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REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Carol Williams, ed., *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2012)

CAROL WILLIAMS' ANTHOLOGY offers a much-needed survey of Indigenous women's work in the settler nations of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States from the colonial period to recent times. As noted in Joan Sangster's brilliant historiographic essay (which belongs on every graduate syllabus in gender, labour, and Native history), scholars have chronicled Indigenous women's labours from anthropological, historical, Marxist, feminist, and anti-colonial perspectives since the poststructuralist turn, but these authors adopt a decolonization stance in their approach to Indian women's labour histories. Those who write about Indigenous women will find every chapter essential, those who practice women's labour history will find most chapters useful, and those who teach about labour will sample deeply from this broad collection.

Together, the contributors illustrate that Native women's labour has been, and still is, essential to their own and their community's survival. Their chapters affirm Indigenous women's diverse economic contributions and their persistent flexibility in adapting to colonialism, capitalism, and commodification, while struggling to retain personal dignity and political sovereignty within emerging social and political contexts that systematically degraded female Indigenous work.

Although Williams makes some effort to explain the anthology's sequence, readers will find that the chapters are not chronologically ordered, regionally arranged, or thematically clustered. With a few exceptions noted below, the authors also do not speak to one another, even in studies that are strikingly similar in their findings and ripe for comparative analysis. While the seemingly random chapter arrangement and lack of internal dialogue will pose problems for some, *Indigenous Women and Work* nonetheless has much to offer those of us eager to see Native women integrated into labour history.

Each chapter provides important examples of Indigenous women contributing to colonial and modern economies, and resisting external and internal forces of oppression, but the particularly compelling essays also take on the archival mechanisms of erasure that have obscured such pasts. Lynette Russell's chapter on Tasmanian women's seal hunting expertise in the early phases of Southern Australian colonization, Tracey Banivanua Mar's study of indentured Pacific Islander women working in Queensland's colonial sugar plantations, and Susan Roy and Ruth Taylor's essay on shíshálh women's contributions to the logging industry in British Columbia are superb models. In addition to the rich histories of Indigenous women's labours that these chapters provide, each author – in dialogue with one another – also considers the oral histories of such women's descendants in critical connection to the archives and records that prove the

importance of aboriginal women's work in colonial and extractive industries.

Another set of complementary chapters include those by Chris Friday, who records the detrimental effects of federal policy on Lummi women's agricultural production in Washington; Sherry Farrell Racette, who chronicles the varied labour of women associated with the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company; and Heather Howard, who links Mono women's agricultural work to tribal survival in the shift from a subsistence to wage-labour economy. Friday's work draws important attention to women's agricultural labour in a region whose ethnographers have tended to emphasize men's fishing practices, but his depiction of Lummi women's loss of authority will not surprise readers already familiar with the gendered, detrimental, and contradictory effects of US federal Indian policy. Racette's chapter is an impressive survey of First Nations and Métis women's contributions to the fur trade that will be particularly helpful in undergraduate courses. Howard takes impressive steps to link modern tribal sovereignty concerns to Mono women's history, but makes few nods toward their contributions to California's agricultural labour history.

Alice Littlefield, Kathy M'Closkey, and Melissa Rohde's chapters share an emphasis on continuity and innovation in 20th-century Indian women's reservation labours. Littlefield's chapter examines Michigan Anishinaabeg women's contributions to the 18th-century French fur trade, their shift toward wage labour in the late 19th century, and their entry into industrial and professional jobs after boarding school training in the first half of the 20th century. Littlefield advocates for further inquiry into Native women's work within modern tribal communities, naming casinos as a starting point for scholars, and I would add tribal colleges,

non-profits, and social service agencies to the list of tribal sites where Native women workers predominate. Kathy M'Closkey's essay on Navajo women weavers' participation in the wool and textile industries between 1880 and World War II similarly challenges readers to centre Indigenous women within their studies of tribal economies and to consider tribal communities as sites of globalization. She expertly challenges previous scholars' depictions of Navajo women weavers as hobbyists working in their spare time to accommodate a niche Southwestern aesthetic. Rohde chronicles Ojibwe women's transition from a timber and mining economy to a tourist industry in northern Wisconsin. Her depiction of Indian women's efforts to maintain tribal and personal autonomy over land and work as they participated in cultural commodification is a well-balanced history of the place I grew up. Many of the issues she describes between 1900 and 1940 continue to reverberate in debates over resource distribution and economic development since the region remains dependent on tourism and troubled by poverty and racism.

That Howard does not place 20th-century Mono agricultural labour within the broader context of California's diverse and well-chronicled labour history and M'Closkey does not link Navajo women weavers to the broader historiography of textile workers raises a critique particular to *Labour/Le Travail* readers: labour historians may not consider all chapters to be "labour history" in the sense that they focus on Indigenous women as workers. Some chapters consider the experiences of Indigenous women as a class of workers incredibly well: as domestic servants or agricultural workers, for instance; but most authors do not link these histories to the broader experiences of workers and labour. For this reason, they lose an opportunity to consider the ways in which

colonized women's labour history is different than or similar to marginalized women's labour history. Only one chapter considers Indigenous women's participation in labour unions, though many chapters focus on Indigenous women in unionized industries, and most chapters cover 1880-1935 with little mention of the numerous reforms in labour legislation and regulation that workers fought for and gained in this period – a problem in a book entitled *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism*. Women are at work in these chapters, certainly, and that work is effectively depicted as essential and intensely negotiated, but Indigenous women are not always considered in tandem with other workers as a class, or with racial-ethnic women who likewise responded critically and creatively to workplace exploitation and whose work continues to be overlooked and yet essential to their families and communities even today. Readers should consider that these are not labour historians writing about Indigenous women, these are historians of Indigenous women concentrating their efforts on Native women's work; an important distinction to make.

The second half of the book seems more cohesive and perhaps more contextualized than the first. Readers will find a set of essays centered on Native American women's paid labour as workers in federal programs. Margaret D. Jacobs describes the unique challenges of pregnant and parenting American Indian domestic servants in urban centres between 1920 and 1940, Colleen O'Neill chronicles Indian women's participation in sewing projects within the New Deal era Works Project Administration, and Cathleen D. Cahill depicts female Indian's struggles as employees within the Indian School Service in the first quarter of the 20th century. Jacobs' chapter will attract readers interested in the "diverted mothering" (180) of

women of colour who worked in middle-class white women's homes and in the oppression such women faced as the targets of progressive reformers' social welfare policies. O'Neill's work compellingly integrates Indian women into the broader historiography of New Deal labour programs and asks the important question of whether Indian women's federal wage work constituted another form of charity relief or constituted industrial labour. Cahill invokes James Scott to describe female Indian Office of Indian Affairs employees who wielded the "weapons of the white collar" (222) to leverage federal employment practices and management policies to their own advantage, even as they faced simultaneous racism and sexism from white supervisors and coworkers.

The next set of essays considers women a generation younger than those featured in Jacobs, O'Neill, and Cahill's chapters. Aroha Harris and Mary Jane Logan McCallum write about the Indian Homemakers' Clubs in Ontario and the Maori Women's Welfare Organizations in New Zealand, both nationally sponsored organizations, in the post-war era. They challenge prior depictions of these institutions as conservative agents of the state to demonstrate that aboriginal women co-opted paternalist and racist assumptions and formed a unique brand of citizenship identity infused with indigeneity and womanhood. Brenda J. Child's chapter on Ojibwe women's leadership as urban organizers and community activists among Removal-era Indians living and working in Minneapolis adds an important modern dimension to the collection, and illustrates the ways Indigenous women worked within and outside of federal and tribal agencies to affect change. Cybele Locke's essay concludes the book's historical discussion with her assessment of the Black Unity movement of radical Maori feminists ousted from

New Zealand's Auckland Trade Union Center in 1982. Importantly, she places Maori workers within the context of New Zealand's trade union history, explores the basis of Black Unity's leaders' racialized and gendered philosophies, and then considers the group's association with feminism and Maori sovereignty. Her chapter, rooted in an event more commonly associated with the modern labour movement, may be the most recognizable to 20th-century labour historians who consider transnational feminisms.

