism as much as trying to reconcile his commitment to organized Marxism with his evolving conception of pan African revolution." (192)

In Chapter 7 Makalani chronicles Padmore, James, and Jamaican "militant anti-imperialist" Amy Ashwood's founding of the International African Friends of Ethiopia (1935–1937) and the International African Service Bureau (1937–1944) with Sierra Leonean Wallace-Johnson. The ABB laid the groundwork for thinking about the importance of race and Blacks to Marxism and world revolution, which allowed Padmore to connect Harlem's ABB to London's IASB. This cross-fertilization made organizing in Africa important to international communism. Makalani considers Ashwood's Ethiopian advocacy and her establishment of the Florence Mills Social Parlor as a political and social site that headquartered the IAFE and the IASB, offering Africans and Caribbeans a respite from the "white gaze." Padmore cultivated his contacts, gaining members like Jomo Kenyatta, the future president of Kenya, British Guiana's Peter Milliard, Grenadian Revolution icon T.A. Marryshow, Guyanese T. Ras Makonnen, and Aborigines' Rights Protection Society's Samuel Wood and

George Moore. Their goals included Ethiopian independence, promoting "workers' sanctions," using the invasion as the impetus for Diasporic African liberation and pan-Africanism, volunteering to fight alongside Ethiopians like African Americans, and partnering with Kouyaté's Ethiopian Defense Committee and the African American Ethiopian Research Council. Although ideological differences emerged, they worked together to build the IAFE.

Makalani writes that Wallace-Johnson of the African Workers Union of Nigeria experienced constant surveillance for distributing the *Negro Worker* in Nigeria, and for his published condemnation of the Pope blessing Italian troops. Upon his 1936 London arrival, he proposed a West African Bureau, thus the 1937 founding with Padmore, Ashwood, and Kenyatta of the working-class pan-Africanist socialist International African Service Bureau. They worked with African American communists Louise Thompson, Patterson, and Max Yergan and attended the 1937 Paris World Congress against Racism and Anti-Semitism, and Padmore wrote for the *Chicago Defender*. They disseminated the significance of the Marxist idea of class struggle, worked to organize trade unions and to end fascism and colonialism, held public meetings, built support for workers' strikes in the Caribbean and Latin America, and worked with Parliament. The Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), LAI, and the ILP provided office space and funded their *African Sentinel* and the *International African Opinion*, to influence the organization. Because they remained independent of white control the IASB criticized Stalin and the white left, leading to the withdrawal of financial support. Makalani offers a fascinating discussion of C.L.R. James' intellectual and political growth, his discarding of parliamentary radicalism for holistic

Diasporic African independence, and his defining of Black Marxism, promoting Afrocentricism, and arguing for martial action for revolution. By 1938 British socialists and Trotsky were jealous of James' intellect and beauty and wanted to remove him from power. With this, James left London, moved to New York, created the Johnson-Forest Tendency, and translated radical classics into English.

One criticism of the book is the over-use use of acronyms, which made the reading confusing, and required the index to ensure knowledge of organizations. Although I fully understand that Makalani probably faced a restrictive word count, the use of acronyms led to a lack of clarity in reading. Another criticism is for the Press: spelling errors and non-existent words appeared, which could have been avoided with diligent editors. Still, *In The Cause of Freedom* remains smartly written, incredibly researched, and filled with intriguing primary materials from the Russian State Archive of Sociopolitical History, the Comintern Archive, The CPUSA Negro Bureau archives, and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Makalani's archival research makes the book rich and important, adding to the Black radical literary canon of Jeff Perry, Joyce Moore Turner, Boyce Davies, McDuffie, Gore, and Maxim Matsuvich. This is a must read for those grappling with understanding how Black leftists, Black power, and Black self-defence organizations in the US, and Asian, African, and Latin American revolutionary movements, cultivated a global ideology of third world alliance building for revolution. It helps us to understand the foundation of the political thought of those who led third world leftist revolutions (1940s–1980s), and how they cultivated their ideologies.

PAULA MARIE SENIORS
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Erik S. Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow: The National Negro Congress and the Rise of Militant Civil Rights* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2012)

THIS IMPORTANT BOOK constructs the significance of the National Negro Congress (NNC) and its independent youth affiliate, the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC) within the “long civil rights movement” connecting the Depression and the 1960s. Active between 1936 and 1949, these organizations built radical, interracial, labour-based coalitions in which women figured prominently. Many early members were active in pressuring the Roosevelt administration's weak stance on race. As later Popular Front and New Deal supporters, they defined activism in an avowedly international context, stressing the links between fascism, colonialism, and disfranchisement; activism, they insisted, was responsibility to humankind. Above all, these militants stressed labour inequality and economic slavery as the font of racism – later activists, by contrast, typically underscored racism's moral and psychological dimensions. NNC and SNYC members shared common philosophical and activist ground with their Reconstruction forebears, whose contributions to American democracy they routinely emphasized and celebrated. While they did not deliver the death blow to Jim Crow – the title derives from their motto – they struck some vulnerable underbelly and laid the tactical foundation of the modern movement, utilizing boycotts, strikes, marches, and cultural reinvigoration. Largely forgotten because of close relationships to or membership in the Communist Party (CP) and the red-baiting that eventually destroyed them, they nonetheless successfully created greater interracial working-class unity and pushed the labour movement towards recognizing its stake in protecting

Black workers. The resurrection of their history uncovers a less linear, more complex path between the movements of the Depression and World War II years and later decades.

Gellman analyzed five locations where the NNC and the SNYC had particular influence: Chicago, Richmond (where the SNYC was especially active), Washington, DC, (where the focus was on police brutality and lynching), Columbia, South Carolina, (the vanguard state of southern activism in the 1940s), and New York City, home to NNC headquarters after 1940. They also worked in Alabama, Louisiana, and Tennessee. In these diverse yet overlapping settings, the NNC organized laundry and domestic workers, and tobacco, steel, and meatpacking industries, meeting with notable successes and not a few failures. Women, both as workers and organizers, played central roles in these campaigns. Particularly in New York after 1940, a group of young, college educated women teachers kept the flame of economic inequality as the root of racism alive at a time of increasing internal divisions occasioned by World War II. They championed revisionist histories of emancipation, demonstrated the political power of creating a national African American cultural and artistic awareness, entered into electoral politics, and stressed race as a social and therefore political construction.

The SNYC was active in forging ties with such groups as the Highlander Folk School, and in South Carolina in early 1946 they sponsored a Leadership Training Conference that provided instruction in public speaking, interacting with the press, and organizing. Their efforts coalesced in a pivotal October 1946 conference, the Columbia Youth Legislature. There, the SNYC convened over 800 southern delegates to define activism in an international context and to

hear the likes of W.E.B. Du Bois, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., and Paul Robeson applaud and advise their work. Laying great stress on Reconstruction's legacy, particularly its interracial efforts, they hung portraits of emancipation-era Blacks elected to federal office on the walls of the auditorium. Howard Fast, the author of a 1944 novel entitled *Freedom Road*, which told the story of a Black Union army veteran's political efforts and stressed that Reconstruction ended through white terrorism, told delegates that that counterrevolution against democracy and economic justice would itself be overturned as a result of activists like those in the SNYC. In the months after the conference, SNYC members fanned out across the state and were active in local, national, and international politics. But they largely failed to create strong ties with labour organizations, particularly with their sometimes ally, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which rebuffed interracial organizing in the South as detrimental to attracting white workers. Moreover, as the Cold War grew hotter, SNYC members' close philosophical affiliations with the CP and the internal divisions that resulted from Soviet attacks on democracy had an erosive effect. By 1949, the organization had died.

While the literature on both the NNC and the SNYC is thin – Gellman's is the first comprehensive study, and the first to go beyond NNC history after A. Philip Randolph's resignation as president in 1940 – this study is steeped in the findings of labour and civil rights histories in particular. Gellman provides a fine-grained analysis of the people and organizations allied, sometimes uneasily, with the NNC and the SNYC. He also mined a wide range of personal papers, organizational archives, government documents, memoirs, newspapers, and factory and company records. The book lacks a bibliography, an

increasingly quaint feature itself in need of resurrection, since its absence hampers those wishing to expand upon the important histories that unfold in *Death Blow's* pages. The SNYC's more than passing resemblance to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) would be one such valuable inquiry.

By stressing the nexus between economic justice and civil rights through interracial labour organizing, and by drawing on their Reconstruction heritage, the NNC and the SNYC kept a vital African American approach to activism alive – if on life support – in the 1950s and 1960s. Later activists downplayed questions of economic power and Reconstruction-style politics. In stressing racism as a psychological and moral problem, they touted education, chiefly of whites, as a cure, thus betraying an ignorance of how these tactics had been proven bankrupt during the 1910s and 1920s. Perhaps the very erasure of NNC and SNYC activism from their historical view, in much the same way that memories of Reconstruction had been scoured, left these later activists with little else in which to find inspiration. The new generation, at least those who defined themselves as liberals, also by and large jettisoned the international context so crucial to both organizations.

Gellman's reconstruction of these dedicated and creative activists and their campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s is a signal contribution to understanding "long" movement history and the thick tapestry of radical activists whose labours have been obscured. From the better known, like John Preston Davis, the NNC's founder, and colleagues Robert Weaver, Charles Hamilton Houston, and A. Philip Randolph, to a host of lesser-knowns, Gellman's analysis of their successes and failures brings new and more complex dimensions to our understanding of the

modern movement. *Death Blow* is therefore essential reading for anyone interested in African American, labour, gender, civil rights, and social history.

LYNDA MORGAN
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John Curl, *For All the People: Uncovering the Hidden History of Cooperation, Cooperative Movements, and Communalism in America* (Oakland: PM Press 2009)

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS for those studying co-operatives is the lack of recent scholarly interest in this subject, both in research and teaching. In the US literature, particularly, there is a silence on co-operatives and communes. Recently published works have focused on co-operatives in either a specific period or region. There is a clear problem with this lack of interest when the United Nations endorsed this business model in 2012 through declaring that year the International Year of Co-operatives.

John Curl's book is to be welcomed for its efforts to catalogue the various forms of co-operatives and communalism in the USA over its entire recorded history. He notes, "both movements are for social justice and personal liberation." (279) He distinguishes between co-operatives, which "are limited to particular functions" and communalism, which "invites members to join in more intensive and inclusive ways." (279) The main focus of the book is on co-operatives, with a shorter last section of the book being devoted to communalism. The book also is a personal journey as the author documents his own experiences with co-operatives, primarily in the Bay Area of California, notably the Berkeley Consumer Co-operative and the Heartwood Co-operative Woodshop, of

which he has been a longstanding member. While the focus is on the US, there are some references to impact of these movements on Canada, with a discussion of the influence of the North Dakota Non-Partisan League on the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in the 1930s (187) and the formation of African American communal colonies in Canada in the mid-19th century. (296–300)

Part 1 of the book, which examines co-operatives and co-operative movements, begins with a discussion of co-operation among Native Americans and then early European settlers. Curl notes that early worker co-operatives tended to be a strategy related to strikes by workers rather than permanent attempts to create an alternative to capitalist enterprises. Curl also argues that the consumer co-operative movement in the US was nativist and predated the influence of the UK Rochdale consumer co-operatives. He notes this particularly with the development in Boston in 1845 of the Protective Union, which did not require members to buy shares in the store, as with the Rochdale model, but required them to pay an initiation fee and small monthly subscription. Eventually, as Curl notes, most of the “American consumer co-operative movement would turn to the Rochdale system.” (57) Throughout the book he notes the tensions that arise from Rochdale consumer co-operatives denying their employees self-management in their stores and manufacturing facilities. This was particularly an issue in the Berkeley Consumer Co-operative, for example, which denied workers a direct voice in co-operative management. Finally during the 1980s it was proposed to set up a hybrid consumer-worker co-operative to save the Co-operative.

Curl notes in his discussion the significance of labour movement attitudes towards co-operatives. While the Knights

of Labour encouraged both consumer co-operatives and worker co-operatives, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) limited itself to “bread-and-butter issues” (104) and supported the wage system as permanent. The AFL rejected worker co-operatives because they obscured the line between employer and employee and were associated with radicals. This has remained the view of the AFL and later the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). The view was reinforced by the tendency of worker co-operatives to be established in near bankrupt firms where despite their efforts the workplace still fails and bankers wind up “the only real winners.” (232) The AFL did endorse consumer co-operatives as the “twin-sister” (140) of trade unionism and saw them as a particularly useful tool in fighting profiteering and price rises.

Curl also explores the relationship between farmers and co-operation. He adopts the frontier thesis to highlight the significance of availability of western lands in creating expectations among US workers that they could escape the wages system. However, farmers became embittered as railroads and speculators grabbed the best land. Mechanization and the creation of national markets with the expansion of the railroads also increased production and reduced prices. The Grange, organized by farmers in 1867, for example, established co-operative stores, which sold farming equipment and consumer items, co-operative grain elevators, and even co-operative banks to help minimize production, finance, and distribution costs. As Curl notes, by the 1930s farmers rather than workers dominated the US co-operative movement. (185)

Part 2 of the book focuses on communalism. There are two types of communalism highlighted. There is secular communalism, which has the aim of creating separate communities where people

might “escape oppressive conditions and find liberation.” (280) There are a number of distinctive waves in US history commencing with Owenite Socialist communities and with 20th-century communalism culminating in the 1960s. Curl also examines spiritual communism which focuses on charismatic leaders and can result in separatism and cultism. While spiritual communes were theocratic rather than democratic, similar forces underlay both types of communalism, particularly “the mythological concept of America as a promised land.” (334) Under spiritual communalism Curl includes groups such as Quakers, Shakers, and Mormons.

Many of the co-operatives and communes examined failed to survive beyond a generation. Curl highlights a number of important explanations for why co-operatives and communes continually reappear and many cases disappear. He notes the importance of economic cycles. During periods of economic upturn, particularly with rising prices, or downturn there appears a stronger interest in these ideas. However, during periods of severe economic depression, when there are no resources, and periods of prosperity, these ideas fall out of favour. He also highlights the important role of the state in countering these trends. During the Great Depression, the support and funding provided by the New Deal encouraged a range of these activities including credit unions, consumer co-operatives, and self-help co-operatives. Curl calls for the US Government to provide a choice for citizens wanting to pursue co-operative and communalist solutions to their economic and social problems by promoting “a bottom-up participatory democracy in the workplace and in communities.” (354)

There are some minor issues that arise in the book. The breadth of coverage by the author sometimes leads the narrative to break down into a series of short

sections listing the histories of notable co-operatives and communes. There is also a downplaying of the history of credit unions, which have done extremely well compared to banks in the recent global financial crisis in protecting members’ savings and in terms of growth.

Overall this book is essential for anyone interested in the history of co-operatives in the US and the broader international movement. It reinforces the significance of looking at co-operatives and communes, as well as trade unions, in examining the history of collectivism in the US.

GREG PATMORE

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Cheryl Higashida, *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left, 1945–1995* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2011)

A WELL-DOCUMENTED and timely work, Cheryl Higashida’s *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left, 1945–1995* advances our knowledge of radical Black internationalism as it accounts for the contributions of women writers who were also activists and major contributors to that formulation. Her focus is on the later years – 1945–1995 – a time just after the larger development and attempted eradication of left movements in the United States. Higashida provides therefore the kind of gender balancing that makes the full story of Black radicalism reveal itself, especially since in its initial formulation this is seen as a largely male movement.