Williams' collection does some heavy lifting for Indigenous women's comparative labour history. Readers will find its contents incredibly helpful in rounding out an undergraduate history course, and, in tandem with more robust treatments of gender and labour from authors like Kathleen Canning and Sonya Rose, Evelyn Nakano Glenn and Linda Kerber, or Jennifer Morgan and Paige Raibmon, will make an excellent addition to graduate courses in labour and women's and gender history. Labour scholars should read closely for opportunities to tie Indigenous women to their own work, and read broadly for the collective influences of colonialism, capitalism, and commodification in the labouring practices of Native women. The book will no doubt occupy an important place at the intersections of labour and Indigenous history for some time, and should inspire many of us to push further in bridging these important subfields in our own work.

KATRINA JAGODINSKY

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Carla Lipsig-Mummé, ed., *Climate @ Work* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2013)

CLIMATE @ WORK is the first publication of *Work in a Warming World* (W3), one

of the most far reaching and necessary research programs to understand and offer solutions regarding the impact of climate change and policy on work and workers. The project was initiated in 2008 and, in 2010, received funding for another six years. Director of the project and editor of this volume, Carla Lipsig-Mummé states the first question the project asked was "what do we really know about the impact and implications of climate change and policies to climate change for jobs in Canada?" (8) Over time the project has broadened its scope to explore "what is being done to adapt the world of work to lower its greenhouse emissions? What role can labour play?" (9)

This book brings together some answers to the first question, including the identification of areas in which knowledge about the relations between climate and work is limited. In short, it provides the foundational knowledge that will inform the project's further work. The first section consists of three chapters which aim to situate the project within broader contexts. The second section examines six sectors of the Canadian economy.

The first chapter, by Elizabeth Perry, offers a quantitative overview of the literature on climate change and work from 1995 to 2009. The author concludes that less than twenty per cent of the work that she has been able to identify came from academics, perhaps due to the disciplinary inflexibility of some of the most prestigious journals in industrial relations and management. In the second chapter, Lipsig-Mummé situates the project within similar efforts around the world with respect to three analytical questions: what is the impact of climate science on economic activity? what should be the role of the state? and what is the impact of climate change on policy on jobs? In addressing the first question the author argues that rather than focus on mitigation or adaptation we should focus on both as

integral elements of any meaningful policy. In addressing the second question she argues that the state has to play a central role and that such calls are now also coming from conservative circles influenced by the Great Recession. Finally, tackling climate change requires not only a focus on jobs but a broader focus on greening work and the economy. Important research in all of these areas has come mostly from Europe while Canada has fallen behind but, in general, research on the world of work is underdeveloped. In the third chapter, Stephen McBride and John Shields situate Canadian efforts to respond to climate change within the broader global political economy. Specifically, they argue that the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) have been exercising a dampening effect on Ontario's Clean Energy Act. They also suggest ways, however, to avoid being at odds with the WTO. In general, this chapter highlights two important elements: First, the leading role that sub-federal units can play and, second, the deep reach of WTO's provisions.

The second section consists of six chapters, each focusing on one sector. Generally, all chapters examine the characteristics of the sector in Canada, including its labour force, the impacts of each sector on climate, the effects of climate policy, if any, and of other factors on employment and work, and close by summarizing what we know and what we need to learn. Clearly, this is a set of chapters produced by people participating in a project with well-defined research questions intended to provide a baseline to inform future research.

John O'Grady examines the construction industry, the major source of greenhouse gases (GHGs) in Canada and worldwide. In the first section, he outlines the various components of the industry and provides information on employment, unionization, and environmental

initiatives. In the second section, he examines the likely impacts of "green construction" on employment and skills. One issue that seems relevant to the sector is the broader organization of space, something briefly raised by John Holmes with Austin Hracz in their chapter on the transportation equipment industry. (113–114) In the same way that efficient public transportation requires density, a green construction industry should aim at both efficient units and a different arrangement of these units. Marjorie Griffin Cohen and John Calvert focus on the Canadian energy sector. This is an important sector because "Canada is unlike the U.S. and European countries: it is not experiencing reductions in oil and gas production as is occurring elsewhere." (101) Thus, climate policy is likely to have an adverse employment impact, even though the energy industry is capital intensive. As a result, renewable energy has not made significant inroads in Canada with the exception of large scale hydro. This trend has been reinforced by the federal government's support for marketization. Sub-federal initiatives have played an important if variable role, with Ontario paying closer attention to employment while British Columbia much less so.

John Holmes with Austin Hracz examine the transportation equipment sector, fully recognizing that motor vehicles are a major source of GHGs in their use rather than manufacturing (106–107). The industry has been losing ground in Canada in terms of employment. In terms of the GHG impacts of motor vehicles, the Canadian industry has harmonized with the USA and Europe in terms of fuel emissions and efficiency. The authors conclude that very little has been "written regarding the likely impacts of climate change on employment and skills requirements in the transportation equipment industry." (120) Forests are

an important part of the Canadian landscape and economy and are dealt with in a chapter by John Holmes. He notes that climate change is likely to affect both the range of different forests, thus affecting employment and communities, as well as the types of jobs and skills required. As he points out "the technological and innovative advancements made in the forest industry – viewed as a low-tech, dying sector with minimal opportunities and with minimal concern for environmental issues – are often overlooked." (138) This statement is appropriate not only for forestry but for a number of older sectors, many associated with agriculture, which can be revolutionized by innovations. Steven Tufts' chapter on the tourist industry further underscores the need to cast a wide net when dealing with the impacts of climate change and policy. Tufts recognizes the importance of migrant workers for such a labour-intensive sector and more explicitly than the other chapters focuses on the ingredients of a high and low road strategies in the sector. Finally Meg Gingrich, Sarah Ryan, and Geoff Bickerton examine the postal and courier sector where unions are actually quite strong – especially the postal sector. This allows the authors to contrast the environmental attitudes of an activist union to those of management and state authorities.

The sectors examined cover the vast majority of Canadian GHG emissions as well as a substantial part of the labour force, although not the majority. The decision to organize this baseline research around sectors is eminently defensible at this point. Perhaps some additional sectors require closer attention, especially transportation and infrastructure. These are important sectors in their own terms while tightly connected with other sectors, such as automobiles and energy.

The project is still unfolding. Judging from its recent international conference

and its other activities, W3 is expanding its horizons in order to draw lessons from other parts of the world that can inform the project's recommendations to policy makers and unions. It is also casting a wider net in terms of specific and crosscutting economic activities and in terms of policy drivers and obstacles. The project is explicit in its aim to identify best practices in addressing global warming, particularly those that affect work and workers and, even more so, those in which workers and their unions are active contributors.

This book does not stand alone but must be seen as part of a broader project whose goal is both analysis and praxis. It is a progress report whose ultimate utility is the degree to which it helps inform ongoing and future research. Readers, both academics and practitioners, will benefit a great deal from the contextual chapters and the profiles of the various sectors, all the more so because this is an accessibly written volume. Reading this book in conjunction with visits to the website of the project will allow readers to get a more dynamic understanding of this important project and of the great deal of work that needs to be done to place work in the midst of climate politics and policy in a manner that sees workers and unions as agents rather than objects.