Higashida’s work is organized into six chapters and an introduction that sets up a definition of Black Internationalist Feminism. There is also an opening chapter, “The Negro Question, the Woman Question, and the ‘Vital Link’: Histories and Institutions,” which puts in

conversation these two communist formulations. Each of the succeeding chapters focuses on a specific writer: Lorraine Hansberry, Alice Childress, Rosa Guy, Audre Lorde, and Maya Angelou. The author demonstrates that just as the Black male radicals struggled with the idea of the “class struggle vs. negro-ology,” these women found a way to bring together the issues of the “negro question” and the “woman question” in their very being.

I have found Higashida’s introduction and Chapter 1, both of which provide important definitions of Black Internationalist Feminism, very useful in my continued thinking on this issue. Higashida indicates that her work “reconceptualizes the relationships between Left, Civil Rights, Black power and second wave Black women’s movements.” (4) This includes rethinking the opposition between nationalism and Black feminism and above all reinserting transnationalism into Black feminist frameworks. Thus her formulation: “What I call Black internationalist feminism challenged heteronormative and masculinist articulations of nationalism while maintaining the importance, even centrality of national liberation movements for achieving Black women’s social, political, and economic rights.” (2) She is at pains as well to define what she means by “Left,” although she relegates the definition to one of her footnotes. Still, it is a definition worth considering as future scholars re-engage these earlier movements. It goes as follows: “I use “Left” to designate Communist and Communist-affiliated individuals and groups. I use “left” to refer to the broader spectrum of radical movements beyond the Communist Party. (178, note 3) The distinction she makes rhetorically is via capitalizing the “L” in “left” for the former, the stricter organizational structures of CPUSA and lowercasing it for the affiliated groups. Still she claims that the

latter, i.e. the Communist-affiliated Black Left, which she here capitalizes in this instance, was the ideological home for many of the postwar Black women writers and activists, and therefore she wants to retain it for definitional purposes.

The value of Higashida’s work is that writers like Lorraine Hansberry and Alice Childress are identified solidly, in terms of their activism and their creative work, as Communist Party activists. One remembers, for example, Harold Cruse’s *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967) attack on Hansberry as a spoiled bourgeois who wondered naively into left politics and the fact that in the rest of his work, he failed to recognize the women who were actively involved in left movements. Higashida’s work offers an important corrective to the tendency to see left activists as simply Caribbean radical men, as Cruse framed them.

That Rosa Guy is included here is significant since we learn she had a much larger role than being an author of young adult literature. She is identified as a co-founder of the Left-affiliated Harlem Writers Guild, which provided a context for a subsequent generation of Black writers critically examining the Black experience in the United States. The Harlem Writers Guild, which would also count people like Paule Marshall among its members, would also produce a body of material addressing the Black condition from a variety of standpoints. Higashida provides a list of members (53) which becomes almost simultaneously a listing of the major contributors to the Black literary canon, leading up to their support for Toni Cade’s *The Black Woman* anthology (1970), seen today as one of the founding texts of contemporary Black feminism.

What Higashida defines as the “vital link” between the “negro question” and the “woman question” is also being developed by a new generation of

scholarship, which includes Dayo Gore's *Radicalism at the Crossroads: African American Women Activists in the Cold War* (New York 2011) and more recently *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson* (New Haven 2012) by Barbara Ransby, all adding additional components to this ongoing exploration of a Black feminist left. It is an additional benefit that Higashida details the work on *Freedom*, because the women who worked on or wrote for *Freedom* – Victoria Gavin, Lorraine Hansberry, Shirley Graham, and Eslanda Goode Robeson – were all activists in their own right as well. By this means, we are provided with a different genealogy than the 1980s women's movement or the post-Black Power movement activism of Black women to account for the rise of contemporary Black feminism, which many link to *The Black Woman* and subsequently to *But Some of Us Are Brave* (1984).

Chapter 2, "Lorraine Hansberry's Existentialist Routes to Black Internationalist Feminism," describes Hansberry's involvement with a Black anticolonial left, which explains the anti-colonial/pan-African strands in *A Raisin in the Sun*. Higashida concludes that because earlier work on the Black left has tended to exclude the Black female subject it thereby missed the "Black internationalist feminism developed by Hansberry and her sisters on the anticolonial Left, for whom feminism and nationalism were at times in tension but were ultimately not mutually exclusive." (81)

The chapters on Rosa Guy and Audre Lorde are good counterpoints, since here were Black left women who saw Black lesbian sensibility as a critical aspect of their political formations; Higashida identifies Guy's definition of a hemispheric woman through her work on Haiti. But Guy, born in Trinidad and who had migrated with her family to the United States could not

help, like Lorde, but be diasporic in orientation. For this reason, I find that the chapter's focus on one work, *The Sun, the Sea, A Touch of Wind* (1995), for all its analysis limits the fuller understanding of Rosa Guy's work. I would have liked to see discussion of some of the Rosa Guy corpus, *The Friends*, (1973), *Ruby* (1976), and *A Measure of Time* (1983). And in particular, since Guy's period coincided with Communist activist Claudia Jones, both of them from Trinidad and also friends, it seems to me that there was a lot more possible there and in keeping with the theme of a book on Black internationalist feminism.

Higashida indicates that "Lorde's nationalist internationalism positions her ideologically and historically as a descendant of the postwar Black Left. ... Lorde's writing displays a Marxist, pan-Africanist, and feminist worldview that in her later years reprised the Black internationalist feminism of Claudia Jones. Jones challenged monadic, androcentric formulations of race by accounting for the triple burden of Black working-class women." (157) Lorde perhaps best carried forward the praxis of Black internationalist feminism. For this reason, the Maya Angelou chapter reads like a postscript and becomes a kind of re-domesticating of Black internationalist feminism, even though it is titled "Reading Maya Angelou, Reading Black Internationalist Feminism Today." The chapter's ending seems to close down possibilities by this approach and while rhetorically it struggles to make links with "post-Marxist intersectional thought" (174), Higashida devoted time to Angelou's performance as an inaugural poet to Bill Clinton, or her placement in Oprah's book club (171) and the way that this particular writer has entered the world of capitalist commodification. This is as far as one can get by closing with Angelou. It would have

been well to have an additional section describing some contemporary formations of Black internationalist feminist paradigms.

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Alyosha Goldstein, *Poverty in Common: The Politics of Community Action During the American Century* (Durham: Duke University Press 2012)

AMERICAN STUDIES scholar Alyosha Goldstein's *Poverty in Common* is an eloquent contribution to a vast literature that seeks to explain the persistence and spread of poverty at the heart of the most affluent nation on earth. Goldstein does a fine job of conveying from the opening pages that poverty in America is no paradox of liberal democracy and capitalist economy, but rather a direct *product* of those: over the long term, including in the Johnson administration's 1960s War on Poverty that is at the centre of the book, the neoliberal state has worked to empty poverty of its "incriminating political contexts." (11) Government, academics, and many community organizations, envisioning poverty as an aberration rather than "a requisite for capitalism" (10), have sought to mitigate poverty's effects while rarely addressing its roots in the belly of the beast. Goldstein attends not only to the tensions inherent in anti-poverty initiatives blinkered to the causes of inequality, but to the fissures that developed when locally generated campaigns actually took aim at those causes.

Goldstein's focus is the Community Action Program that was a central feature of the War on Poverty. He does a wonderful job of elucidating the connection between domestic policy aimed at incorporating "the poor" into the body politic and international policy to win over worryingly non-aligned states in

the South. The project, in both instances, was to elaborate a politics of belonging that neutralized the grievances of the marginalized and ensured their attachment to liberal democracy. The articulation of poverty as foreign and provisional was not just about delineating boundaries between the domestic and the alien, but was "integral to the dynamics of liberal reform." (78) Goldstein's case studies are rooted in the 1960s – the Peace Corps plays a key role in the chapter on "underdevelopment" – but his reflections are just as applicable to the World Bank's recent turn to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers as a new and gentler form of structural adjustment. This strategy, like Community Action, aims at nurturing links between local communities and national and global institutions of governance. The South, like the community organizations under study here, is to be kept squarely in the neoliberal fold.

A real virtue of the book, particularly for those who are not students of the US, is Goldstein's careful integration of US foreign policy imperatives with its domestic policy bent. As he puts it, the book "foregrounds the concurrently local, national, and global terms" (25) through which poverty was constructed as a field for political action – poverty as a rationale for community action, a category for governance and for contestation within and against mid-20th-century liberalism. As a colonial historian with interests in the challenges of "development" in the global South I found myself reading passages on American domestic politics with an eye to their wider implications; most of the time Goldstein then obliged by drawing out those implications himself. For instance, in an illuminating discussion of the complex valence of "self-help" ideology, he points to its genesis in 18th-century commitments to the rational, self-actualizing individual; its role in cementing expectations of individual work

ethic and independent effort (or of their supposed lack in racialized others); and its utility in denigrating its opposite, dependency. He ends by underscoring the way the “mystifications of self-help” (21) deluded dependency theorists in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s into thinking national autonomy and economic development were possible without profound change to the workings of modern capitalism.

The first chapter traces the emergence of “community” as a strategy for governing the poor, and the ascendance in the Cold War era of the community development model with its emphasis on teaching self-reliance and possessive individualism while blunting dissent in impoverished communities like those of urban Puerto Rico. The second chapter, about which I say more below, examines the growing association between poverty and foreignness in the Cold War era. Chapter 3 looks at contested understandings of popular participation in the design and rollout of anti-poverty programs. Inherent tensions in the liberal project are highlighted, as Goldstein uses examples like the 1968 Poor People’s Campaign to show the intertwining of the state’s coercive mechanisms with an equally expansive effort to diffuse governance – including policing – throughout civil society. The fourth and fifth chapters address numerous failures of the liberal order to secure the definition of community as a means of ensuring individual freedom and social order, when faced with groups who by the late 1960s came to recognize liberal regimes of participation as a sleight of hand. Such groups, including street gangs, the Black Panthers, and Indigenous coalitions like the International Indian Treaty Council, developed very distinctive definitions of community: community as route to social solidarity and emancipation – to liberation as opposed to “liberty,” with all its class and racial exclusions and

constraints. The Black Panthers’ rhetoric on the need for a war not on poverty but on the rich is depicted in a succinct treatment that highlights its debts to, among others, Fanon’s anti-colonial internationalism.

Chapter 2 makes a compelling case for the close association of poverty and underdevelopment with “the foreign” in mid-century thought. Poverty was configured as foreign, provisional, and amenable to community action. In the context of the Cold War and the rise of behavioural science, poverty was firmly ascribed to cultural pathology: nothing to do with capitalist economy, it was the result of poor people’s insufficient attachment to capitalism. People living in poverty were deviant, in Goldstein’s words “foreign to white middle-class familial heteronormativity.” (81) (The cumbersome phrasing sounds expansive but overlooks masculinity; the analysis provided never gets at the heteronormativity piece.)

A very intriguing part of this chapter examines the attempted appropriation of programs aimed at international underdevelopment by activists seeking redress at home. Throughout the 1950s the leadership of the National Congress of American Indians, for instance, sought to tap into US programs for “poor nations” abroad as an alternative to the assimilationist termination policy of that decade. By the 1960s many Native nations were calling for concerted investment, under their own control, in their “underdeveloped areas.” The contemporaneous development of the Peace Corps provided an opportunity for the liberal state: internal underdevelopment in the tough streets of Harlem or the forests of Hawai’i offered an ideal training ground for people who would ultimately carry abroad American empathy and fine examples of white middle-class propriety – and bring home with them the character-building legacy of experience on the international frontier.

Perhaps it's my vantage point in Canada at the moment of take-off of the Idle No More movement, but I was perplexed and more than a little irritated by the limited attention to women's community initiatives or the specific ways poverty was gendered, and articulated by women's organizations as gendered, in the 1960s. I also would like to have seen more discussion of rural community organizations. Rural poverty has its own dynamics (equally grounded in liberal political economy) and rural organizers were less likely to be politically connected in the ways urban groups were. A niggling complaint is the book's over-reliance on a cultural studies lingo that may distance it from a very wide readership. That would be a shame, because *Poverty in Common* is very good to think with, and offers insights and historical perspective of use to scholars, policymakers, and activists in the US and beyond.

ELIZABETH VIBERT
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David Gilbert, *Love and Struggle: My Life in SDS, the Weather Underground, and Beyond* (Oakland: PM Press 2012)

LOVE AND STRUGGLE is an engaging, honest, and highly political memoir written by one of the most dedicated figures in the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), the radical left US group that sprang from the student movement and engaged in an armed campaign against the US government from 1969 to the early 1980s.

Gilbert was involved in many aspects of the movement from 1965 to 1981. Influenced by his liberal Jewish family and by the rising civil rights movement among African Americans, he helped to found an organization at Columbia University in New York to oppose the US

assault on Vietnam, one of the key causes of student and youth radicalization at the time. He followed that by joining and becoming a core member of Students for a Democratic Society, out of which emerged in 1969 the radical Weatherman faction (later renamed WUO), dedicated to armed struggle against the US state. After more than a decade of alternate underground and aboveground political organizing across the US, he was arrested for his participation in a bloody Brinks armoured car robbery attempt in 1981 that is regarded as the disaster that dealt the death blow to the organization. Since 1981 he has been in prison, not eligible for parole until 2056.

Love and Struggle is a fascinating and frank memoir that pays considerable attention to the problems of how to organize underground in a society with a powerful repressive police apparatus and little social support for or history of underground, armed resistance to the state. As Gilbert points out, not since the abolitionist campaign of the 1850s had a sustained underground movement existed in the US. Although WUO would ultimately collapse – done in, writes Gilbert, not by repression but by internal problems of “white and male supremacy” (219) – the fact that elements of it survived for a decade is a tribute to the organizers’ dedication, intelligence, persistence, and logistic abilities.

Along with the organizational insights, *Love and Struggle* provides a lively evocation of the sometimes bizarre politics of that dynamic era. For instance, following a huge demonstration against the war in Washington DC in November 1969, which saw WUO cadres numbering in their thousands fight street battles with police, about 50 of the activists celebrated “with a preannounced ‘orgy’ at a movement center with a lot of floor space.” (141) With some candour, Gilbert reports

while he was “shamelessly promiscuous, I still, deep down, felt sex to be extremely intimate” (141), and he declined to partake. Indeed, gender issues figure prominently throughout the narrative, with Gilbert frequently admitting to male-pattern behaviour that had him at one point basking in being “anti-sexist Male of the Year” then, at another, labelled “Sexist Dog of the Century.” (252)

Aside from the sometimes fascinating social and cultural dimensions of life in the 1960s and 1970s, Gilbert devotes considerable attention to the political thinking of the day, which he still appears to share. One can understand the reasoning of that moment when, as he notes, young people were seized with hope to fundamentally change the US. How he continues to hold such views is, perhaps, harder to fathom.