DIMITRIS STEVIS

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Catherine Carstairs and Nancy Janovicek, eds., *Feminist History in Canada: New Essays on Women, Gender, Work, and Nation* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2014)

IN HER BACK-COVER endorsement, historian Amélie Bourbeau calls Catherine Carstairs's and Nancy Janovicek's new edited collection "A refreshing book!" I

am in full agreement with this characterization of *Feminist History in Canada: New Essays on Women, Gender, Work, and Nation*. In their introduction to this collection, which emerged out of the Canadian Committee on Women's History (CCWH) Conference held in Vancouver in August 2010, the editors remark upon the fact that many of the themes dealt with here have been constants in Canadian women's history since its inception in the 1970s. This is true; nonetheless, the treatments of these themes that we find here are new, sometimes strikingly original, and I thoroughly enjoyed reading this book. I especially appreciated the focus on women's work that runs through this collection – much of it (but not all) the work of educated, professional women (social workers, physicians, teachers, university professors, scientists) such as Marion Hilliard, studied by Catherine Gidney, or Claudette MacKay-Lassonde, whose engineering career is examined by Ruby Heap. I also liked the biographical approach taken by the overwhelming majority of the authors, who use diaries, memoirs, obituaries, and especially correspondence in attempts to understand the lives of individual women. Some of these are relatively ordinary individuals, such as the young working women whose “single-ness” is analyzed by Heidi MacDonald, or Hazel Chong, the British Columbia schoolteacher interviewed by Kristina Llewellyn, or the two Quebec City domestic workers interviewed by Catherine Charron and featured in her chapter. At other points in the book we meet women who for one reason or another are better known to historians, such as Shakespeare scholar Julia Grace Wales, whose international pacifism is studied by Lorna McLean, or Amelia Connolly, glimpsed here with her husband, James Douglas, in a portrait by Adele Perry. And I loved the close look at women's transnational

networks, associational life, and friendships that we find here: this focus is explicit in Karen Balcom's fine study of the child welfare experts employed by the Canadian Welfare Council and the United States Children's Bureau (most notably Charlotte Whitton and Katharine Lenroot), but transnationalism is also at the very heart of the chapters by Perry and McLean.

Edited collections are quite frequently presented by their editors as works that break new ground, whether theoretically or thematically. The contributors to this book generally adopt a more modest tone: we rarely find, in these pages, claims to path-breaking or “pioneer” status. Carstairs and Janovicek suggest, rather, that this is a book that allows us to take stock of a now mature field of history, a book that “provide[s] us with an opportunity to reflect on how forty years of feminist scholarship has shaped women's and gender history and to assess its impact on the broader field of Canadian history.” (3) This relatively modest claim can be explained, in part at least, by historical timing and the state of the discipline: with notable exceptions, such as the chapter on New Brunswick diary-keepers by pioneering historian of women Gail Campbell, these studies represent the work of the second and third generations (or at least cohorts) of women's historians in Canada. Nonetheless, it is important not to understate the significance of their contributions: many of these studies are absolutely compelling.

As Carstairs and Janovicek note, most of the authors gathered here appear to favour “an empirical scholarship grounded in the rich details of people's daily lives.” (7) Where gender is employed as a category of analysis, it is generally used to analyze the lives of women, not men (Perry's study of James Douglas and masculinity and, to a lesser extent, Campbell's analysis of male New Brunswickers' diaries

constitute exceptions). But we certainly see here how systems – of rule, of governance, of education, and of employment, for instance – are deeply (often implacably) gendered. And the biographical approach frequently adopted in this book allows us to appreciate the inequities and injustices faced by individual women as they encountered these systems.

As the editors note in their introduction, feminist historians of Canada clearly continue to find region a useful framework of analysis. There is good material on British Columbia (Llewellyn, Perry) and on the Maritimes (MacDonald, Campbell, Hampton) in this collection. The accomplishments (and limitations) of women's professional networks in central Canada, and especially in Ontario, are examined in chapters by Heap and by Rose Fine-Meyer. The two pieces that deal specifically with Québec are extremely innovative contributions to the historiography. Hélène Charron's chapter complements in fascinating ways the other studies of women in academic settings that we find here (McLean, Gidney). While Gidney's study of Victoria College shows the importance of the Methodist legacy, the United Church, and liberal Protestantism more broadly in structuring the ideology of the college, Charron's study of the career paths of women employed by Laval University's École de service social shows the importance of Catholic professional and academic networks and of the intellectual influences of both the Chicago School of sociology and the sociology of Frédéric Le Play. Catherine Charron's chapter, on domestic workers in Quebec City in the last decades of the 20th century, is a theoretically informed, critical, and often moving analysis of the nature of both paid and unpaid domestic work and the heavy baggage of "care" gendered feminine.

Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, given the current state of the international

historiography of women and gender, there are few chapters in this book that explicitly analyze representations: Donica Belisle's perceptive analysis of women working for Canadian department stores in mid-20th-century Canada stands out for its interest in performativity, sexual spectacle, and what she calls the "spectacularization" (142 and elsewhere) of women's bodies on and off the job. Kristina Llewellyn's fascinating and methodologically self-conscious analysis of her interviews with home economics teacher Hazel Chong also pays attention to the roles played by body, appearance, and dress in the performance of race, respectability, and citizenship in mid-20th-century Canada.

I learned a great deal through reading this book, a collection that also gave me the chance to appreciate the contributions of a few authors whose work I had not previously read. The fascinating sources exploited by the scholars gathered here, the innovative methodologies adopted by several of them, and their interpretations, generally both critical and empathetic, gave me the itch to drop everything else and hole up in the archives – only one of the many side-effects of good history such as that we find here.

MAGDA FAHRNI

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James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press 2013)

THE PUBLICATION of James Daschuk's study of the historic effects of disease for the First Nations population of western Canada is well timed, given its excoriating portrait of John A. Macdonald's Aboriginal policy. Next year will be the 200th anniversary of the birth of Macdonald. Alongside the federal

government's pledge of \$500,000 towards the celebrations, public commentators in Toronto are currently debating councilor Denzil Minnan-Wong's proposal that the newly renovated Union Station be re-named in honour of Sir John. In a related editorial, Tim Anderson of the *National Post* has defended Macdonald as a true liberal, who was sensitive to the plight of minorities and an early suffragette. (4 March 2014) While Anderson acknowledges that Macdonald's National Policy "resulted in hardships for aboriginals," he seems to perceive Macdonald's racism as a product of his era rather than as a stain on his character. But Daschuk reveals a more sinister portrait, of how Macdonald cut medical services for Aboriginal people in the midst of epidemic sickness and unapologetically used famine as a weapon to crush the resistance of Aboriginal people.

In Part One of *Clearing the Plains*, Daschuk describes the role that introduced diseases played in shaping the territorial history of Aboriginal people up to 1870. Written in the tradition of scholarship by Arthur Ray and Theodore Binnema, the book gives a dynamic portrait of how introduced European diseases were "the primary factor in the wholesale redistribution of aboriginal populations of western Canada." (26) Not only does Daschuk reveal the horrifying repercussions of "virgin soil epidemics," but he also elaborates how First Nations peoples encountered these pandemics divergently, depending on their unique social structures and participation within the European fur trade economy. Amid the chaos, some communities such as the Plains Cree and Saulteaux, who were vaccinated in large numbers by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), expanded their territories and took on new roles as provisioners to the fur trade companies. In contrast, other First Nations such as the Assiniboine and Niitsitapi suffered

higher mortality rates and consequently a loss of territorial control and influence. As Daschuk emphasizes, prior to 1870 "the spread of foreign diseases among highly susceptible populations comprised a tragic, unforeseen, but largely organic change." (xvi) By the time European newcomers arrived in the West, introduced diseases had already decimated the region's Aboriginal population. But while European newcomers were incapable of ameliorating many of the epidemiological results of the Columbian Exchange, the exertions of the HBC to vaccinate Aboriginal people against smallpox saved many lives and reveal the benefits of European medical aid in this era.