Gilbert’s political perspective was greatly shaped by the existence in the US of a substantial minority of African Americans, Asians, Native Americans, and Latinos. In the 1950s and early 1960s, African Americans in particular had risen *en masse* against the brutal discrimination under which they lived. After victories in the civil rights campaign, a more revolutionary movement erupted among African Americans, taking form in the Black Panthers and other armed Black groups.

Many young white radicals of the day dismissed the white working class as privileged and content just to maintain that status. From the perspective of wuo and Gilbert, white superiority was the major barrier to the success of the “National Liberation” of people of colour inside the US. Abandoning the white working class, young white activists intent upon making revolutionary change had no choice, he writes, but to operate “under Third World leadership.” (246) But in a candid moment he asks, “what exactly did that

mean?” (246) Ironically, Gilbert’s obvious intellect never comes up with a thoughtful answer to his own question. Instead he lets his activism provide the answer – support for African American militants who had taken up arms.

In the 1981 Brinks robbery, that decision led to tragedy. A small group of white activists, naively hoping that “a face of white respectability would greatly reduce the risk of confrontation [between Black liberation activists and police] and thereby the danger of gunfire” (263) joined in a risky operation to hold up a Brinks armoured car and liberate \$1.6 million. The result was bloody carnage – three dead, three wounded, four arrested – that effectively destroyed what remained of the underground revolutionary movement. Gilbert is unapologetic about his underground campaign and its conclusion, although he regrets the loss of life of two cops and a Brinks guard, plus the injuries. But his determination not to appear to be critical of the leadership and strategy that resulted in the Brinks tragedy means that he provides only minimal details about it, admitting only to mistakes that relate to the personal aspects of his involvement. One was that both he and his partner, Kathy Boudin, were part of the attempted robbery and were both arrested and jailed, with the result that their one-year-old son, Chesa, was left a political orphan.

Motivated by the national liberation struggles that transformed the world and that shaped the emerging youth of the 1960s, wuo saw African Americans as equivalent to an oppressed nation within the US. Just as the liberation of Algeria from French colonial control required a national liberation war, so, according to this reasoning, did the liberation of African Americans. But within the context of the US, what did “national liberation” for people of colour mean? What

would victory in that national struggle lead to? Gilbert is not forthcoming with answers to problems such as these.

After years of political involvement and, by 2012, 28 years in prison, Gilbert reflects that “national liberation no longer seems to be to be an adequate form of struggle in itself to build socialism and to spearhead world revolution.” (323–4) But he still argues that “for white radicals, internationalism and responding to leadership from the Global South and from communities of color within the US are crucial for achieving qualitative change, including around the environment.” (324) One might have thought that the unfolding economic crisis of the 21st century, which has eaten up Blacks and whites with considerable, although not entirely equal, ferocity, might have caused Gilbert to reassess his political outlook. The “powerful material impact of white supremacy and benefits from imperialism” (206) enjoyed by the white working class in the US have significantly dissolved, yet Gilbert seems not to have adjusted his assessment of the main contradiction and the means to address it in the US.

Although Gilbert’s political perspective may be disputed, *Love and Struggle* offers rich insights into a unique and important historical moment when revolutionary hope, not counter-revolutionary drones, hovered in the air over the US.

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Nelson Lichtenstein and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, eds., *The Right and Labor in America: Politics, Ideology, and Imagination* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2012)

GREG MCNEILLY, who heads the Michigan Freedom Fund, described Michigan’s new right-to-work law as

a blow against “forced unionization.” (*Washington Post*, 11 December 2012) Why do Americans take such notions for granted? Why isn’t the general public sensitized to the significance of recent events in Michigan and Wisconsin? Why are struggles for civil and economic rights not seen in the same context, while organized labour and crime are? *The Right and Labor in America* gives some answers. This well-written essay collection assesses the modern American Right’s views on the “labour question” and attempts to alter public policy. A general point made is that opposition to unions had always been central to modern conservatism. The collection is well organized. Given the vast size of the subject, it is hard to criticize the editors for omitting material.

Part 1 focuses on early 20th-century conservative views of labour. Andrew Wender Cohen notes craft unionists saw the tariff as a way to ensure industrial democracy. But beginning during the New Deal, organized labour accepted lower tariffs in exchange for a domestic social contract. Christopher Nehls argues that there was a lack of consensus in the early American Legion about labour. Most legionnaires were corporatists who subscribed to Progressive-tinged civic nationalism, but obsessions with law and order drove the veterans’ organization rightward. As Chris Nyland and Kyle Bruce (both professors of management) argue, the scientific management school of industrial psychology wanted to democratize management decision making and the Human Relations School wanted to normalize elite control. While Elton Mayo was a “modern Machiavelli” who supported the Rockefeller Plan (an early “union-avoidance strategy”), the Taylorists were pro-labour “proto-Keynesians.” (53, 56, 63)

Part 2 deals with the exploitation of racist beliefs to contain unionization. Tami

J. Friedman argues Northern employers justified capital migration and opposition to the New Deal after World War II with appeals to states' rights. The consequence was an alliance of convenience with southern elites and acceptance of Jim Crow. Northern industrialists did this willingly since they and southern "boosters" had common cause against unions. (79) Michael Pierce addresses how racism played a decisive role in Arkansas' political climate in the 1950s (the first US right-to-work law was passed there in 1944). Protests against public school desegregation moved Governor Orval Faubus, who had risen to prominence in the reformist wing of the state Democratic Party, to oppose desegregation (his parents were socialists). He pressured white Arkansans to choose between unionism and white supremacy. They chose his "anti-labor populism" that tapped into entrenched notions about "outsiders." (99) Elizabeth Tandy Shermer addresses postwar right-to-work campaigns in the South and Southwest. Life for southern unionists was precarious because they, like integrationists, threatened the racial order. While contending with rapid unionization in new manufacturing industries, open-shop activists in the Sunbelt were not primarily concerned with preserving Jim Crow. Established to support open-shop campaigns, the National Right to Work Committee (NRWC) stressed prosperity above the need to preserve agricultural elites. This message influenced southern anti-labour activists.

Part 3 considers right-wing uses of civil rights rhetoric. Reuel Schiller argues that California's African American voters helped defeat a ballot measure legalizing the open shop in 1958. They did this despite discrimination against Blacks in several California labour unions, and despite efforts by the measure's advocates to highlight this fact. In her work on the NRWC's Legal Defense Foundation,

Sophia Z. Lee shows it portrayed itself less as a representative of business interests than as a civil rights organization. This became an important part of anti-union strategy. As a consequence, the 1970s New Right could claim to be both a foe of unions and a defender of worker, minority, and consumer rights. Alexander Gourse studies the fair employment commission controversy in Illinois. He argues business associations like the National Association of Manufacturers considered civil law judges the best suited to adjudicate workers' complaints against employers, not federal or state regulatory agencies reputed to be biased against the "right to manage." (183) Exemplified by changes made to the Civil Rights Act by Illinois Senator Everett Dirksen, civil rights reforms were designed to exclude labour complaints.

Part 4 considers another rightist obsession: unions are hotbeds of corruption. According to David Witwer in his study of 1950s press coverage, reporters and congressional investigators collaborated with each other. By over-stating labour racketeering and hence discrediting labour, the press surrendered its "function as an independent voice." (224) Joseph A. McCartin and Jean-Christian Vinel offer a biography of Sylvester Petro, a little-known law professor who popularized the "compulsory unionism" concept. (251) Petro's opposition to New Deal labour legislation and administrative agencies was influenced by the Progressive anti-monopoly tradition and Austrian economics. The 1970s saw the highpoint of his career, with appearances on Capitol Hill and citations of his writings in court decisions. Nelson Lichtenstein tracks the career of union-avoidance consultant John Tate. Tate reflected long-standing concerns with "free speech for employers," as inscribed in the Taft-Hartley Act. (254) Tate's claim to fame was his work recasting Walmart's employee culture.

Tate designed a profit-sharing plan to get employees to identify with Walmart and tolerate their “self-exploitation.” (262) He made consulting law firms an organic part of labour-management relations. John Logan writes about proposed reforms to the National Labor Relations Act made by the Dunlop Commission in the Clinton era. As it existed in the context of conservative victories in the 1994 congressional elections, the commission’s recommendations failed. Susan Orr covers the little-known Employee Fair Choice Act (EFCA). Orr, a political scientist, explains the bill would allow workers to run union certification drives with less control by the National Labor Relations Board. Necessarily different from elections for public office, open sign-up in union elections is more democratic than the required secret ballot (secrecy does not offer protection from threats against the entire workforce). Introduced in 2003, the EFCA remains in legislative limbo.

The essays account for intellectual history and recent literature. For instance, Nehls considers broad patriotic tendencies (Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible*, Princeton 2001). Several contributors supplement work on corporate involvement in social policy (Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, New York 2009; G. William Domhoff and Michael J. Webber, *Class and Power in the New Deal*, Stanford 2011). The essays overlap with each other and relate the past to the present. Like Gourse, McCartin and Vinel consider libertarianism in historical perspective. Bridging labour and policy history, Logan and Orr continue discussions of labour regulations introduced by Friedman, Schiller, and Gourse. Orr addresses broader questions about participatory democracy. Wender discusses the roots of the neoliberal tariff regime. Pierce and Lichtenstein evoke Walmart’s current problems, from dishonest workplace

policies to foreign corrupt practices. Perhaps a future essay collection in the Politics and Culture in Modern America series could include topics like interpretations of whiteness and portrayals of labour in popular culture. The text has a useful index and endnotes.

The open shop is law in 24 of 50 states. Workplace democracy is on the wane. Because it helps to combat disinformation about these problems, *The Right and Labor in America* is a valuable resource for historians, university students, and concerned citizens.

ANTHONY B. NEWKIRK
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Michael D. Yates, ed., *Wisconsin Uprising: Labor Fights Back* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2012)

ON 11 FEBRUARY 2011, newly elected Republican Governor Scott Walker introduced a Budget Repair Bill in the Wisconsin legislature that sought to balance the state budget by eliminating collective bargaining for all public employees except police and firefighters. Workers in both the public and the private sector were outraged. The response began the following Monday, Valentine’s Day, when teaching assistants at the University of Wisconsin planned a rally in defence of the university’s budget. Unexpectedly, thousands of people showed up. Some entered the capitol building to observe the proceedings. As the day progressed, thousands more joined them. When they refused to leave, the occupation began.

These events are well known. But contributors to the new essay collection *Wisconsin Uprising* enrich this story with detailed first-hand accounts, context and analysis from longtime observers of the labour movement, and examples from across the country of how that movement might broaden and deepen the struggle

that began anew in Wisconsin. They face the complex task of analyzing a new moment in history from a recent vantage point, and they succeed admirably.

Wisconsin Uprising is divided into three sections. The first, "On the Ground in Madison," consists of first-hand accounts of the events in Wisconsin from Connor Donegan and Andrew Sernatinger. Lee Sustar, Dan La Botz and Frank Emspak provide necessary context, including the history of the Wisconsin labour movement and the roots of the recent statewide attack on public workers in previous battles in Milwaukee.

This section sets the tone for the book. Throughout, the emphasis is on the actions ordinary people took that gave rise to the movement. We are left in no doubt that the rank-and-file led the struggle from the outset, while union leaders hastened to catch up. Richard Trumka, head of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, said as much in one of the many speeches he gave during the month-long carnival of events in Madison. (147) This section also raises important questions about the limits of business unionism, especially in light of the willingness of many union leaders to channel the movement into electoral campaigns that demoralized people and largely failed to bring about promised changes.

The second section discusses some of the lessons of Wisconsin, attempting to summarize and point the way forward for the labour movement as a whole. In probably the collection's most optimistic essay, Rand Wilson and Steve Early review the efforts of non-majority unions in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas to argue that, far from a setback, Walker's Budget Repair Bill may signal a renewal of working-class militancy in Wisconsin. Implicit is the conservative role many unions play in social struggles today. The new reality in Wisconsin may bring about a return to

direct action tactics on the job. It has also caused workers to re-think the relationship between themselves and unions. In the current climate, where unions must be recertified annually and dues check-offs are no guarantee, rank-and-file workers can now openly discuss the purpose of unions and demand more militancy, or at least less willingness to accept concessions. This in turn challenges the legitimacy of concession bargaining itself. In this sense, Wisconsin may indeed herald the beginning of a much-needed renewal in the US labour movement.

While the analytical nature of the remaining essays in the second section is useful and their insights numerous (and numbered), these lessons are sometimes lost in abstraction. This is not the case in the third section. Here one finds refreshing examples of organizing efforts across the country that attempt to address some of the most important and lingering issues facing working-class movements today. These include obliviousness to issues of race, gender, and sexuality, a narrow focus on the workplace, and an embrace of US foreign policy objectives that cripples international solidarity. Moreover, these lessons are embedded within dramatic tales of victory and occasional defeat that allow them to emerge organically.

David Bacon describes the breakthrough represented by May Day 2006, when immigrant workers declared, "We Are Workers, Not Criminals" and the slow process of forging a relationship with organized labour began. Michael Zweig's essay discusses labour's complicity with war and the attempts by US Labor Against the War to address this issue within the labour movement.

An organizing effort in central Oregon described by Fernando Gapasin represents a comprehensive challenge to the labour movement's insularity. This effort mobilized the community in Bend, Oregon, around the vision of

social justice unionism described by Gapasin and Bill Fletcher in their book *Solidarity Divided* and systematized by John Sweeney's "Union City Program." With this prestigious pedigree, activists in central Oregon attempted to create a "community of solidarity" in the region, working under the assumption that organizing workers requires a community support system. Their success is almost unprecedented in our movement, and that they were able to achieve it while also incorporating a broad social justice agenda makes it all the more impressive.

One of the most sobering essays in this section is Jon Flanders' discussion of chemical workers in upstate New York fighting austerity. Flanders tells a story of bitter struggle in which workers did a lot of things right, made some mistakes, and ultimately lost. Though it lacks the dramatic and numerous victories of Fernando Gapasin's account of organizing in central Oregon, it also has less astroturf poking through the grassroots. Like so many authors in this collection, Flanders meditates unflinchingly on the limitations of business unionism, offering no easy answers.

But what about the general strike? The resolution to educate about a general strike passed by the South Central Federation of Labor was perhaps the most electrifying development that came out of Wisconsin. In spite of this it receives little attention here. Jane Slaughter and Mark Brenner provide the most sustained discussion, suggesting as a tactic a one-day general strike of public workers. But they dismiss the idea of an open-ended strike as "beyond the capacities of Wisconsin unions" and unwinnable. (141) Elsewhere, one author argues that a general strike was impossible because "the consciousness, sense of solidarity, organization, and will to risk a fight were not there." (94) Others note that general strikes in Europe have mostly failed to

prevent austerity. (57) They are thus by no means a cure-all. But the issue deserves a wider hearing, because lasting labour renewal will come from below or it will not come at all. It is not an issue of better leaders or "consciousness-raising." This cursory discussion of the general strike, then, suggests an approach that emphasizes slow and patient organizing at the expense of any conversation about the unpredictable breaks with the status quo necessary to establish a new reality.

No method is going to be universally successful in the movement to come. What works in Bend, Oregon, may or may not work in Madison, Wisconsin, or upstate New York. The watchword will be experimentation. And mass movements are notoriously ruthless experimenters. A movement of millions will be quick to discard strategies and tactics that fail to address implacable problems. If a sustained mass movement does emerge from the ashes of the events in Madison, it will find much to learn in the pages of *Wisconsin Uprising*. For now, we may fruitfully study its many insights in preparation for that day.

MICHAEL STAUCH
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Adam D. Reich, *With God on our Side: The Struggle for Workers' Rights in a Catholic Hospital* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2012)

THIS IS AN ENGAGING BOOK written by a former doctoral student and one-time volunteer organizer for the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). Reich, now an assistant professor at Columbia, is also the son of Robert Reich, former Secretary of Labor in Bill Clinton's cabinet and a progressive labour economist. For a year and a half the younger Reich joined the multi-year struggle (2004–2010) to organize Catholic Santa

Rosa Memorial Hospital in northern California into the SEIU, a campaign that at first failed because of a strong “anti-union campaign led by management and backed by the hospital’s religious leadership.” (2) In addition, management was able to appeal to workers’ commitment to an ethic of caring in their jobs. Although a progressive order of nuns ran the hospital (and a dozen others in California, Texas, and New Mexico) on a not-for-profit basis, Reich paints a portrait of major conflict between the hospital and the union, each of which claimed moral authority. While the nuns played more managerial roles when lay nurses and health care workers were brought into the hospital and market values prevailed, the ideal of feminine self-sacrifice associated with nursing generally and with Catholic values in particular remained an important context. This case study illustrates the struggle between very different cultural views and values where unions are characterized as the opposite of altruism, as mainly interested in economic and political issues, and thus as enemies of Catholic values and teachings. Since Catholic hospitals are major players in the American health care system representing 15 per cent of hospital care in 2009, this is a significant tale filled with twists and turns over the course of the early 21st century.

In this short space it is impossible to relate all the developments of the two campaigns to unionize; though it failed, the first organizing drive of 2005–09 was followed by a significant and largely successful effort to create a powerful religious and political coalition that later supported unionization. Grassroots organizers realized that they needed to create a vision for healthcare that connected workers and their communities and that had the power to challenge the hospital’s moral authority. However as the workers’ struggle matured and inroads were made

with community and hospital leaders, SEIU support collapsed in January 2009 in the face of an intensified struggle with the local, the United Healthcare Workers West, which championed union democracy and criticized the international’s centralized model of union building. The SEIU realized it was not going to be able to implement a centralized, all-encompassing strategy to achieve a nation-wide settlement with Catholic hospitals in the US and it thus abandoned the campaign and put the local into receivership, thus forcing the withdrawal of the application to unionize Santa Rosa Memorial Hospital.

What changed? Reich gives much of the credit to two prominent Catholic activists who developed strong ties with community and religious leaders, as well as aiding workers to tell their stories in such a way as to motivate all to get a fair agreement. Strategic allies became an important force in making the newly minted National Union of Healthcare Workers’ drive a success in 2010. Reich points to several factors that turned the tide. The length of the campaign helped to institutionalize the idea of forming a union while the cultural strategy, centred on the experiences of the workers themselves, helped to get concessions. Community support of the workers signalled an important shift in how the union was viewed – no longer was a vote for the union seen as a vote against the hospital or as an attack on altruism. Reich argues throughout the book that unions need to understand and act on cultural as well as economic and political values. Engaging with workers means recognition of the emotional investments in their work with patients. The moral authority of the hospital has to be contested and unions need to demonstrate that the public good is central to their campaigns and supported by the community. Thus Reich places “values” squarely in the contested terrain of struggle.

In an engaging and colourful tale, Reich uses social movement theory (very lightly) as his main analytical tool, urging unions to work with new social movements and to apply their “appreciation of culture and identity to the shop floor itself.” (148) At the same time Reich warns that unions need more evidence to link better patient care with union conditions of work. His concluding chapter offers other suggestions including advice that unions need to articulate “an alternative vision of what work should mean, and how it should be organized in the twenty-first century” as part of a wider progressive vision. (149) His observations suggest how a case study can lead to broader questions about the labour movement, clearly a strength of this volume.

In some ways this is a book about two interrelated themes: the struggle to unionize a Catholic hospital and a story about the internecine struggle between powerful national unions and more grass-roots, member-led and industrial action-focused organizations that have been frustrated with the strategies and approaches of the former. The main story analyzes the Santa Rosa campaign and, understandably, spends less time on tensions within the American labour movement. For this reader more analysis of the latter would have been welcome, especially more on the formation of the NUNHW nationally. More analysis of the evolution of a seemingly progressive international union such as the SEIU would also add to our understanding of the tensions. And although Cornell University Press categorized Reich’s volume under both “labor” and “nursing,” there is very little analysis of the role of nurses or their struggles to wear two hats, that of the professional and that of the union member, surely a story relevant to this tale.

Nevertheless *With God on Our Side* makes a significant contribution to labour history and labour studies by

reminding us of the cultural dimensions of labour struggles. In late 2011 as this book went to press, negotiations for a contract were still ongoing. According to their website, the National Union of Healthcare Workers reached an agreement with the St. Joseph Hospital system in April 2012, nine years in the making. Given difficult economic times, this indeed seems to be a significant victory and one worth analyzing.

LINDA KEALEY

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Virginia Doellgast, *Disintegrating Democracy at Work: Labor Unions and the Future of Good Jobs in the Service Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2012)

THIS BOOK IS ABOUT the politics of restructuring in the call centre industry and “the social costs of market liberalization.” (xi–xii) It traces what happened to call centre jobs in the United States and Germany after the introduction of new technologies and the deregulation of telecommunications markets in the 1990s while focusing “on unions and works councils as important strategic actors that combine different institutionally and organizationally embedded resources to influence management decisions through negotiations and political action.” (19)

Virginia Doellgast casts her research findings as an antidote to the view that call centre jobs in the contemporary political economy must necessarily be bad jobs. (ix) Indeed she found that during the early years of deregulated markets, German telecommunications companies diverged from their American counterparts by “investing in skills and expanding worker discretion” rather than “rationalizing and deskilling their frontline service and sales jobs.” (210) However the divergence in the quality of call sector jobs in the two

countries was short lived because, during the decade of the 2000s, telecommunications firms in Germany found ways to avoid the codetermination political structures that had previously forced them to engage in meaningful negotiations with worker representatives. Doellgast's conclusion "is that strong forms of workplace democracy backed by encompassing collective bargaining are necessary to encourage investment in high-involvement employment systems and to prevent the degradation of job quality in employment settings where managers face strong pressures to reduce labor costs." (19) With the recent degradation of call centre jobs in Germany, the book ultimately points to Denmark as the best case scenario for call centre workers: the combination of "participation rights, strong local unions, and encompassing bargaining" has resulted in Danish call centres adopting high-involvement employment systems with high average earnings and minimal earnings inequality. (27, 200)

The core of *Disintegrating Democracy* is two long empirical chapters that take up 126 of the 220 pages. The first studies how and why call centre employment systems changed during a time of "declining prices and increasingly competitive markets." (54) Four matched pairs of American and German call centres are investigated. The first pair consists of unionized call centres operated directly by established, fixed-line telecommunications firms. The US call centre "relied on a young, high-turnover workforce, gave agents very little working time flexibility or control over scheduling, and designed jobs narrowly with few mechanisms for employee participation in decision making." (67) In contrast, the German call centre "continued to rely on an older, more stable workforce, created more broadly skilled universal rep positions, established extensive opportunities for employee participation, and gave agents broad discretion

over their schedules and break times." (67) The better outcomes for workers in the German call centre were because of "strong codetermination rights" held by an elected work council that operated in concert with the union. (71)

Large wireless companies directly operated the call centres in the second matched pair. Both centres were recently unionized and a works council was also in place in the German centre. The patterned differences in employment systems paralleled those of the first matched pair. (75) Different multinational subcontractors operated the call centres in the third matched pair. The workers in the German centre were represented by a works council and covered by a collective agreement but the workers in the American centre had no collective representation. This market segment of the call centre industry is highly competitive and as a result the German works council and union were somewhat limited in the protections they could secure for workers. Finally, subsidiaries of a multinational subcontractor operated the call centres in the fourth matched pair. The parent subcontractor also operated call centres in many other countries, and the US call centre that Doellgast studied was closed in 2005 after work had been shifted to subsidiaries in India and Canada. (112–113) Significantly this multinational subcontractor managed to avoid both works councils and unions in its German call centres. As a consequence, differences between the employment systems in this matched pair "were relatively minor when compared to the other three matched pairs," and work in any of the global call centres operated by this subcontractor "meant intensive electronic monitoring, individual-based evaluation and pay, and extremely flexible staffing practices." (119)

The second of the long empirical chapters considered all unionized telecommunications companies in the United

States and Germany in turn, assessing the degree to which worker representatives influenced the patterns of organizational restructuring (consolidating and outsourcing call centres) in the mid-2000s. Doellgast found that unions in the two countries “became increasingly defensive in their responses over time, negotiating wide-ranging concessions in exchange for job security and the return of outsourced jobs to in-house centers.” (123) Furthermore, “worker representatives had more uneven success in influencing organizational restructuring, with less of an obvious national pattern in outcomes.” (169–170) The author’s sobering conclusion applies to the situation in both countries: “Formal contractual protections, high membership density, and even the ability to organize a strike with strong support from the workforce did not supply the bargaining power necessary to halt these restructuring decisions – or even to substantially lessen their negative effects on the workforce – in the face of a management determined to cut labor costs.” (172)

Determining Democracy reports an impressive body of empirical research. An innovative research design (four matched pairs of case studies) was used to study changes in the quality of employment systems in American and German call centres. The dizzying changes in the deregulated telecommunications industries in the two countries are exhaustively recorded. Merely securing access to the eight call centres must be counted as a major research accomplishment. The primary research itself was “multilevel and mixed-method,” included close to 300 interviews (24), and is supplemented by a chapter that analyzes survey data from the Global Call Center Project and summarizes a complementary study of call centres in France.

Nevertheless the empirical strength of this book is also its biggest weakness:

those who are unfamiliar with the US and German telecommunications industries must juggle an avalanche of details while following the main story line. A second weakness relates to the promotion of Denmark as the nation whose combination of industrial relations practices and working-class power leads to the preservation of good jobs in the call sector industry. Given Denmark’s analytical importance in *Determining Democracy*, Danish call centres deserved at least the brief case study treatment accorded to French call centres. (203–208) Finally, although it is the key concept in the title of the book, “democracy” is never critically analyzed. For instance, work councils are treated as unambiguous organs of worker democracy even though evidence suggests that they sometimes demobilize workers and undercut union membership. Virginia Doellgast’s argument would have been strengthened if she had more carefully distinguished the different sources of workers’ countervailing power in negotiations with management and treated the quality of workers’ democratic participation and involvement as an explanatory variable.

TOM LANGFORD

University of Calgary

Yves Zoberman, *Une histoire du chômage de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris: Perrin 2011)

COMME L'INDIQUE le titre du livre, Yves Zoberman, historien et conseiller culturel au ministère des Affaires étrangères de France, plonge ses lecteurs plusieurs siècles dans le passé afin de retracer les origines du chômage. Pour ce dernier, ce phénomène représente un « mal moderne et contemporain » que l'on retrouve au cœur de la réalité politique, économique et sociale du monde occidental (17). Cet enjeu n'est cependant pas nouveau et

est présent dès l'Antiquité, bien que ses causes et sa perception évoluent et se transforment à travers les siècles.

Le livre, qui totalise 340 pages, se divise en deux parties et est composé d'un total de six chapitres. La première partie, intitulée « L'histoire fait le chômage », débute avec les textes bibliques et couvre la période allant de l'Antiquité à la fin du 18^e siècle. L'auteur décrit et analyse les différentes formes de gestion publique et privée des oisifs, vagabonds et autres pauvres, ainsi que les discours publics et religieux qui sous-tendent ces mesures. Ses principales sources sont des textes de loi, les réflexions de témoins historiques (écrivains, personnalités publiques, hommes politiques, mais jamais les sans-travail eux-mêmes), ainsi que les travaux d'économistes, philosophes et autres intellectuels qui se sont intéressés à la question du chômage et du travail à travers les époques.

Pour la période antique, bien qu'il aborde brièvement des exemples grecs et romains, l'auteur se réfère surtout à la Bible... En ce qui concerne la période allant du 13^e au 18^e siècle, il se concentre avant tout sur la situation en France et en Angleterre. L'auteur attribue un rôle central aux *enclosures*, qui provoquent un exode rural important, dans l'apparition du chômage de la période. De là découlent d'importantes mesures pour contrer le vagabondage. Les mesures publiques visent dans un premier temps à réhabiliter les pauvres par le travail, notamment à travers les *workhouses* en Angleterre, ou par l'enfermement dans les hôpitaux généraux en France. Les mesures de gestion des pauvres et des sans-emploi évoluent au cours du 18^e siècle, alors que les autorités cherchent plutôt à créer de l'emploi par l'intermédiaire des ateliers de charité ou encore des ateliers nationaux en France.

Pour Zoberman, l'événement qui bouleverse l'histoire du chômage

survient en Angleterre en 1795 avec l'adoption du *Speenhamland Act*. Selon lui, « cette expérience de "capitalisme social" est donc essentielle : elle prouve que l'État peut maintenir un niveau de vie minimum pour chacun sans bouleverser la société » et c'est ainsi que « le chômage indemnisé entre dans l'Histoire » (145).

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage, intitulée « Le chômage fait l'histoire », couvre les 19^e et 20^e siècles. Le « chômeur moderne » apparaît officiellement avec les premières statistiques sur le chômage à la fin du 19^e siècle, plus précisément en 1896 en France (193). Dès lors s'ensuit une série de débats politiques et économiques sur les causes du chômage et les meilleurs moyens d'y remédier (interventionnisme étatique ou laissez-faire économique).

C'est au lendemain de la Première Guerre mondiale que l'on découvre le chômage structurel, alors que de nombreux pays sont touchés par la récession du début des années 1920. Dès lors, « tous les experts et les politiques reconnaissent que les problèmes liés au chômage constituent le cœur de la dépression de l'économie mondiale » (221). Pour Zoberman, les institutions internationales sont au centre de ces réflexions. Il s'agit donc de « rationaliser les forces de travail disponibles nationalement, tout en coordonnant internationalement le marché du travail » (221). C'est dans ce contexte que « [m]algré le peu de résultats pratiques en 1923, l'assurance chômage est désormais considérée comme une assurance sociale comme les autres » (221).

C'est avec la Grande Dépression des années 1930 que le chômage acquiert le statut de « vedette », alors que le chômage involontaire atteint des sommets (246). Le *New Deal* de Roosevelt marque un tournant dans l'intervention de l'État. Désormais, « ce n'est plus la Bourse qui fait la politique, mais la politique qui influence l'économie » (254). Toujours

selon Zoberman, c'est aussi la Crise des années 1930 qui ouvre la voie au chômage comme objet d'étude et comme sujet littéraire (255–262).