In Part Two, Daschuk considers the role of the Canadian Dominion in exacerbating disease-related mortality among First Nations. As Daschuk himself admits, the Crown's historic failure to honour its treaty obligations in the 1870s and 1880s is a familiar story that has been well documented by historians of the Canadian West. With the sudden collapse of bison herds in the late 1870s, Aboriginal peoples faced famine conditions. Their customary lifestyles were no longer tenable, and little to none of the promised support from the Dominion to help First Nations transition to agriculture materialized. Into this context, Macdonald's Conservative government returned to power in 1878 and immediately cut funding to famine relief, stating publicly that "[we] are doing all we can, by refusing food until the Indians are on the verge of starvation to reduce the expense." (123) Here Daschuk is groundbreaking for his analysis of the connections between the "politics of famine" and the outbreak of an epidemic of tuberculosis within Aboriginal communities across the late 19th and early 20th centuries. (xix)

Tuberculosis was endemic to the Americas prior to the arrival of European

newcomers in the Americas, but it did not formerly represent a significant threat to First Nations because “the high level of nutrition offered by bison predation” held the disease at bay. (100) But in the 1880s the disease killed thousands in the context of malnutrition, overcrowding on reserves, exposure, poor sanitation, and provisions contaminated with bovine tuberculosis. The relationship between government malfeasance and this epidemic is made especially clear through Daschuk’s comparison of the Plains Cree and the Canadian Dakota population; “the Dakota were not dependent on government rations and subsequently did not succumb to the epidemic of TB in the 1880s.” (125–26) Further hardship occurred in the wake of the North-West Resistance of 1885, when First Nations were wrongly blamed for the outbreak of violence and literally “punished to death.” (180)

This book enriches our understanding of the effects of both the Columbian Exchange for Canadian First Nations and the Dominion government’s Indian policy. It is a welcome addition to an established sub-genre of Canadian Aboriginal history with valuable points comparison with existent books by Maureen Lux, Mary-Ellen Kelm, Robert Boyd, and Paul Hackett who have also considered the subjects of Aboriginal health and the effects of the Columbian Exchange. Like John Lutz’s *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* that explores the history of Aboriginal employment in British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), Daschuk’s book is grounded in a familiar contemporary problem – in this case the current health disparity between the Indigenous and mainstream populations in western Canada. (ix) What Daschuk’s study reveals, too, is that the policy failures of the Dominion government in the late 19th century had

long-term consequences, as it became medical orthodoxy in the early 20th century that “indigenous peoples were biologically more susceptible to disease than the mainstream population.” (185) Hence resources were not allocated for their medical care because of this “fact,” contributing to the creation of enduring stereotypes about the poor health of First Nations people. Daschuk’s book is a vital resource that delineates the cost of the Canadian government’s failure to honour its treaty pledges to First Nations. Returning to the hook that began this review, this book reveals the malevolence of Macdonald and the lengths to which First Nations suffered in the name of Dominion expansion. The historic devastation of Aboriginal communities by disease from 1870 on was not accidental, and we must acknowledge this fact today.

KENTON STOREY

University of Manitoba

James M. Pitsula, *Keeping Canada British: The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Saskatchewan* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)

AS THE KU KLUX KLAN swelled to behemoth proportions in the United States of the 1920s, so too did the scale of its expansionist ambition. Sensing the commercial possibilities of taking the “Invisible Empire” beyond America’s physical borders, Klan organizers with sufficient opportunity and expertise (if not always official sanction) struck out in search of profitable new terrain. Though almost all of these ventures – including efforts to export the KKK to England and to Germany – proved ultimately abortive affairs, the story was different in Canada, if relatively little-known. In a welcome reinvigoration of this underexplored field, James Pitsula focuses on KKK activity in the province of Saskatchewan.

He dismisses the tendency to portray an aberrational "eruption of hatred and prejudice," making the case instead for a Klan infused with a very mainstream pro-British nationalism, a vehicle for the expression of "a somewhat more extreme version of what most people thought." (5) Imported by livewire organizers from Indiana (a key state for the US movement), the KKK peaked in Saskatchewan, he estimates, at around 25,000 members and some 150 individual lodges in the late 1920s. Driven by a particular interpretation of Canadian national identity, it campaigned against all forms of foreign encroachment upon both soil and culture, determined to preserve hard-won wartime victories and ultimately to maintain Canada's heritage as predominantly white, Protestant, and British. Despite its undeniable xenophobia, the Saskatchewan Klan was apparently neither violent nor lawless, rejecting the trademark robes and hoods of its American cousin. Its constituents, though alarmed by a supposedly perilous tide of immigration, were by and large ordinary, unremarkable citizens, "from the lower middle class ... or skilled working class ... not the marginalized, unemployed, or down-and-out." (105)

Many were attracted by the Klan's crusading evangelism, enlivening social events, and vigorous public stands against political and moral corruption, championed all the while by reputable and charismatic Protestant ministers. Behind the veil of respectability, however, the KKK tapped into local ethnic and racial anxieties, warning against "unchecked" immigration. Chinese men, in particular, once essential to the economy's large industry and railway building, were now singled out as opium-fuelled, culturally alien and sexually immoral: a dangerous breed of vice fiends and seducers of white women. Resisting assimilation, such new arrivals typified the confusing

proliferation of languages and religions appearing in Canada after the war, their presence "an affront to Britishness." (176) In the education system, too, controversy rumbled, with Protestant children in certain Saskatchewan districts "obliged to attend public schools that were to all intents and purposes Roman Catholic institutions." (137) In Klan hands, this was clear evidence of a government controlled by sinister Papal conspiracy, and a grave moral threat to the province.

It was in the Saskatchewan political arena that the Klan made its greatest mark for Pitsula, who credits the Invisible Empire with a pivotal role in 1929's provincial election turnaround, ultimately resulting in the downfall of the ruling Liberal establishment. Having "infiltrated the Conservative party in a serious way" the KKK apparently waged a "popular revolt against despotism" (207) in the form of a corrupt, controlling, Liberal political machine. By energizing public debate and making the twin dangers of foreign immigration and sectarian influence in the public schools the key issues of the election, the KKK found a broad and powerful base of public support. It was the Conservative party that reaped the considerable political benefits, and, says Pitsula, "owed its victory to the Klan." (242) Also interesting are political overlaps with the Orange Order – the KKK made redundant in some regions by the Orangemen, but in Saskatchewan providing a grassroots alternative, offering the kind of drama and vulgar popularity that the Oranges did not. (109)

Keeping Canada British is accessibly written, though at times slips distractingly into the language of popular psychology, the rise of the KKK, for instance, explained in terms of "survivor guilt," part of a wider "grieving process" for the British Canadian war dead. (11) We learn of "Klan members' innate paranoia" and "paranoid delusion," so too, their

indulgent satisfaction of “the martyr complex, which the Klan had in spades.” (201) Whilst none of this sits particularly comfortably, it at least only peppers, rather than defines, the analysis. Meanwhile, Pitsula’s ability to meticulously scrutinize the organization suffers (in common with many studies of secretive orders) from patchy primary source material. Membership lists in the Saskatchewan archives, he admits, are “sketchy and incomplete” and of unknown origin, (105) whilst newspaper coverage – and in some cases a distinct lack of it – was very much dependent upon the political leanings of local small-town editors. (91) Still, the author has made an admirable reconstruction job using the newspaper sources he does have at his disposal, in combination with archived political papers, Klan publications, and past studies.

Pitsula is emphatic on the indigenous nature of the Canadian Klan, and seemingly the lesser the association with the American order, the more the KKK prospered reputationally in Canada. “It had never been an American branch operation,” he insists, “the American organizers were catalysts, nothing more.” (248) Its concerns in Saskatchewan were certainly of the local variety, exploiting existing, deep-rooted animosities toward Asian and Catholic newcomers, and inheriting a longstanding crisis over religious instruction in schools. Even before the Klan’s arrival, “pro-British, anti-immigrant feeling ... was rampant,” (18) “hegemonic liberalism suffocated the province,” (249) and “racism was part and parcel of the British imperial project.” (111)

However, Pitsula’s closing assertion of Canadian Exceptionalism – that the maskless, disassociated Saskatchewan KKK did not partake in lynchings primarily because “they were Britishers, and perhaps, in the end, it was their Britishness that saved them” (250) – is

probably a claim too far. Whilst no official organizational link endured between the American and Canadian Klans, they remained essentially similar in nature, and much of the Canadian experience will be deeply familiar to scholars of the Klan in the northern and western United States in particular, only with the clarion call for “100% Americanism” substituted for appeals to “Keep Canada British.” Klansmen in Michigan, for instance, were similarly maskless and superficially law-abiding, and there, as well as in Oregon, also made legislative battles to restrict the religious influence of parochial schools their *raison d’être*. In many ways, the Canadian Klan as portrayed here seems entirely typical of patterns observed by most recent literature on the Klan in the US: mainstream political successes, public moral activism, a lack of visible aggression, and a measure of social acceptance – revealing a conservative, moralistic, white Protestant movement capable of adapting its enmities to reflect local circumstance. It may well be best understood, in the author’s own words, as merely “a Klan that now had a British twist.” (106)

It is in this sense, in fact, where Pitsula’s book most clearly succeeds. In updating the interpretation of the Klan experience in 1920s Canada, he actually aligns it much more closely with the findings of current scholarship on the KKK elsewhere, and contributes to a growing field of regional Klan studies which are gradually making for a more accurate and nuanced picture of the movement as a whole. Certainly, he deserves applause for adding Canada to the expanding range – geographically as well as historically speaking – of knowledge on the KKK. Presenting the case of Saskatchewan in particular and Canada by extrapolation, *Keeping Canada British* is perhaps the most comprehensive treatment to date of a twenties Klan organization anywhere

outside of the US. Whilst integrating Canada into an existing Klan historiography, Pitsula also marks the Klan's neglected place within conventional Canadian history. Even more so than being a book about the KKK, this feels like a book about the ethnic and racial foundations of Canadian national identity, about contested ideas of Britishness, and about mainstream Canadian politics in the interwar years. Perhaps that is the point.