Le dernier chapitre, « Le chômage postmoderne », se divise en deux parties. La première débute en 1945 et analyse comment les États développent leurs systèmes respectifs de sécurité sociale et privilégient les politiques de plein emploi. La deuxième partie est consacrée à la rupture du consensus quant aux politiques étatiques en matière de plein emploi. Pour Zoberman, ce tournant s'effectue après 1974 dans la foulée de la crise pétrolière et inflationniste du début des années 1970. Dès lors, c'est le triomphe de l'individualisme et du libéralisme.

L'auteur conclut son ouvrage par une discussion critique sur les politiques françaises en matière de chômage. Une de ses solutions passe par la réduction du temps de travail. Il propose aussi de jeter un regard du côté danois et des autres pays scandinaves afin de s'inspirer de ces modèles d'intervention en matière d'emploi et de chômage.

Convenons que l'historien s'attaque à un exercice ambitieux, et périlleux, qui malheureusement présente plusieurs lacunes et ne réussit pas tout à fait à convaincre. Dans cet essai historique, Zoberman procède à un long détour dans le temps afin de se pencher sur l'enjeu du chômage dans la France du 21^e siècle.

Tout d'abord, l'auteur définit le chômage comme le « non-emploi » et le « non-travail », mais convient qu'il est difficile de trouver une définition historique consensuelle, car sa perception, sa définition ou encore les mots pour l'exprimer varient selon les périodes historiques et sont souvent empreints de jugements moraux (25–30). À notre avis, Zoberman éprouve de la difficulté à maintenir sa définition à travers sa trame narrative, car il y a

confusion entre chômage, pauvreté et oisiveté, plus particulièrement au cours de la première partie de l'ouvrage.

Selon Zoberman, l'objectif est que « [e]n brossant l'évolution historique du chômage nous lui rendrons justice » et que son oeuvre « permettra notamment d'étudier des individus qui ont échappé au mot "chômage" sans être exclus de sa réalité » (29). Néanmoins, il est loin de parvenir à ses fins. Tout au long du livre, les victimes du chômage sont dépossédées du titre d'acteurs historiques. Elles sont exclusivement présentées et interprétées à travers les transformations structurelles, la vision des autorités publiques et leur gestion par les institutions. Il est somme toute paradoxal d'aborder une histoire du chômage sans jamais laisser la parole aux individus qui le subissent.

Bien qu'*a priori* l'exercice historique proposé par l'auteur semble original, le dernier chapitre et sa conclusion déçoivent. Zoberman amorce en dernier lieu une critique rapide du néolibéralisme et du rôle de l'État qui ne se démarque guère du discours d'une certaine gauche parlementaire et institutionnelle. Il nous semble quelque peu illusoire de vouloir trouver des solutions réelles au chômage et à la présente crise économique sans entamer une réflexion et une critique de fond sur l'essence même du capitalisme et par conséquent du salariat. Après tout, ces réalités ne sont-elles pas à la source du « mal moderne et contemporain » que représente le chômage?

BENOIT MARSAN

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Guoqi Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front: Chinese Workers in the Great War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2011)

THERE IS MUCH that is worth reading in this first book-length study in English

of Republican China's participation in World War I; there is also much that is quite controversial. The brainchild of an influential politician, Liang Shiyi, the idea of sending Chinese labourers to help the French and the British on the Western front was well received by the latter, largely because mobilization and casualties had created a severe shortage of labour for both of them.

Furthermore, since private companies recruited these labourers at first, Germany could not accuse the Chinese government of violating a neutrality declared at the very beginning of the war in Europe. Recruited at home on the basis of written contracts, these Chinese had to pass stringent medical examinations and undergo training in China before they began their long odyssey to France either by the Cape of Good Hope, the Suez Canal, or – and that was the fate of most of them – through the Pacific Ocean and Canada, a delicate operation conducted in great secrecy by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and supervised by the Chief Press Censor of Canada, Colonel Ernest Chambers, and then across the Atlantic Ocean. Many of the Chinese had never seen the sea or boarded a ship and at least 700 of them lost their lives to German submarine attacks. The first contingent of labourers arrived in France in August 1916 and, as a sign of things to come, was not heartily welcomed by the French and British working classes.

Once installed on the Western Front, these approximately 140,000 Chinese contract workers, most of them illiterate peasants, faced numerous challenges. True, they were not called upon to take an active part in the fighting; nevertheless, they were often used in or near danger zones, even though their standard contract stipulated otherwise. They also worked in munitions plants, built and repaired roads and railroads, dug trenches (by far, their main occupation), fixed

machines, transported military supplies, loaded and unloaded cargo, cleared the battlefields, drained camps and flying fields, and made duck boards for military purposes. Those serving under the British encountered further restrictions: they had to wear uniforms, their mail service was under military control, and, if they broke rules, they were subjected to court martial; they were also quartered in closely packed camps and, often, they did not have warm clothes and enough food. British authorities never considered the Chinese labourers their mental equals; rather, they maintained towards them a colonial attitude grounded in cultural misunderstandings and stereotyped perceptions (childish, dirty, mean, and bad) – in a nutshell, they evinced a general cultural arrogance that mutated into pure racist prejudice. Finally, for all of these Chinese, the lack of qualified officers and interpreters created serious management problems.

Their work did not end with the signing of the November 11 Armistice. Indeed, in its aftermath, they located mines and unexploded bombs, cleared away barbed-wire entanglements and picked up shell cases, moved live munitions and filled in trenches, tore down huts and buried the remains of dead soldiers (a practice that Chinese popular culture associated with extreme bad luck). Chinese labourers stayed in France until 1922. Altogether, around 3,000 of them died while serving the Allied cause. Looking at the number of war medals received and the amounts of pension money granted on behalf of Chinese deceased labourers, Xu concludes that these sacrifices have not received the recognition that they rightly deserve – hence his successful attempt to redress this denial of memory.

One redeeming feature, though, was the many social, educational, and entertainment programs provided by the YMCA, which ran canteens, organized

recreation activities (the Chinese labourers particularly enjoyed sports), theatrical groups and motion pictures, helped them deal with banking issues, taught them basic literacy, foreign languages, history (including the nature and meaning of the Great War), and geography, and offered Bible classes and Sunday services. All these initiatives, supported by military authorities that quickly appreciated their value in terms of increased labourer morale and productivity and as a way of preventing riots, made the lives of these Chinese workers less miserable and more bearable.

A case study of transnational interactions that draws on diaries, personal letters, YMCA reports, and official documents from Canada, China, France, Great Britain, and the USA, *Strangers on the Western Front* is a well-researched and well-written book, but one with a thesis that is fundamentally flawed. By linking China with the Allied cause, political elites and public intellectuals were convinced that Chinese labourers would “promote China’s entry into the world community as an equal member.” (38) Xu, the author of a previous monograph – *China and the Great War: China’s Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization* (Cambridge 2005) – that painted a canvas in strong nationalist colours, argues that this objective was ultimately achieved: “the Chinese laborers ... contributed enormously in terms of what happened at the postwar peace conference and in China’s subsequent development. ... Their labor, their sacrifices, and their lives provided Chinese diplomats in Paris with a critical tool in their battles for recognition and inclusion on the world stage.” (241–242)

Not everyone will agree with him on this point. The failure of the Chinese delegation at the Peace Conference to convince the Allies to force Japan to return the former German concessions in the

Shandong province to China, as well as the continued interference of the Great Powers in China’s affairs during the so-called warlord era (1916–1928) contradict such assertions. Indeed, the rest of the world did *not* recognize China’s “desire and ability to play a role in world affairs” (229), in spite of its generous wartime contribution in manpower. *Nor* did Chinese labourers’ efforts play a role “in establishing the new world order” (228) in the wake of World War I. True, they planted a few seeds and some of them developed a new sense of national identity as a result of their experiences overseas; nevertheless, their impact should not be exaggerated. Chiang Kai-shek, under whose governance the unequal treaty system was abolished, and, especially, Mao Zedong were the main architects of China’s new place in the world and their achievements on that front had very little, if anything, to do with Chinese workers in the Great War. Furthermore, China’s “major goal of taking part in the war” (227) was not shared by everyone at home, far from it. Xu gives a false impression of national unanimity when he neglects to discuss the existence of a strong current of opposition to the entry of China into the Great War in August 1917. Finally, to argue that the whole enterprise was “a success story” (241) somewhat undermines the validity of the author’s general approach – one that emphasizes the many broken promises, the blatant discriminations, and the suffering endured by these Chinese labourers at the hands of the Westerners.

J.-GUY LALANDE

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Rebecca J. Scott and Jean M. Hébrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2012)

AFTER A CHANCE DISCOVERY of a piece of paper on which was written a sliver of an enslaved Senegalese woman's history, historians Rebecca Scott and Jean Hébrard embarked on an international archival and genealogical quest, discovering even more pieces of paper, and like forensic detectives, they pieced together a riveting transnational and multigenerational narrative which focuses on the family descended from the slave woman named "Rosalie of the Poulard Nation."

Between 1786 and 1791, a woman dubbed in her records of sale as Rosalie of the Poulard Nation entered enslavement in the French colony of Saint-Domingue. As her moniker "La Poulard" implied, this woman more than likely came from one of the Peular, Fulbe, or Fulani ethnic groups of the Sénégal River Valley. Sometime before her sale in the West Indies, she underwent the ritual of re-naming and lost her original African name.

A survivor of the nightmarish Middle Passage, Rosalie was but one of the millions of Africans who were violently torn from their African homelands in the greatest crime against humanity, the TransAtlantic Trade in captive African bodies. In Saint-Domingue Rosalie came to be the concubine of her owner, a white Frenchman, and engaged in what came to be the fate of thousands of African women who in enslavement were bedded by the very men who bought and enslaved them.

Rosalie entered Saint-Domingue at a time of revolutionary upheaval. Hot on the heels of the French Revolution came the Haitian Revolution, in which the enslaved population of Saint-Domingue rose up in an antislavery and anticolonial

death struggle. These two great revolutions had a seismic global impact and turned Rosalie's life upside down

By January 1804, the Haitian Revolution triumphed; former slaves, and free Blacks and Browns, took control of their country and Saint-Domingue was renamed Haiti. During the course of the struggle the revolutionaries issued an emancipation proclamation freeing all of Saint-Domingue's enslaved and granting full citizenship rights to all. Thus Rosalie and her progeny had full rights as citizens.

In 1803, Rosalie, Michel Vincent, and their four children boarded a ship to Santiago de Cuba. Though Rosalie was free, Vincent took the step of drawing up for her and her children a "free paper," a document which declared he had manumitted them. Here, it must be borne in mind that Cuba was a slave society, and many of those who could claim freedom in Saint-Domingue/Haiti were now vulnerable to re-enslavement. Rosalie remained in Cuba for a while but sent her daughter Élisabeth with her godmother, the widow Aubert, to the American slaveholding city of New Orleans, to which thousands of Haitian refugees had fled. Rosalie herself returned to Haiti, where the revolutionaries had finally expelled the French, and where her freedom was secure.

New Orleans was a slaveholding city, but one with a significant free Black and mulatto population. There, Rosalie's daughter Élisabeth married another mulatto, Jacques Tinchant, and they had four sons. However, draconian slave laws, and restrictive Black codes with regards to marriage and miscegenation, made life unstable. The family pulled up stakes, departed for France where Jacques and Élisabeth bought a farm in the Basque Region, and put down roots. They set about educating their four American-born sons (a last child, Édouard, was born in France) in a country seemingly

committed to antiracism, equal rights for all regarding of race, and universal education.

Over the next century the Vincent/Tinchant clan travelled the world, taking on numerous ethnic and national identities. Its members journeyed across oceans and continents – France, Mexico, the United States, Belgium, Cuba, Haiti, England, and even Germany – opening and closing businesses, making strategic marriage alliances, engaging in martial and revolutionary endeavours, all in pursuit of the security, freedom, respect and respectability that white supremacy denied them.

In France, the Tinchants witnessed the uprisings of 1848 when republicanism was outlawed and monarchy reinstated. The status quo once again ushered in racial animosity toward persons of colour. Joseph Tinchant decided to leave France for New Orleans; he later moved to Mexico. His parents and brothers departed from France to Belgium, a new enough country and one where the racial climate was friendlier toward Blacks and others of colour.

Joseph and two other of his brothers, their wives, and children settled in Mexico and were there when the French, Spaniard, and British invaded that country. As well, several of the Tinchants lived through the American Civil War and brothers Joseph and Edouard joined the Union Army. Édouard, an abolitionist, became a delegate to the Louisiana state constitution convention. Later, two Tinchant descendants, Marie-José and her twin brother José, worked for the Belgian Resistance during World War II.

This constant shuffling from one country to another make it seem that the Tinchants had no real loyalty to any territory, but only to their family and its security. That is understandable given the times in which they lived. For the end of the 18th century and much of the 19th,

Blacks and other people of colour were denied citizenship rights in many if not most countries in the Western hemisphere. Only one country in that region held out full citizenship for Blacks, and that was Haiti. In the antebellum period, the United States dashed all hopes of such for Black people, with the pronouncement of the Dred Scott decision in 1857. And even after the post-Civil War period, White supremacy with its accompanying denial of Black rights reasserted itself in all levels and sectors of society.

The Tinchants' migrations made them citizens of the world, or as the authors would have it "citizens beyond nations." (161) Their ability to transgress various boundaries speaks to their relative privilege as persons of colour. The Tinchants had the financial means that enabled them to leave a hostile place. In contrast an "obvious" Black person could *not* pass for white, and could not manipulate racial borders similarly.

The role of papers, literacy, and writing played a major role in the lives of Rosalie and her descendants. It is likely that Rosalie herself had some literacy in Arabic, given that she came from an Islamically-oriented society, one in which the written word and scholarship was held in high esteem. It was papers and the safe-keeping of them that allowed Rosalie to ensure the freedom and civil and social status of herself and her daughter Élisabeth. The latter's baptismal record documented the presence of her white father and his acknowledgment that she was his child. Rosalie kept this paper safe and would later travel to New Orleans with the baptismal certificate so that her daughter would have proof of her father's acknowledgement. Even though her parents were not married, the fact that Élisabeth could use her father's name had ramifications for her marriage to Jacques Tinchant, and for the civil status of her own children.

The French-born Édouard, on arriving in New Orleans, registered with the French Consulate as a French citizen. Even as he took out American citizenship, he kept the documents of his registration safe, knowing that at some point he would had to give proof of his French citizenship. Indeed, thirty-five years later, in Belgium, he had to give proof the he was a Frenchman.

Thus the title of the book *Freedom Papers* is quite apt. Pieces of paper, numerous pieces, saved the lives of the Tinchants and secured their freedom from slavery, insecurity, insults, and racism. The Tinchants “had long known that a piece of paper could turn a human being into a person with a price, and that other pieces of paper could restore freedom and standing.” (171)

This story of course has resonance for our time. Today, Black people are still fighting for the atrocities of slavery to be recognized, and for reparations. Descendants of the enslaved have still not achieved racial justice and full emancipation. Crossing the colour line and racial mixing is still employed as a “survival strategy.” Furthermore, World War II and its carnage are still a part of our collective memory.