CRAIG FOX

University of York

Don Nerbas, *Dominion of Capital: The Politics of Big Business and the Crisis of the Canadian Bourgeoisie, 1914-1947* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)

THROUGH THE BIOGRAPHIES of five businessmen, Don Nerbas addresses the response of the Canadian bourgeoisie to the "crisis of capitalism" following World War I. An introduction lays out a useful context for the analysis and a brief concluding chapter pulls together the main findings.

The biographies are well chosen. Howard P. Robinson's control of the media, utilities, and the pulp and paper industry in New Brunswick underscores the unique economic development of the province and conjures up images of the modern-day Irving empire. The enigmatic Charles Dunning's transition from champion of cooperative marketing of prairie wheat to the Dominion minister of finance in the 1930 is as perplexing as Nerbas' account in insightful. Edward Beatty's troubled tenure as head of the Canadian Pacific Railway highlights the central role of railways in Canadian economic history and their transformation in the inter-war period. Sam McLaughlin's exploitation of the peculiarities of the Canadian tariff structure and imperial

preferences allowed him to build the prototypical branch-plant automobile assembly operation that would come to characterize manufacturing in Ontario. Finally, C.D. Howe, often invoked as the poster-boy for state-managed capitalism in the post-World War II period, receives thoughtful treatment that transcends many previous, simplistic depictions.

This was a masculine, "Anglo-Celtic," club. Little more than passing comment is necessary to account for the absence of women on the list. In contrast, why no French Canadians are relevant to the story deserves a fuller explanation. Indeed, a case study of how a nascent French-Canadian entrepreneur was excluded from the club might reveal as much or more about the machinations of the Canadian capitalist class.

Nerbas accepts the view that, in the National Policy period, Canada's economic and political structure was geared to western settlement and the export of staple products to Europe. The end of the wheat boom followed by the collapse of export markets during the Great Depression exposed the fragility, if not the illusion, of the national economy. What ensued was a not just a crisis in accumulation, but a "crisis in legitimacy." The search for solutions is largely an account of the failure of capitalists to act as a coherent class. Despite a shared "mentalité," interlocking corporate directorships, and the social networks of the Mount Royal or St. James Club, they lacked the capacity to act collectively in order to establish the conditions for a new regime of accumulation. Robinson's deeply conservative ideology prevented him from perceiving a broader role of the state in supporting private capital; Dunning, as minister of finance, proved incapable of responding to the collapse in aggregate demand and was only reluctantly cajoled into presenting Canada's first Keynesian-inspired budget in 1939; Beatty did not supersede

the earlier identification of state action with support of the railways, nor did he comprehend the need to redefine the role of transportation infrastructure in a rearranged economy; and McLaughlin's parochialism and paternalism, exhibited in his resistance of industrial unionism, contributed to the historic 1937 auto-workers' strike.

Canadian capitalists, however, were not alone in the failure to grasp the underlying causes of, or find solutions to, the Great Depression. Three Royal Commissions were indicative of both the extent of the crisis and the reliance of Canadian capitalists on the state to sort out the mess. The Macmillan Commission led to the establishment of the Bank of Canada in 1932; the Royal Commission on Railways in 1931–32 addressed the folly of over-expansion in the industry and led to the creation of the publicly owned Canadian National Railway out of the assets of the bankrupt private ventures; and the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (1937–38) sought to reform an antiquated system of public finance. Yet prior to absorbing the lessons of Keynes' *General Theory*, Canadian economists – Underhill's garage mechanics of capitalism – had little to offer, resigned to wait out the international downturn until export markets recovered.

In sorting out the shortcomings of the business elite, the volume would benefit from a more explicit theory of the state in a capitalist economy. If its role is to foster private capital accumulation, to legitimate capital, and to exercise a coercive function, it is complicated by Canada's federal system. As a case in point, Dunning's ascension to premier of Saskatchewan represents the capacity of farm organizations to capture control of the provincial government at a time when the Dominion government acted largely at the behest of railways and banking institutions. Similarly, the government of

Ontario was ready to call upon the police power of the state during the Oshawa autoworkers strike of 1937, when the Dominion government appeared reticent to do so. Why did Hepburn seek confrontation when King sought to manage conflict?

Capitalists have always relied upon the state to oversee their long-term interests and to negotiate a division of the surplus in a manner that maintains the conditions for sustained accumulation. C.D. Howe perhaps had more foresight in this regard, but he was arguably slow to absorb the lessons that World War II provided in the need for a strong federal state. Indeed, it was the Ottawa men – the likes of R.B. Bryce, Graham Towers, Clifford Clark and W.A. Mackintosh in the civil service – who translated the experience of the war into a post-war vision based on an open-economy Keynesian model appropriate to a federal state. Actions undertaken under the exigencies of war – a modern system of taxation and the tools of fiscal and monetary policy to manage aggregate demand, the limited recognition of collective bargaining rights, and the expansion of social welfare measures – laid the framework for the post-World War II management of capital-capital, capital-labour and capital-citizen relations. It was not so much the failure of Canadian capitalists to exhibit "class consolidation" in order to solve their own problems, but their belated recognition that a renewed state apparatus was required to manage their affairs.

Nerbas's volume raises more issues than it resolves, and that is what a good book should do. It is an important, thought-provoking contribution to our understanding of Canadian economic and business history in a neglected field of study.

HUGH GRANT
University of Winnipeg

Jody Mason, *Writing Unemployment: Worklessness, Mobility, and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Canadian Literatures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)

WRITING UNEMPLOYMENT is a fascinating blend of cultural materialism, literary studies, and labour history. Jody Mason reads the work of left-affiliated writers in Canada as the literal representation of a politically organized and popularly sustained movement for social change that actually threatened inter- and postwar liberal hegemony, a movement that would not be ignored and could not be repressed. Establishing *how* this challenge was subsequently absorbed and contained by the state is the extremely important contribution Mason makes to the historiography of the Canadian left.

Janine Brodie has described citizenship as historically and contingently constructed. Jody Mason's work illustrates just this point, through her detailed examination of writing on unemployment and mobility in (and on) the 1930s, a critical juncture for discourses of citizenship in Canada. Mason's interest, however, is not primarily with the Depression decade itself, but with its significance in shaping the story of Canada as a liberal-democratic nation, and its part in supporting liberal hegemony. Mason notes, "the relation between Depression-era leftist periodical culture and the postwar welfare state is an understudied one." (46) And so, *Writing Unemployment* traces the connections between the cultural work of leftist writers in the 1930s and the welfare state that developed in Canada following World War II. Subtitled *Worklessness, Mobility, and Citizenship in Twentieth Century Canadian Literatures*, Mason's book illustrates the impact of this critical literary work in the ongoing "discursive framing" (4) of citizenship, unemployment and mobility in postwar Canada.

Her focus is on what left literary texts did, how these texts were shaped by the material conditions of their production, and how they shaped discourses of citizenship, nation, unemployment, mobility, belonging, and entitlement.