It is obvious that the authors themselves amassed and sifted through volumes of paper in order to write this monograph. The numerous documents no doubt caused the authors to become skilled editors, because the story, though dense, is tightly woven and compact. Rosalie and her daughter Élisabeth dominate the opening chapters, and then the narrative becomes woven around the Tinchant brothers. The story ends dramatically and tragically with the granddaughter of Joseph, Marie-José, the unfortunate Resistance fighter, gassed by the Nazis.

Primary sources enhance the monograph. The reader is treated to copy of a

bill of sale for Rosalie, a photograph of Rosalie’s daughter Élisabeth, a copy of Édouard’s letter to Cuban revolutionary general Máximo Gómez, a label of Joseph Tinchant’s cigar box, which shows his likeness, and a picture of Belgian Resistance heroine Marie-José Tinchant, among other primary documents.

In many ways, the book is a tribute to Rosalie, for her tenacity, cleverness, and farsightedness. She gave her family and her descendants what a vast majority of her fellows would not have been able to provide for theirs. At the same time, by rescuing and writing Rosalie’s story, Hébrard and Scott have pulled from obscurity the tortured histories of tens of thousands of enslaved Africans whose labour, intelligence, and skills built the New World. These two historians have written a rich and textured history that in my mind has become an instant classic.

AFUA COOPER

Dalhousie University

Jody Pavilack, *Mining for the Nation: The Politics of Chile’s Coal Communities from the Popular Front to the Cold War* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press 2011)

IN *MINING FOR THE NATION* Jody Pavilack has produced a solidly documented study about the political endeavours of the Chilean colliers during the turbulent decades of 1930 and 1940. Pavilack centres her study in Lota, the main collieries in the country, although she also marginally includes towns such as Coronel, to the north, and Lebu to the south. The author’s declared aim is to analyze the politics of the Chilean Popular Front at the local and “popular” (meaning working class?) level. In order to accomplish her objectives, Pavilack has used a wide array of sources to account for the miners’ political experience. In

characterizing the mining communities she has used intensively the documents left by the *Compañía Industrial de Lota* (quite an endeavour since they are not classified) as well as the municipal archive of Lota and interviews with former colliers and union leaders. To analyze labour relations and the local politics she used the documents produced by the regional government (Intendencia), the Ministry of the Interior (in charge of law and order), and the Ministry of Labour and the General Directory of Labour Affairs, which is one of the dependencies of the former. She also made good use of parliamentary debates and the press, both local and national. Pavilack also had access to the reports periodically produced by the Labour Attaché at the United States' Embassy in Santiago, a very valuable source since that official was, or was said to be, an expert in labour relations. Therefore, from the methodological point of view it is a solid book, although one wonders about the number of interviews (thirty seems to be a limited sample in communities with over 15,000 workers) as well as the persons interviewed, mainly union leaders and members of political parties, mainly the Communist Party.

Pavilack contends that, contrary to what conventional wisdom and analyses from the far left have maintained, the working class was not a passive actor of the Popular Front period; workers played an active role and contributed actively to the shaping of the political scenario. Therefore the Popular Front should not be viewed as a demobilizing period, although here it should be remembered that the Front dissolved in 1941. Quite the contrary, according to Pavilack, labour leaders and political activists (mainly members of the Communist Party), articulated a program of participative democracy and social justice which was enthusiastically made their own by the

colliers and the communities, to the despair and fear and staunch opposition of the local economic elites and right wing parties, who put heavy pressure on the centrist members of the Front to detain the mobilization and advancement of the workers. These developments lead the author to conclude that repression, particularly harsh during the government of President Gabriel González (1946–1952), was mostly motivated by local, national events – labour agitation in the collieries was part of national movements – rather than by external variables such as the politics of the Cold War.

The book is organized in three parts, and it is rather conventional and uneven. The first part consists of a characterization of what could be called “the world of coal,” that is to say the environment, both physical and social where, according to the author, in the first quarter of the 20th century, the “worker citizen” entered the scene. According to this, after a prolonged strike in 1920 communists and socialists begun to make inroads in the coal mining communities, which hitherto had been under, if not the control, a heavy influence of anarchists and Trotskyists. It was a new scenario and while the latter lost influence the former combined their activism with making use of the new labour legislation both for reorganizing labour and managing labour conflicts. Thus when the Popular Front was organized at the national level in 1935, the local leaders were prepared to give a “local content” to the general proposals. At the beginning it was an inclusive strategy as communists and socialists sought to form alliances with other left-wing and centrist political organizations in order to boost the influence of the organized working class in public affairs and the running of the coal companies. It was a successful strategy, which made a significant local contribution to the election of Pedro Aguirre,

the Popular Front's candidate, to the Presidency of the Republic in October 1938. Afterwards, and for roughly three years, the regional political authorities together with the local left-wing leadership made strenuous efforts to change the traditional power structure.

In the second part Pavilack analyzes the social and political tensions during the Popular Front. Until 1942, government played an active and to some extent successful role in the forging of agreements between the bosses, the workers, and the state as guarantor. Yet the background to those negotiations and eventual agreements was the continued struggle between labour and capital for power quotas and the distribution of the diminishing economic gains of the industry. As the workers pressed for a larger share of the benefits, they met with ever stronger resistance by the bosses and after 1942, when the politics of the Popular Front were already exhausted, with the diminished sympathy on the part of the governmental authorities. It was just another example of the dramatic evidence of the changing path in Chilean politics, which in the second half of the 1940s materialized in a fierce repression of labour political organizations. This section of the book suffers from a "deviation" in the author's analysis, which tends to focus on the national rather than on the local nature of the increasing climate of confrontation.

The third part of the book is centred on the events after 1946, which, according to the author, mark the beginning of Cold War politics in Chile. It is a most engaging account, as Pavilack masterfully combines the tortuous events that led President González to turn against, outlaw, and persecute the members of the Communist Party – which had been one of the mainstays in his presidential campaign in 1946 – with the human suffering that the repression, particularly although not exclusively the deportations, meant in

the coal mining communities. The suffering experienced in the communities was double: first in the separation of families, and second in a symbolic dimension, as the repression and dismantling of the labour and social organizations resulted in the destruction of the social projects which had been forged since the 1920s.

On the controversy around the origins of the repressive policies of the late 1940s, Pavilack distances her analysis from the dominant view among United States academics that they were externally inspired, if not "suggested" by the US and sustains that they were mainly due to domestic factors, particularly the changing nature and the shift to the right of the centrist Radical Party, the axis of the Popular Front. President González, a skilful and unscrupulous traditional politician, made use of the rhetoric of the Cold War, but he was mostly motivated by a need to appease the new entrepreneurial class, and that implied dismantling the labour institutional setting built by the Popular Front and which, to some extent, had eroded the privileges and power of the entrepreneurs.

Paradoxically the book's contribution to our understanding of recent Chilean social history is not about the politics of the mining communities during the Popular Front years or rather during the decades 1930–1950. Whereas most authors have privileged the view of class collaboration to further the policies of industrialization, Pavilack unveils an aspect hitherto largely neglected: social mobilization, class conflict, and working class demands. In these dimensions the book makes a most valuable contribution, but it poses a major problem insofar as taking the mining districts as a case study to evaluate the whole of the Popular Front performance seems to this reviewer a forced methodological option. In the first place, the mining communities were important yet small entities and

not representative of typical working-class districts in the country, which leads to the second problem. The local politics and demands were mostly inspired by the Communist Party and that situation was certainly exceptional, due precisely to the characteristics of the area: a heavy proletariat concentration which was not the case of the country as a whole.

A second dimension making this book an important contribution to Chile's political historiography has to do with Pavilack's analysis of the democratic system and the meaning of democracy at the time of the Popular Front. According to her analysis on this score the supposedly exceptional nature of Chile's political trajectory is open to discussion, not just because of the cycles of democratic and dictatorial rule, but rather because her analysis of the politics of the coal mining districts suggests that there democracy was an intrinsically controversial project. In other words the adherence to democratic rule was a question of opportunity, something hitherto analyses have attributed to right-wing political forces, the left being the force in charge of furthering democratic rights. This is a most challenging proposal which I hope will stimulate a debate in Chile, at a time when there seem to have been claims for "democratizing democracy."

This is an important book that sheds new light on the history of the coal miners and the Communist Party in the area, although not that much about coal mining itself. It invites us to look again to the politics of "the exceptional country" in Latin America during a highly controversial and painful period. It is also a refreshing view about the Popular Front, Cold War politics, and the different meaning of democracy. Yet Jody Pavilack has a "debt" I hope she will solve in the near future and this is related to what one misses in this excellent book: more about mining and day-to-day life in the mining

towns. One paragraph (17 lines) about the devastating effects of the 24 January 1939 earthquake is certainly not enough for a book dealing with the social history of what at the time was a strategic area.

LUIS ORTEGA

Universidad de Santiago de Chile

Akira Suzuki, ed., *Cross-National Comparisons of Social Movement Unionism: Diversities of Labour Movement Revitalization in Japan, Korea and the United States* (Bern: Peter Lang 2012)

BASED ON PAPERS from a December 2010 workshop at Hosei University, Tokyo, Akira Suzuki's edited volume is a welcome addition to Peter Lang's "Trade Unions Past, Present and Future" series. It contributes to expanding the geographical scope of studies on union revitalization and social movement unionism (SMU) in an era of capitalist globalization. The book is divided into three parts reflecting its major threads of inquiry: the impact of social movement unionism on existing labour movements; social movements from a cross-national perspective; and meso-level mediating factors explaining the diversities of social movement unionism. The eleven chapters focus mainly on cases of SMU in Japan, South Korea, and the United States. Most contributors address the limits and possibilities of SMU, its impacts on and in "mainstream" labour movements, mediated by specific historical, institutional, political, and economic contexts.

In his introduction, Suzuki, a labour sociologist and associate professor at Hosei University's Ohara Institute for Social Research, writes "revitalization efforts took on new forms of organizing the unorganized in the United States and new forms of union organization in Japan and Korea." (3) In particular, he notes

organizing immigrant workers in the low paying US service sector and nonregular workers and workers in small firms in Japan and Korea.

Building on Charles Tilly and William Sewell, and her own work on the “symbolic politics” of labour struggles at the margins of the USA and Korea, Jennifer Chun argues that it is “at the outer edges of existing union tactics and strategies that we observe examples of innovation and dynamism. What we find is a concerted effort by a relatively small group of unions and labour activists to expand the conception of labour politics beyond the workplace and beyond narrowly defined labour-management struggles.” (40) This, Chun argues, is part of a growing effort to prioritize the struggles of workers at the margins of the economy and society and transform understandings of who and how unions should organize the working class.

The Japan-focused contributions remind us that region-based amalgamated unions and community unions are similar to workers’ centres but have the right to collective bargaining. In addition, Suzuki notes the liberal union recognition procedures of Japanese labour law, whereby any group of workers, including those who form a minority in their workplaces, can form a union with the right to engage in collective bargaining with management of their respective firms, although in practice employers do not always respect the legal right of community unions. By contrast with North America and Britain, the Korean and Japanese community unionism discussed incorporates trade union functions.

Koshi Endo charts the emergence of women’s labour nonprofit organizations such as the Working Women’s Network and women’s trade unions in Japan. She argues that the dominance of union policies and practices based on the concept of “male breadwinner families” means

that such unions are not ready to adequately protect and expand the employment rights of female workers, and that this failure poses an obstacle to genuine trade union revitalization. Heiwon Kwon documents the Korean Railway Workers Union’s (KRWU) relative success in derailing Seoul’s railway privatization plan and how it was able to achieve gains for workers. She argues that this rested on KRWU being able to sustain a high level of union vitality by educating and mobilizing its membership, creating and multiplying political channels, and building broad social coalitions for the defence of citizenship rights and public goods. The Korean cases presented emphasize the importance of coalition building with other movements and the sectors of society in the labour struggles considered here. Joohee Lee, writing on Korean retail workers’ struggles (comprising regular and non-regular workers in two unions and the E-land Group – a “Korean Walmart”), is cautious about the prospects of radical reorganization of Korea’s unions, yet says that “the ever deteriorating lives of non-regular workers offer the conditions for a major revitalization.” (112)

Perhaps, in the different contexts considered here, as Minjin Lee notes in her chapter on varieties of community unionism, “discussion of a union movement oriented to community-based activities and organizing (i.e., community unionism) has developed in the process of searching for a new model of unionism that overcomes the stagnation of labour movements under the impact of neoliberal globalization and organizes and represents ‘hard-to-organize’ workers.” (177) Stephanie Luce contributes a thoughtful chapter on trade union-community coalitions in the USA and their strengths, challenges and limitations as they join to fight for living wage ordinances, primarily in Cleveland, Denver, and New Haven.

She finds that one of the major challenges of this model of organizing is the inability to build towards long-term goals, and tension around not being able to go beyond lowest common denominator/minimal campaign demands in such coalitions.

The verdict on how effective community unions have been, and their prospects in revitalizing and radicalizing mainstream trade unionism, is mixed. Suzuki is pessimistic as to the future development of social movement unionism in Japan due to the apparent stability of labour-management relations at the enterprise-based union level. However, Hirohiko Takasu suggests that although constituting only 1 per cent of the 10 million union members in Japan, "if they are effective in publicly addressing the challenges of the day, region-based amalgamated unions can play a significant role in the labour movement and revitalize it by involving the mainstream unions in the most important struggles of the day." (319) Takasu's chapter addresses organizing workers in Japan in small and medium enterprises (not represented by larger enterprise-based unions) into region-based amalgamated unions from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, and the organizing of non-regular workers such as into a new type of region-based amalgamated union form (community unions) since the early 1980s, and, more recently, into amalgamated unions established by the national confederations (regional and local unions) since the mid-1990s.

For readers in North America, this collection offers important insights into institutional contexts and characteristics of social movement unionism in Japan and South Korea, at a time of spreading labour precarity, when there is growing scholarly interest in the mushrooming of workers' centres and other forms of labour organizing which stand outside of traditional/mainstream labour movements (e.g., Choudry, Hanley, Jordan, Shrage and

Stiegman, *Fight Back: Workplace Justice for Immigrants*, Halifax 2009; McBride and Greenwood, eds., *Community Unionism: A Comparative Analysis of Concepts and Contexts*, New York 2009).

At times, the collection suffers from a lack of coherence. For example, Charles Weathers' chapter on relations between labour movements and political parties in the USA, Australia, and Japan, seems out of place. This book is at its sharpest when contributions are grounded in concrete case studies producing rich empirical discussions and theoretical insights. Overall, this collection meaningfully paves the way for further research and cross-national collaborations. In doing so it not only extends and expands knowledge for scholars, but also speaks to labour organizers working to think through and learn from the gains, setbacks and strategies of organizing efforts in different contexts.

AZIZ CHOUDRY
McGill University

Susan L. Kang, *Human Rights and Labor Solidarity: Trade Unions in the Global Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2012)

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN rights standards governing trade union rights (often labelled rights of freedom of association) have contested meanings, and frail-to-nonexistent enforcement mechanisms. Skeptics argue that they have neither normative nor political traction within national boundaries, and play no meaningful role in workers' national struggles to advance their interests through collective action. Political scientist Susan Kang's book challenges that view, arguing that through what she calls a "normative negotiation process," international standards can influence state policy and produce positive outcomes for domestic

labour law and policy. Her book seeks to identify “the political conditions under which the transnational normative negotiation process may lead to a change in state behavior.” (8) Kang’s claims for the effectiveness of this process are very modest; she argues that it is effective only when leveraged by contingent political/economic imperatives, and even then works better at protecting individual rather than collective rights. Kang nevertheless sees international instruments and institutions as meaningful tools in a comprehensive strategic arsenal for confronting state attacks on freedom of association.