Mason commends the extensive work of labour and political historians, sociologists, and political economists on citizenship and unemployment, and incorporates this work into her own extensive and intricate argument. She emphasizes the value of non-sectarian and innovative approaches to historical practice, and challenges categorical divisions between state and civil society. Mason draws on Ian McKay's liberal order framework, and uses his distinction of four left formations in her own research. Mason reads literary texts as narrations of national identity, of the relationship between workers and the state, and the rights of citizenship. Mason's objective is to show how left writers' cultural work was absorbed and repurposed in the postwar welfare state. At the heart of Mason's analysis is Gramsci's concept of passive revolution, which she describes as a "useful" (47) concept for understanding liberal hegemony in postwar Canada. Mason fully endorses the value of Gramsci's concept of passive revolution for understanding the processes underwriting liberal hegemony, but argues we need more focus on the civil sources of liberal hegemony. Her work combines the analytic precision and archival breadth that are necessary to recover those sources and that history in detail.

Mason draws on Ian McKay's argument for scholarly work as reconnaissance. The cultural politics of left writers in the 1930s offer some strategies that may be usefully revived. Noting Abigail Bakan's characterization of citizenship as practice, Mason presents the work that writers on the left did as a form of participatory politics, part of a broad social

effort to establish a more inclusive sense – and form – of citizenship in the midst of the crisis of unemployment. Thus literary work was a critical element shaping the debate on what worklessness and mobility meant for individuals and for Canada as a nation. Stories of the unemployed were important to making the case for the more active role and greater social responsibility of the Canadian state. Literary work on the left helped shape a new social consensus about the state's responsibility to protect its citizens against unemployment, a social consensus the government had to actively manage (by recognizing it) and contain (by absorbing it discursively) in the postwar period.

Mason argues that "cultural producers anticipated, called forth, and engaged the welfare state as it rose and declined in the latter half of the twentieth century." (8) Examining old stories of domination and resistance in new ways brings to light aspects of this history generally obscured by tradition and established schools. Yet far from jettisoning or moving beyond any of the critical categories that have shaped historical and political scholarship, Mason's diagonal integration of cultural text and political context shows that Canada's coherence as a nation was not an evolution or an unfolding, but a distinct (and uncertain) historical achievement. Things could be otherwise.

In her introduction, Mason touches (too) briefly on key concepts that structure her discussion in the subsequent chapters. Her first chapter discusses vagabondia poetry, the pioneer-settler figure, literary nationalism and the writing of Frederick Philip Grove. Chapter 2 focuses on representations of unemployment and on left periodical culture in the 1930s and their common demand for state support of the unemployed; Chapter 3 analyses the Depression novels of Irene Baird and Claudius Gregory; Chapter 4 the publication history of Hugh Garner's novel,

Cabbagetown and the "postwar compact between state and labour." (130) Mason's final chapter connects these various histories in a discussion of the emergence of the New Left and a renewed interest in Depression narratives in the 1970s.

I am most familiar with the ground Mason covers in her second chapter on the periodical literature produced in a "diverse" (45) field of left affiliation in 1930s Canada, primarily the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Communist Party of Canada. The conflict and rivalry between them has shaped much of the research done on each, but Mason focuses on what they shared, and foregrounds those texts and instances in which the interests espoused by differently affiliated writers connected and (more or less) actively interacted in support of rebranding unemployment as a structural factor of Canada's agricultural and resource-based economy, a crisis of capitalism requiring state investment in, and support for, social rights. Mason's reading of central themes and strategies in these periodicals is detailed, and her analysis of this work as literary texts is extremely valuable, given the tendency to privilege political readings and assessments of it, and so to downplay or overlook its accomplishment *as* literary work.

The theoretical and methodological breadth of her argument is impressive, but thinly elaborated. Mason introduces concepts and terms without always giving the reader sufficient explanation of their relevance. However, the book repays close reading and re-reading. The intricacy of *Writing Unemployment* is the book's strength and will ensure its endurance. *Writing Unemployment* is a rich, powerful, and useful book.

NANCY BUTLER

Queen's University

Graham Broad, *A Small Price to Pay: Consumer Culture on the Canadian Home Front, 1939-45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2014)

GRAHAM BROAD'S *A Small Price to Pay* joins a growing international literature on the history of consumption in wartime. It is an especially good companion to Meredith Lair's *Armed with Abundance: Consumerism and Soldiering in the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), for both books de-bunk national myths of wartime penury. Just as American soldiers in Vietnam experienced war as a time of unprecedented abundance, Canadian civilians during World War II enjoyed rising consumer levels. Together these studies encourage helpful re-considerations of economic surplus during war.

Another valuable contribution made by *A Small Price to Pay* is its macro level approach to consumer history. Whereas many scholars investigate consumption by studying the history of a particular commodity, Broad approaches consumer society as a complex whole. As he puts it, during the "late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ... consumerism became an activity around which governments shaped policies that transformed the cultural, material, and even spiritual lives of millions of people." (3) By envisioning consumer society in this way, Broad is able to discern large scale changes in consumer patterns over time.

For the most part, *A Small Price to Pay* is an empirical overview of Canadian spending. It does, however, reference other studies. Most significant is Joy Parr's *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), which argues that wartime shortages meant that Canadians had to wait until the early 1950s to begin

consuming in earnest. Broad concedes that there were shortages in some areas – particularly consumer appliances, which are the commodities upon which Parr bases her study. At the same time, Broad also takes aim at narratives of wartime penury. Consumer spending began increasing before war's end, he argues. Greater employment boosted Canadians' discretionary incomes, meaning that as soon as they could afford to do so, Canadians began spending.

A Small Price to Pay is fast paced. Chapters on patriotic consumption, automobile usage, and theatre attendance offer sweeping overviews of their respective topics. Some historians might grumble at the short shrift given to individual subjects within these areas – Broad barely touches on the National Council of Women's campaign to reduce spending, for instance – but overall, the book remains balanced between expansive arguments and detailed analyses. Broad notes, for example, that poor Canadians remained poor between 1939 and 1945. He also offers an impressive array of spending and sales statistics, proving conclusively that Canadian spending did indeed rise. These figures are usefully compiled in an appendix offering tables on consumption and retail between 1939 and 1945.

Broad's book does slow down in discussions of advertising. Two chapters are offered on this topic. The first explores the state of the Canadian ad industry in wartime; the second offers content analyses of selected advertisements. Historians of advertising will find Broad's in-depth excursions into adworkers' occupations significant. From a capitalist history perspective, the most valuable contribution is Broad's observation that in wartime, institutional advertising – or advertising of particular firms, rather than of particular products – went up. Commercial advertising, in contrast, went down. As

Broad notes, capitalist organizations took it upon themselves during wartime to portray themselves as patriotic. Given that Canadians were fighting – and dying – overseas, it seemed unseemly to hawk wares. By depicting themselves as committed to the war effort, Canadian businesses sought to combat moral criticisms of profit seeking.

And moral criticisms there were. *A Small Price to Pay* demonstrates that a deep discomfort with abundance accompanied Canadians' rising consumer levels. Canadians at home should live austere, many argued; in wartime, it was sinful to have fun while others suffered. Broad's contribution to this aspect of consumer history – Canadians' moral discomfort with spending – is important. Recent studies by Bettina Liverant and Len Kuffert have similarly shown that a moral strain of purity existed alongside mid-20th-century Canadian abundance. While it remains for historians to connect older traditions of anti-materialism with newer ones of sustainability, such research as Broad's helps pave the way.

Canadian consumer history is a growing field, one that is starting to keep pace with its international counterparts. Revealing that during World War II, Canadian advertising provided consumerist counterpoints to government narratives of saving and thrift, as well as that Canadian spending increased during the war, *A Small Price to Pay* is a welcome addition to the area. Broad's careful investigations of capitalist propaganda, as well as of Canadians' own responses to a boosted economy, offer important reminders that Canadians' propensity to spend runs a lot deeper than is customarily thought.

DONICA BELISLE

Athabasca University

Jeet Heer, Michael C.K. Ma, Davina Bhandar and R.J. Gilmour, eds., *Too Asian: Racism, Privilege, and Post-Secondary Education* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2012)

IN "ON BEING WHITE and Other Lies," James Baldwin wrote that "race" only "exists as a social construction within a network of force relations: America became white – the people who, they claim, 'settled' the country became white – because of ... denying the Black presence.... No community ... can be established on so genocidal a lie." (James Baldwin, *Essence*, 1984) Baldwin's remarks highlight that "race" as a category operates within a "network of force relations" even if his reference point in 1984 was not directed towards higher education. Universities, however, also exist within a network of force relations and the category of "race," as an empire story. This excellent book describes the complex force fields of racialization in higher education in compelling ways. The authors argue that racism within post-secondary education is all too often a silent marker of symbolic violence maintained through obscure orientations towards achievement and meritocratic practice. In so doing, they have been highly successful in identifying the forms of symbolic violence that are exercised through categories of race such as its own language forms which mask higher education's elitist character. Pierre Boudieu's argument was that elitist institutions often fail to examine themselves as they reproduce the very conditions of their imperial histories and therefore create "self-interested visions of the social world into the appearance of equity" (*Homo Academicus*, [Stanford: Stanford University Press], 1989, 1). The editors of this collection have gathered together an outstanding group of scholars to confront the politics of "othering" and "stranger danger" in higher

education. They have done so in response to a *Maclean's* 2010 article which argued that students of apparently "Asian" descent were over-represented in Canadian universities and were threatening privileged "white students" who were seeking to avoid competition and culture clashes with "Asian" students.

Each chapter takes a different line of analysis to address the problems of using broad categories of race or identity to undermine those for whom struggles against racism have been an inter-generational project of symbolic resistance to racism. Each also addresses the ways in which Canada, often touted as the most egalitarian countries in the "Western World," is mired in forms of imperialism which often goes unseen, and therefore, have effectively identified the ways in which the university is suffering from what Paul Ricoeur has termed an "amnesia of the now" in that educational actors and associated institutions often bury historical "truths" about racial hierarchies.

I have summarized briefly the arguments made by the authors whilst also identifying the ways in which we might tackle the conceptual challenges associated with what Richard Kearney refers to as the "sacrificial stranger" who must survive in a state of exile whilst also seeking to participate as a legitimate citizen in higher education. Accepting that our grasp upon the past may be distorted either by remembering too much or by forgetting too much, I am suggesting that the article published in *Maclean's* and which spawned the political and intellectual responses represented in this book, must be seen to belong to Ricoeur's category; that is, a forgetfulness about the very histories of the university as a story of empire.

What does it mean when the media showcase young people as "too Asian" whilst simultaneously being compared to "white private school preppies"? Or are those identified as "Too Asian" to be

the objects of another moral panic which seeks to figure human beings as a falsified, homogenous collection of identities rather than a challenge to the conventions of institutions carrying traces of their own colonial past?

Jeet Heer's introduction provides a compelling argument about the problematic terms used on university campuses such as "diversity" and multiculturalism. It points to both historical and emerging anxieties about apparent "strangers" to university campuses and challenges the idea that Canada represents a "post-racial success story." In the following three chapters, Henry Yu, Dave Weinfeld, and Sarah Ghabrial expose the convergence of dominant discourses such as "excellence in education," meritocracy, the politics of race as it relates to admissions policies, and affirmative action. Particularly powerful is the argument put forward by Ghabrial that those communities who are thought to be the "model minority" are providing the focus for a new moral panic about race relations in Canada. Challenges to the imperial legacy of whiteness in this chapter help us better understand Kearney's notion of the "sacrificial stranger" – that is that privileged young Canadians think that the wrong group of people are undermining a certain notion of entitlement in Canadian universities.

In the following section, themes focus primarily on the direct role of colonialism in the making of university cultures and the varied patterns of racism that take hold. Adele Perry's excellent piece on St. John's College and the role of the photographic archive at the University of Manitoba in understanding the shifting registers of race and culture as they are embodied in the history of higher education is a provocative account of what Frantz Fanon referred to as a "masking effect." Perry highlights the ways in which the idea of racial inequality in

higher education has not disappeared but merely changed its face in accordance with local, regional, and national changes grounded in the privileged dimensions of imperial institutions such as Oxbridge where access was almost exclusively associated with the upper classes. Similarly, Mary Jane Logan McCallum's chapter exposes how colonial discourses and understandings of the nation have found their way into the structures of knowledge in school textbooks. Her reference to the "their unique blend of absurd omissions and absences, authoritative tone and imposing presence" (67) speaks volumes about the reproduction of empire through school knowledge. She goes on to write that "there is no humility in a Canadian History Textbook," (67) particularly in relation to Indigenous communities.

In the third section, the authors turn toward the site of the classroom. Dan Cui and Jennifer Kelly attempt to respond directly to questions about the representation of cultural identity as it is understood by youth of Chinese descent. These student voices challenge dominant narratives of being "too Asian" and hegemonic knowledge about what it means to be an "Asian" student. Similarly Ray Hsu and Julia Paek provide another entry into the ways in which we might critique our own practices – by demonstrating how to use the *Maclean's* "Too Asian" article as a "teachable moment." Their conclusions are powerful: silence on matters of race is a sociological reality that is not individually owned by individual actors. Rather, student and teacher silences are structured by institutions that create what Sara Ahmed, following Raymond Williams, refers to as "structures of feeling," shaping exclusions that operate through the complex power-knowledge matrices of higher education. Victoria Kannen's chapter entitled, "Studying Identity and Complicating Ourselves," signifies what it means to "be placed"

in terms of the concept of identity. This chapter offers examples of undergraduate students' struggling to problematize the essentializing terms upon which any identity is forged.

In the final chapters, the emphasis turns towards the storied dimensions of racialization in higher education. In Anita Jack-Davis's chapter, pre-service teachers' resistance to accounts of Canadian atrocities highlight the paralyzing functions of de-politicized narratives of a socially just and harmonious Canada. In the chapter by Soma Chatterjee, Mandeep Mucini, and Louise Tam, illustrative examples are provided on how one's own account of racialized hierarchies reveals the exclusive ways in which minoritization is read off the bodies of those not representing "white" Canada. And they are crucial to understanding how social biographies, and in particular, storytelling, situates ourselves within a world that accepts that "difference is a normative reality."

Finally, the chapter about law education forces us to question the "juridical consciousness" of the field. It reports on what lies at the heart of legal education: that rights are "special," not universal, and that legal education supports the unconscionable idea that rights exist only as perks for minoritized groups. Diana Younes writes: "faced with these messages on an everyday basis, there are three options available for people of colour in law school: assimilating, dropping out or continuing their education as a hyper visible outcast." (143)

So to begin where I started and in recasting Baldwin's turn of phrase, "Too Asian and Other Lies," this very compelling book teaches us the "truths" we ought to understand if we are to challenge a normative sameness threatened by alterity. Paul Ricouer writes: "a selfhood that is inescapably situated as well as reflexive lies in its ... responsibility which is expressed by the verb I can: 'I can speak, I

can do things, I can tell a story, and I can be imputed'" (*Oneself as Other*, [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995], 7). Ricouer's words remind us that we ought not to lie to ourselves about the challenges of racism in the university and the authors in this fine collection speak back to Baldwin's ethics in the boldest of ways.

JO-ANNE DILLABOUGH
University of Cambridge

John R. Parkins and Maureen G. Reed, eds., *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, Cultures, and Collective Action* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)

THIS COLLECTION of essays edited by John Parkins and Maureen Reed makes a valuable contribution to understanding social change in rural Canada. It belongs next to volumes such as Rex Lucas's seminal *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) and Roger Epp and Dave Whitson's *Writing off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001). The volume is logically organized into four sections: History, Trends, and Territory; Structure and Discourse; Culture and Identity; and Voice and Action. The authors selected for this volume cross the appropriate range of social sciences and stages of career. In achieving this, readers are provided with a range of approaches for analyzing and discussing the social dimension of change in rural settings that represents the resource sector diversity of rural Canada. Further, the format and style of each chapter stays true to the stated theme of the volume.

The introduction by Parkins and Reed begins with three community vignettes (Mackawic, New Brunswick;

Craik, Saskatchewan; Valemont, British Columbia). The choice of vignettes was interesting and can be perhaps partially explained given the Canadian regions covered in the volume. This issue is discussed further at the end of this review. The introduction then provides a review of eight foundations for understanding social transformations. This is followed by a road map for the volume. One of the difficulties in pursuing a collection of papers is ascertaining section themes and then deciding which papers fit best within that them. Developing a volume that reflects the diversity of social issues and changes in rural Canada only adds to the complexity. Given the spatial and thematic diversity of topics in this volume, allocating chapters to sections would be no easy task.