The book opens with two useful survey chapters. The first outlines the historical evolution of international norms governing the right to freedom of association, the right to collective bargaining, and the right to collective action, including the right to strike. The second identifies key international institutions that support and administer these norms, including the International Labour Organization (ILO) and its Committee on Freedom of Association, various UN committees, such as European institutions as the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an institution with no formal role in enforcing international human rights instruments but with increasing influence on international labour market policy through its standard-setting function. While most of this is familiar material, Kang’s clear summary account is a helpful backdrop to the chapters to come.

Kang then develops her main argument through three national case studies from South Korea, the UK, and Canada. In South Korea, she examines how domestic trade unions used international labour norms to advance their interests during the two decades prior to 2008, during which the country transformed itself

from an economically under-developed dictatorship into an industrialized, high-income democracy. Despite the South Korean government’s persistent refusal to ratify ILO conventions and other important international labour instruments, Kang argues that its desire to solidify the country’s place within such international institutions as the OECD was an important factor in its willingness to engage with the ILO and other international institutions over state policy initiatives. She recounts a lengthy “negotiation” process that produced gradual and modest changes in national labour law, as various South Korean administrations removed the monopoly of the conservative and anti-communist Federation of Korean Trade Unions, reduced state regulation of “solidarity activities,” and provided government employees with some limited access to collective bargaining rights.

In the UK, Kang’s focus is on the role of international law and international institutions in the litigation which Kang calls the Wilson/Palmer cases, challenging the private-sector practice of negotiating employment contracts requiring individual employees to give up the right to be represented by a trade union in exchange for higher pay. Her account of the escalation of this practice and government responses to it offers an interesting mini-history of the evolution of UK labour law and policy from the Thatcher era to the Blair years. Kang details the progress of the Wilson/Palmer litigation through the British courts system, through various international institutions, and the ultimately before the European Court of Human Rights where labour advocates were successful in securing a ruling that by permitting this practice, the government had violated international standards of freedom of association. Kang identifies the equivocal role of the Blair government in supporting the pro-employer posture of its Conservative

predecessors before the European Court but ultimately implementing the Court's decision (albeit in attenuated form).

In Canada, Kang examines the British Columbia (BC) government's legislative initiatives in the 1990s to restrict both the collective bargaining process and the substantive content of collective agreements in the public sector. Since Canada is a federal state, the BC government is not directly bound by international instruments, and international institutions played no direct role in this episode. However, international law had a role in the Supreme Court of Canada's 2007 decision in the *BC Health Services* case to strike down a significant portion of the BC legislation on the grounds that it violated Canada's domestic constitutional commitment to freedom of association. In its decision, the Court affirmed Canada's international commitments to collective bargaining as part of Canadian domestic constitutional law. Kang does not offer any definitive conclusions as to the efficacy of international law and international institutions in the Canadian episode. Indeed, she quotes legal scholar Judy Fudge's denunciation of the Supreme Court decision as a "confusing mishmash." She nevertheless sees the BC government's insistence that its legislation did not violate international norms as an acknowledgement that such norms are relevant in conflicts of this sort.

While each of Kang's three case studies offers a concrete context within which trade unions attempted, with varying degrees of success, to call into play the normative force of international labour standards to counter threats to trade union rights within their national borders, the three case studies chosen do not reflect a clear unifying theme. Nor do they all support Kang's central claim for the effectiveness of the "normative negotiation process." (4-7) Indeed, as Kang herself acknowledges, the Canadian

example resists analysis as an example of normative negotiation, since the BC government ignored international rulings and responded only to the force of domestic law. The lack of cohesion among the case studies limits the usefulness of the book for labour activists seeking to deploy international trade union rights to achieve domestic law reform goals.

For Canadian readers, another limitation of the book is that the Canadian case study stops with the Supreme Court's "good news" decision in the *BC Health Services* case and does not capture that same court's 2011 "bad news" decision in *Fraser v Ontario*, which has considerably muddied the Canadian constitutional waters. In *Fraser*, the Court upheld the constitutionality of a labour statute for agricultural workers protecting union membership, but imposing only the most minimal obligations on employers to engage in collective bargaining. *Fraser* has reinvigorated skeptics who doubt the capacity of international norms to protect trade union rights or influence government policy. Predictably, *Fraser* has triggered an unprecedented spate of legislation at both the provincial and federal level curtailing public and private sector collective bargaining rights. Litigation challenging this legislation will force Canadian courts to confront again the relationship between domestic and international trade union rights. Because Kang's "normative negotiation" framework does not engage well with the Canadian constitutional context, it cannot be of much assistance in predicting the outcome of this litigation.

Kang herself is clearly ambivalent about whether rights-based strategies are capable of challenging "the dominant ideology of neoliberalism" (17) and her book will not assuage the doubts of the skeptics. Nevertheless, the painstaking scholarship reflected in her case studies and the candour with which she tempers

her conclusions make the book a constructive contribution to the academic and practical debate, and a valuable resource for further work on this issue.

ELIZABETH SHILTON
Queen's University

Vincent Kelly Pollard, *State Capitalism, Contentious Politics and Large-Scale Social Change* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers 2011)

THE CONCEPT OF “state capitalism,” the theme of this collection of essays, is one worthy of book length treatment. In the decades following the Russian Revolution, many on the left recoiled from the horrors of Stalinism but found themselves tied in theoretical knots, attempting to reconcile an appalling system of totalitarianism with the notions of freedom and liberation which are the essence of any meaningful socialist project. Several theorists on the left cut through this knot deploying the theory of “state capitalism” as a framework by which to understand Stalinism and the social system it represented. It is a valuable project to make visible to a new generation the achievements of the most prominent of these theorists – Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James and Ygael Gluckstein (Tony Cliff) in particular – all of whom owed a debt to Leon Trotsky. Further, the book’s editor Vincent Kelly Pollard was not content simply with the archaeology of old debates and controversies. A more interesting challenge was taken up, deploying the state capitalism concept to analyze political developments subsequent to the Russian Revolution, in China, India, and the Philippines as well as in Russia. The resulting text is uneven, with some notable strengths but also some real limitations.

First of all the strengths, in particular the chapters by Michael Haynes and D.

Parthasarathy, the former focusing on class struggle in contemporary Russia, the latter on capital accumulation strategies in post-independence India. These, and the three chapters devoted to events in China, demonstrate what is possible when we develop an analysis seeing “the state as capital,” to quote Colin Barker [“The State as Capital,” *International Socialism* 2, no. 1 (Summer 1978): 16–42], allowing analysts to peer through the communist veneer often painted onto states and policies, and consequently more clearly highlight class struggle and problems of capital accumulation. The chapter by Romy Hasan very helpfully highlights the role of military competition as enforcing the law of value inside state capitalist China, arguing that “intense, military competition and concomitant development of the heavy industrial sectors dictate the path taken by the whole political economy.” (151) This is a necessary corrective to the chapter by Martin Oppenheimer, whose survey of the Russian question and the US left ignores this crucial aspect of any meaningful theory of state capitalism.

More importantly, it is a corrective to two long chapters collectively written by Satya Gabriel, Stephen Resnick, and Richard D. Wolff. Their particular version of state capitalist theory is rooted in structural Marxism, and attempts to deduce the class nature of China and Russia without any reference to the way in which the two polities are rooted in the world economy. This leads them to the quite strange conclusion that the society that emerged in China before Mao’s death could be called “state feudalism.” It then leads them to the even stranger suggestion that “features associated with socialism” (120) were implemented 2000 years ago in China. Class analysis cannot be based on a static snapshot of unequal relations within a society, but must be deeply embedded in the dynamics of

political economy – in the modern era, a global political economy. Without such an analysis, the very terms feudalism, capitalism, and socialism cease to have any conceptual value.

Pollard, the editor, has a synthetic introductory chapter, and a concluding chapter focusing on the Philippines. The latter surveys the political strategies adopted by the left in the Philippines during the political revolution of the 1980s. This, however, introduces a plane of analysis quite different from that of the rest of the collection: the question of left strategy during moments of popular mobilization. The implication of the chapter is that the “state capitalist” theoretical underpinning of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was directly linked to its failed two-stage strategy of revolution. This is an interesting and necessary discussion, but feels quite out of place in a book otherwise devoted to an examination of the policies of state capitalist ruling classes and policies carrying the name communist or socialist.

In his synthetic introductory chapter, Pollard offers a classification of the different strands of state-capitalist theory, offering “four discernible streams of policy-relevant state-capitalist analysis.” The first of these he calls “statist” – the vision of socialism attached to parties that usually called themselves Marxist-Leninist. The second he calls “state monopoly capitalist,” associating it with the writings of Gluckstein/Cliff as well as Benjamin Fine and Laurence Harris. The third he labels “libertarian-Marxist,” attaching it to the works of Raya Dunayevskaya and C.L.R. James. Finally, he offers a fourth “post-Trotskyist anarchist analysis” associated with Ronald D. Tabor. (4–6)

The latter three fit quite well together as part of a classification system. All three are streams of 20th-century anti-capitalist thought which tried to grapple with the rise of Stalinism by suggesting

that what had emerged in Russia (and China), were societies where the state, as a collective capitalist, exploited the working class. But the first entry in his classification system – the “statism” he associates with the Marxism-Leninism movements of the 20th century – is in a different category altogether. This refers not to people who critiqued Stalinism but who, in different ways, embraced it. Pollard is grouping like with unlike.

Further, the entire book operates at two planes of analysis, planes of analysis that never engage. Pollard offers a very important understanding of the role of the state in capitalist development through an approving quotation from Francis Castles, who suggests that “the very process of industrialization through which societies became more affluent produced problems which forced them to devote even greater proportions of national income to the provision of collective goods.” (3) This is a useful observation, very much in line with the writings of Bukharin, Lenin, Hilferding, and Engels on the evolving role of the state in European capitalism. It has some relevance to the quite interesting chapter written by Michael Haynes, who documents the tremendous role of the state in the capital accumulation process in Russia which existed *before* the revolutions of 1917. The development of capitalism in Russia can be seen as a subset of the development of capitalism in Western Europe. At the beginning of the 20th century, Haynes writes, “Russia’s rulers presided over a great power, potentially perhaps even the world’s greatest power.” (46)

Contrast this, however, with the analysis developed by Parthasarathy in his useful chapter on India. Parthasarathy situates the use of the state in economic development in post-colonial India as a necessary tool with which to confront “historical and structural obstacles facing an indigenous thrust towards capitalism

by Indian capitalist classes." He documents "the inability of major sections of Indian capital to extract surplus and accumulate purely through market mechanisms" leading them to instead "rely on the state for this purpose." (83) In other words, the use of the state in the economy is not a product of capitalist development, but of capitalist underdevelopment – an underdevelopment caused by the long decades of imperialist domination. This is very much the case for two of the other countries surveyed in the book, China and the Philippines. They, like India, were not great powers but oppressed countries emerging from under the boot of the imperialism and colonialism wielded by the great powers. It would be helpful to have a book which collected essays around this theme: the different ways in which state capital emerges in the Great Powers contrasted with those oppressed by the Great Powers. This book hints at this issue, but does not develop it.

There is one more issue to address. Some of the difficulties in the book are a problem of editing, but not necessarily a problem of the editor. The book presents itself to the reader with an extremely awkward and opaque title: "State Capitalism, Contentious Politics, and Large-Scale Social Change." But at five points in the Foreword and in the first chapter, the book is referred to by a different, much more interesting title: "Wrestling With Leviathan." (xv, 1, 7, 12) We can only speculate as to how such an embarrassing mistake could happen. Pollard tragically passed away before the book was completed. Perhaps there was a posthumous editing decision to change his preferred title. But if so: a) the revised title is a much poorer introduction to the book than the original; and, b) such a change needs to be explained to the reader. The absence of such an explanation creates a quite unnecessary confusion. In sum, this book poses some important

questions and at times offers some helpful insights, but on the whole raises more questions than it answers.

PAUL KELLOGG

Athabasca University

Rianne Mahon and Fiona Robinson,
eds., *Feminist Ethics and Social Policy.*
Towards a New Global Political Economy
of Care (Vancouver: University of British
Columbia Press 2011)

CARE HAS EMERGED as a key concept in feminist research and policy analysis across a number of fields such as social policy, geography, international relations, philosophy, and migration studies. However, bridging the gap between different approaches is, as the editors of this volume comment, challenging. Unlike an earlier attempt by Patrice DiQuinzio and Iris Marion Young, in "Introduction: Special Issue on Feminist Ethics and Social Policy," [*Hypatia*, 10 (1995): 1–7], to examine social policy through the lens of feminist ethics of care, the editors add the dimension of the transnationalization of care and the migration of care workers. In doing this they also seek to break down some of the dichotomies which continue to shape our thinking in this area, for example private/public, dependency/autonomy, and national/global.

The first section analyzes the transnational movement of care, largely focusing on the migration of care workers at different skill levels. Williams outlines three levels (micro, meso, macro) and five dimensions (movement of care labour; dynamics of commitment; movement of care capital; influence of care discourses and practices; development of social movements and NGOs) in her analysis of the development of a transnational political economy of care. While Williams largely focuses on home-based workers, Gabriel turns to the global migration of

nurses who, though skilled, face a disjuncture between their priority status in immigration legislation and their access to the profession. Onuki's chapter on Japan also brings out the gap between the entry of Filipino care workers covered under the Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement and their ability to stay in the country after a long period of training.

The second section examines the transnational influences on care policies through an examination of the different discourses of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank (Mahon) and the policy transfer and learning that took place in the expansion of care provision in East Asian states, such as South Korea (Peng). Tsuji argues that in Japan very rapid changes in child and elder care policies have led to the transformation of generational and intimate relationships in the process.

The third section focuses on the transnational ethics of care and seeks to extend its application in a number of directions. Robinson suggests that the ethics of care can help us to uncover and understand the moral dilemma underpinning the emancipation of receivers of care at the expense of the exploitation of givers in the global distribution of intimate services. She also counsels that we need to examine the role of hegemonic masculinity in legitimizing and sustaining feminization of care work. For her, sex workers too are to be included amongst those whose labour is devalued in the global economy. Hakivsky follows Robinson in including sex work in her framework of care ethics but goes beyond the demand side and looks at how ethics can deepen our understanding of the root causes of migration and transnational sex trafficking and female responses to "care deficits" in the country of origin, in particular the Ukraine. In a rich chapter, to

which it is difficult to do justice in a short review, Tronto asks whether a feminist democratic ethics of care can tell us anything special about global political economy. She argues in contrast to Hochschild that transnational care is not an issue of distribution but is about relationships and democratic procedures in states recognizing its transnational effects. Quite controversially, she concludes that not only should care workers be treated the same as other migrants in relation to citizenship but that nations should "extend citizenship to all those who are involved in substantive relations of care and by virtue of her/his care relationship with those who are engaged in caring relationships with citizens." (162–177)

To what extent then have social policy and feminist ethics managed to enter into a dialogue? While all concur that it provides a normative framework and highlight how the ethics of care has to be achieved in and through relationships rather than the autonomous subject, the authors writing from a social policy perspective conclude that such policies contain few elements of an ethics of care but tend rather to reflect dimensions of neoliberalism and social investment. What then might public and social policies look like if they reflected a democratic ethics of care? For authors focusing on the ethics of care, policies would have to serve both care receivers and givers in which the act of care does not entail the emancipation of the receiver and the exploitation and oppression of the giver. Policies would be designed in such a way as to engage with ethical and social justice issues, not just between individuals but also globally between states. That would mean that policies of restructuring imposed by international organizations and the transformation of socioeconomic systems would need to take into account their economic, social, and political effects rather than leave groups, such as

women, unable to care for themselves and other family members. It would also entail having democratic discussions about assigning and fixing responsibility in specific spatial and temporal contexts, and recognizing entitlements and extending citizenship to those providing care, especially those crossing borders to do so.

While the volume sets out the basis of dialogues between social policy and feminist ethics of care, this challenge also raises a number of complex issues, which would benefit from further discussion. There are also specific issues that arise in the focus on migrants who move in order to undertake care work, pushing to the background more general debates concerning social policy, ethics, and rights to care in an era when the web of care relationships is being reshaped. Despite recourse to migrant carers, the vast bulk of care is still unpaid and performed by women. Migrants move too for other purposes, such as family reunification or in other sectors of the economy than care, yet at the same time engage in care, both for those left behind and in the country of destination. One might question whether the assumption of a relationship based on emancipation for the receiver and exploitation for the giver of care is also applicable in the same way to these other situations.

A broad concept of care work is used to include sex workers and skilled migrants such as nurses in public and private institutions. Can we develop the same global policies to accommodate the diverse groups? In the case of nurses, there has been an attempt to implement ethical recruitment policies recognizing the position of both sending and receiving countries. Again responsibility and equitable and democratic decision making are mentioned as a necessary element of a feminist ethics of care, but how do we combine the local and the global? We

have seen that the care discourses and policies promoted by international organizations may be less than progressive, so how do we ensure territorial and global social justice? Furthermore, social policy reflects power relations and understandings of care in particular contexts and varies considerably according to diverse welfare regimes in which attitudes to intergenerational responsibility and support and gender equality are embedded. As has been noted by Kirstein Rummery and Michael Fine in their article "Care: A Critical Review of Theory, Policy and Practice" [*Social Policy & Administration*, 46 (2012): 323–43], there are considerable differences in the discussions about the relationship of social policies and social justice in Europe and North America.

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Rob Hengeveld, *Wasted World: How Our Consumption Challenges the Planet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2012)

ROB HENGEVELD is a Dutch biogeographer and ecologist whose research has addressed topics across a wide range, from speculative work on the origins of life on earth to empirical work on invasive species. This book is a *cri de coeur* that draws on all of these, set in a literature that goes back at least to Malthus, represented in the modern era by *The Population Bomb* (1968), *The Limits to Growth* (1972), and the many works they inspired. That their warnings have gone unheeded and that global population has doubled since 1970 are its primary motivation. Aimed at a general audience, it is not a scientific treatise (a typical indication of quantity is "staggering," e.g. 60, 126, 283) but an evocative warning with an apocalyptic message. "Through the unmitigated growth of our population

and its supporting infrastructure,” Hengeveld writes, “we are maneuvering ourselves into a situation, the seriousness of which cannot easily be overestimated. ...The problems facing us now are primarily those of whether or not we allow humanity and even life on Earth to continue.” (151)

In this account, consumption is not just something rich westerners do in their homes and cars and at the mall or supermarket. It is about the entire spectrum of resources that humanity consumes; the problems he foresees would not be resolved if only the affluent consumed less. Hengeveld takes a dark view of capitalism everywhere and of today’s “vast, treeless megacities,” where, he laments, “people don’t know each other anymore, don’t know the system they form.” (68) As that suggests, he sometimes seems nostalgic for a world in which most production and consumption were local and intimately interrelated, but he accepts that those times are gone. In fact, he welcomes many elements of modern living standards, such as medical knowledge and the institutions embodying it; the point of the book, he says, is to make it possible to retain a high quality of human life on earth.

Hengeveld rejects the focus on growth that characterizes modern political and economic discourse, and he is deeply distressed by its disregard for environmental costs. But although environmental change and global warming are among his concerns, his central argument is that rising populations, rising living standards in the developed world, and even more rapidly rising living standards in many parts of the developing world constitute mutually reinforcing, “self-accelerating” (140) exponential processes that are rapidly driving the use of resources, notably basic energy sources, fertilizers, and fresh water, far beyond the earth’s capacity to sustain humanity in the long term.

New developments may have postponed the day when supplies of the fossil fuels that he believes have been the main force in modern growth, and of the potash and other fertilizers on which our food supply now depends, will actually begin to diminish, but supplies are not infinite. A crucial component of his argument is that exponential growth applies also to the complexity and interdependence of the systems on which the modern world depends. Hence they have grown beyond our capacity to control them, and we will not be able to manage challenges as resource limits are approached. Somewhere something – a war, a famine, a flood, a drought, a pandemic, social unrest and revolutionary ferment, a massive flow of refugees, a financial crash – will trigger a crisis that cannot be corrected, launching a self-perpetuating downward spiral and ultimately a catastrophic collapse of human life and social institutions.

Measures that could postpone this moment – such as increased recycling, reforestation, development of alternative sources of energy, and energy conservation – are well worth pursuing, but Hengeveld contends that they cannot generate a completely sustainable equilibrium. Some resources, once used, can never be recaptured. Nor is he much encouraged by the slowing of rates of population increase; not only is he skeptical of models that project that population will permanently stabilize somewhere after 2050, he believes that in the long term resources will not be sufficient to sustain human life at that level of population anyway.

The book makes its case in part through historical and current examples. The historical evidence is necessarily stylized, at times open to other interpretations (was the western front in World War I really a battle for “local resources and industries” [87]?), or even wrong (as in saying that in the 19th-century United States “the land

was tilled by paid workers rather than by farmers" [61]). Some of the modern evidence is incorrect by orders of magnitude (examples include the number of Toyota hybrid cars produced in Japan in a year [111], the annual cost to American agriculture to eradicate diseases and pests [45, 178], and, surprisingly, the rate of population growth since the 1970s [70]). Yet reflection suggests that both past and present are ultimately beside the point in considering an abstract argument based on the power of exponential functions and the physics of matter and energy. That argument, reiterated in chapter after chapter, is that before long, probably within the lifespan of people now living, population growth will carry humanity beyond a point of no return.

What would be necessary to avoid this? Here history provides a benchmark, the population that the world sustained before it began to rely on fossil fuels. To live without petroleum would, Hengeveld says, require reducing global population by a factor of at least five from the numbers projected for 2050, to reach the level of 1900. More likely, a tenfold reduction would be necessary, taking population to the level of the early era of coal and steam. China's one-child policy is a useful model, he suggests, but might not provide "a fast-enough reduction." (303) Along its lines, he is kind enough to the living to propose that the reduction be done through the management of births, via contraception and sterilization. He is, of course, aware that so drastically reducing births would have extraordinary social, economic, and political implications, to say the very least. But every other option is worse: "The measures we need to take are inhumane, but they are the least inhumane of all." (302) He stops there, without attempting to model the demographic passage that would carry the world from ten billion to two or one billion people. Indeed, if he has

considered how any of these "measures" could actually be undertaken or how the world would subsequently look, those lines of thinking are not developed.

This kind of modeling of the future provides little footing for an everyday historian. But it is possible to agree that exponential growth cannot continue forever without accepting every component of such models. Prediction itself has an uncertain history, and at least thus far history has revealed far more flexibility and adaptability in human institutions and the natural world than were imagined by previous generations of theorists who were preoccupied by limits and constraints. Moreover, history provides enough unhappy examples of visionary schemes of social engineering to invite caution in the face of a proposal such as this.

DOUGLAS MCCALLA
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John Bellamy Foster and Robert W. McChesney, *The Endless Crisis: How Monopoly-Finance Capital Produces Stagnation and Upheaval from the U.S.A. to China* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2012)

THE AUTHORS, eminent representatives of the *Monthly Review* or monopoly capital school, argue that giant corporations, not free or efficient markets, dominate the economy. We live in a perverse world where powerful firms extract high profits but this becomes an economic problem as core national economies suffer from weak final demand, industrial overcapacity, and lack of investment. Foster and McChesney also challenge nationalist perspectives, insisting the economy should be conceived as a global whole. At least implicitly, they therefore reject simple policy fixes to what are profound structural problems. They end with Marx

and the stark alternatives of “the revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or ... the common ruin of the contending classes.” (183)

The book begins by introducing the perspective of what the authors now term “monopoly-finance capitalism” and by outlining the transformation, particularly of the US economy, since the 1960s. The next three chapters flesh out the analysis and the narratives of monopoly power and the turn towards financialized accumulation. The general analysis follows that pioneered by Paul Sweezy, in particular, drawing on Marx but incorporating insights from other traditions, notably from Keynes. Capitalism is divided into three periods; an early mercantilist or state-led phase, roughly to the industrial revolution, a competitive or free-market phase in the middle half of the 19th century, particularly in Britain, and since then monopoly capitalism. In this last period, large oligopolies dominate. They are not the passive “price-takers” depicted by orthodox economic models but more or less consciously collude. By eliminating price competition, they achieve a mark-up on their sales and higher profits. Surpluses tend to rise. But this leads to persistent difficulties reabsorbing these surpluses back into the economy. Final demand is limited and it pays firms not to raise production, so there is chronic overcapacity and a disincentive to invest. The economy tends to stagnate.

Most recently, monopoly capital fed growing inequality and surplus profits flowed particularly to finance, a sector that itself became hugely oligopolized. The economy takes another twist on its inexorable downward spiral. The book’s last three chapters discuss international dimensions, turning to corporate expansion, the exploitation of labour on a global scale, and finally to China’s contradictory growth and the plight of its workers. Both the rich empirical detail

and the conceptual arguments about corporate power are invaluable.

However, I think that both the general argument about monopoly-finance capital and the account of the current crisis needed a bit more to be really persuasive. In particular, without addition, the understanding of this crisis as capitalism’s “logical end-point” (61) is unconvincing. Hitherto capitalism has found ways out of its difficulties and it remains conceivable that it might do so again, albeit perhaps at devastating human and environmental cost.

At a crude empirical level, the last 140 years have not been characterized by endless stagnation. Of course, Foster and McChesney acknowledge periods of growth. But their explanation abandons theory for “favorable historical factors.” For example the post-World War II boom was fuelled by: (1) the buildup of consumer liquidity during the war; (2) the second great wave of automobilization; (3) a period of cheap energy; (4) the rebuilding of war-torn European and Japanese economies; (5) two regional wars in Asia, and Cold War military spending in general; and (6) a period of unrivalled US hegemony. (13) Much of this rings true but invoking the incidental has troubling echoes of the mainstream attribution of anything that upsets models and predictions of economic harmony to “exogenous shocks.” Moreover, beyond a free-market obsessed orthodoxy, it seems problematic to see things like auto-industry innovation, cheap oil, and state spending as “external” or non-economic.

Nor do the authors tell us how oligopoly works; how concentrated an industry needs be to achieve the alleged price fixing or how much competition might undermine it. They show that the number of industries in the US where just 4 firms claim 50 per cent of the market rose over the last 60 years from around 30 to 40 per cent but also that biggest jump

in the largest 200 corporations' share of profits occurred in the 1950s and 1960s and then levelled off. Recent outsourcing and firm fragmentation certainly falls short of hyperbole of "post-Fordism" and the coming "network society," which dominated the literature a few years ago, and apparently free market relations conceal structures of power. But there are counter-tendencies to capital concentration and centralization, which would be worth discussing. Firms' ability to raise prices surely also depends on what they are selling and to whom. Power over individual consumers is different to that in relation to other corporations. The book's evidence is thin here but includes the important example of price mark-ups by US Steel. Of course, it is other capitalists, not consumers, who buy steel and who presumably suffer an accompanying hit to their profits. Meanwhile, the most giant of retailers, Wal-Mart, is acknowledged to have driven down consumer prices. Both cases appear to contradict the model and the diagnosis of the current problems.

The sheer generality of claims of monopoly power also raises questions of what is specific and what is new. This seems striking in relation to finance and its changed role. The authors identify how originally, for Sweezy, finance was an essentially wasteful, unproductive activity that played an off-setting role to over-accumulation and helped to keep capitalism going. Now it exacerbates the problems. They quote Sweezy acknowledging the switch (42) but any explanation seems underdeveloped.

Similarly, there is little attempt to provide a systematic synthesis between the book's parts. This seems to be the result of its construction from seven separate articles but the discussion of the geographical dimensions then sits in some tension with the earlier analysis. The authors describe a massive rise in investment,

particularly in China, and even "a global orgy of factory building." (19) How does this fit analytically in relation to hypothesis of decline? Empirically, global rates of capital formation have declined but the sharp divergence, between falling investment rates in high-income countries and increases in poorer ones, might be reckoned at least as interesting and important a phenomenon. A discussion of this might also inform a contribution to debates around the significance of trade imbalances, financial recycling, and easy money in the US.

Finally, there is a striking Marxist silence around class struggle as a potentially active ingredient. Again, the fact that exploitation has increased in recent decades, particularly through the extension of production to poorer countries, is richly detailed. But declining wages are essentially understood as a normal imperative of mature capitalism. So what is new? The political defeats of organized labour since the 1970s hardly warrant a mention. Were these not at least one important element in the restoration of profit rates and contributor to the specific recent problems of underconsumption and debt?

It is perhaps unfair to dwell on what the book has not done. It is short and sharp and offers much that is invaluable. Its indictment of capitalism is damning and the explosion of mainstream dogmas impressive. On the other hand, readers will find little engagement with other radical accounts. This may reflect a healthy disdain for sectarian squabbling but it leaves several analytical problems unexamined and many aspects of capitalism's contradictory dynamism ignored or under-investigated. As the authors acknowledge, the book raises more questions than it provides answers.

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IN *LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL*, 71 (Spring 2013), 193–201, Jessica Millward published a review essay, “On Agency, Freedom, and the Boundaries of Slavery Studies,” that included comment on Max Grivno’s book *Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor Along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790–1860* (2011). Professor Millward wishes to provide the following correction:

Professor Max Grivno provides a balanced and detailed assessment of enslavement within a changing free labour economy. By focusing on free and enslaved farmhands in Northern Maryland, Grivno challenges the notion that Baltimore was the definitive place where slavery and freedom co-existed. Grivno erects a Maryland where the distinctions of slavery and free labour, “jostled, mingled and merged.” (15) Despite this blurring Grivno provides detailed evidence that, “Slavery may have been marginal to the local economy, but the institution lost none of its malignancy.” (11) The strengths of Grivno’s work are in the author’s ability to weave together the complicated threads of African American history, labour history, and place within a local and national context. Grivno’s work is a fine contribution to studies on the lives and labours of free and enslaved African Americans.