The first section is themed "History, Trends, and Territory." It includes three papers related to each of these aspects: history (rural Canada from 1870–1940), trends (recent immigration to rural and small town Canada), and territory (change and development in the Canadian north). While the smallest section, together the chapters provide the necessary historical context and address recent trends including immigration and development in remote Canada. One criticism relates to Chapter 1 in that the title is limiting. While suggesting the period of rural change to be discussed is 1870–1940, other time points (e.g. 1867, 1941) and periods (e.g. 1871–1976, 1940s, 1950s, etc.) are included.

Section Two (Structure and Discourse) includes six chapters that include most regions of Canada and very comprehensive examinations of the issues and processes affecting the structure and dynamics of rural Canada, including: rural-urban interdependence, labour mobility, globalization, gender relations, landscape change, resource management, and ageing. Together, the chapters provide the

reader with a solid foundation of forces and conditions of change in rural Canada.

The five chapters in Section Three (Culture and Identity) look at cultural-land relationships, community vision, resilience, identity, and resource restructuring. The cultural importance in rural Canada is often neglected but extremely important to understanding the will-power to stay in place. While the chapters are informative and well-written, it is unfortunate that three focus on British Columbia. While economic processes such as globalization and labour mobility are arguably ubiquitous in Canada, the cultural foundations to each province and territory are very distinct. The focus of change in single industry communities across rural Canada is perhaps the greatest strength of this volume.

The final section (Voice and Action) provides examples of strategy and response from the east and west of rural Canada. Of particular note is the chapter by Ross Nelson, Nancy Duxbury, and Catherine Murray. While focused on British Columbia, the authors draw upon other regions of Canada and elsewhere to present four strategies for cultural industry development: entrepreneurial, amenity, social, and ecological. Also included in this section is a postscript written by the editors. It is succinct yet sufficient in describing the future for rural studies in Canada.

There is a good balance between the overarching analysis of trends in rural Canada, theoretical and conceptual approaches for understanding social transformations, and regional and community specific case studies. One criticism of this volume relates to geographic representation. As is often the case, certain regions are well-covered (British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario) while others are missing (Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island). In fact, half of the regional articles represent

the former. Perhaps this omission is why the editors chose communities in Saskatchewan and New Brunswick for vignettes in the introductory chapter. Nevertheless, it is disappointing that the regions with arguably the richest rural history and the greatest degree of rural transformation, the Prairies and the Maritimes, are not adequately covered. The Maritimes have the highest percentage of their population living in rural areas. And, although many agricultural communities in the Canadian prairies face depopulation, a number of communities, such as Winkler and Gimli, Manitoba, rank among the fastest-growing rural and small-town jurisdictions in Canada. This criticism only illustrates the difficulty in comprehensively understanding a nation as large, diverse, and complex as Canada.

At just over 400 pages, this collection of papers will be of importance to researchers and graduate and senior undergraduate students from across the social sciences that are interested in better understanding social change in rural Canada.

DOUG RAMSEY
Brandon University

Lynne Caldwell, Carrienne Leung, and Darryl Leroux, eds., *Critical Inquiries: A Reader in Studies of Canada* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2013)

CRITICAL INQUIRIES: A Reader in Studies of Canada, edited by Lynn Caldwell, Carrienne Leung and Darryl Leroux, is a useful text that is simultaneously indicative of what has, perhaps, become the dominant scholarly approach to Canadian Studies. *Critical Inquiries* is a collection of essays that runs to 207 pages of text, exclusive of bibliography and index. It consists of a "Forward" by Rinaldo Walcott, an editorial introduction, ten

essay chapters, and an "Afterward" by Sherene Razack. The ten chapters are divided into three sections that explore diversity politics, their implications for place, and the cultural politics of Canadian nationalism. In short, it is designed, in large measure, as a text for what strikes me as upper-level undergraduate or MA courses. As a text, *Critical Inquiries* looks to "open up space to think the nation otherwise." (15) Said differently, its objectives are to encourage students to reconsider their "common sense" understanding of Canada derived from official discourses and, secondly, to probe beneath their surfaces in a way that exposes the deeply disturbing ideological dynamics that have made – and continue to refashion – Canada. As the editors explain, it is this critical perspective that unites the collection.

What makes this collection valuable is not, however, the specific case studies it provides. In point of fact, there is little remarkably new in it because, in one way or another, the various authors and editors all work with a variant of critical race theory. Those who have been reading the work of Razack, Eve Mackey, Himani Bannerji, or Ian McKay and Robin Bates' *In the Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010) will not be surprised by this collection's conclusions. As Razack explains in the "Afterward," the collection began "with the understanding that Canada is a White settler society, one that is constituted in ongoing colonial violence." "This book," she continues, "invites readers to think about the salience of race and colonialism in the Canadian context. Racial exclusion is built into the Canadian story of multiculturalism." (197) For those of us who teach Canadian Studies, there is little with which to disagree here. Indeed, I laud the activism of these scholars, their

desire to trouble self-congratulatory national narratives, as well as their commitment to politically-active scholarship. Robert Campbell noted some time ago that Canadian Studies makes its most effective scholarly contributions when it takes an engaged, committed, and progressive perspective. *Critical Inquiries* meets this mark.

It also raises questions. Leaving aside potentially idiosyncratic quibbles one might have with any particular essay, two issues strike me as important to raise by way of engagement with this text. First: what happened to social class? *Critical Inquiries* is, rightly, interested in challenging official discourses and easy patriotism, but in the process neglects a generation of scholarship – much of which was developed through *Labour/Le Travail* – that explored how the material processes of modernity both bred and constituted class conflicts, cultures, and dynamics. Because *Critical Inquiries* is interested in exploring other possible iterations of Canada, this lacuna seems important. Does the history of working-class self-organization have nothing to tell us about the potential trajectories of other Canadas? This is not a matter of playing off class against race in order to suggest that one is more important than the other. It is about thinking through class to see how racialization and other material conflicts both create and limit possibilities for radical social, political-economic, and cultural transformation.

My second concern is related to the first. The editors and authors might find this characterization amiss, but *Critical Inquiries* has an oddly dated "feel." One of its key analytic foci is the supposedly liberal, progressive discourses that mask racializing violence. But, these liberal progressive discourses have been increasingly displaced by Harperesque conservatism. In a string of important areas – migrant labour, the militarization

of Canadian heritage, law and order discourses that underscore prison construction as well as women's rights – the current federal government is looking to reconstruct Canada on very different grounds. One should not neglect the intensely problematic character of Canadian liberalism but surely, too, politically engaged scholarship should not neglect the Conservative re-branding of Canada and the concomitant reconstruction of Canadian public policy currently in progress. The continuities between the Harper government and Canada's liberal past are evident but so, too, are discontinuities that need to be explored, analyzed, critiqued, and challenged. Such policy levers as new visa rules (replete with exclusions), citizenship tests, and the increasingly privatized temporary labour recruitment processes are matters about which we want our students to know. Moreover, the heuristics of critical race theory linked to an explicit re-theorization of political economy strike me as a sound basis upon which to engage these developments. Here we might seek not simply to unmask their violent racialized and colonial logic but to show how they are part of processes that re-constitute class and class conflict in contemporary Canada. What are the strengths and limits of a re-oriented transformative politics that looks to dislodge the material logic of capitalist neo-liberalism? What would such a transformation require?

Critical Inquiries has its strengths and weaknesses. Simply stating that is trite and does not, in fact, make for an effective review. What I mean to say is that its strengths are appreciable and its weaknesses telling. The telling nature of these weaknesses does not suggest that we should not use this book. Instead, it suggests a new future direction for Canadianist scholarship that maintains its political commitments but, at the same time, broadens its analytic scope in

a way that more directly addresses and engages the class dynamics of contemporary Canadian capitalism and the state.

ANDREW NURSE

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Nelson Lichtenstein, *A Contest of Ideas: Capital, Politics, and Labor* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2013)

THE LATE 1960s and early 1970s was a stormy, fertile period for the study of United States history. A new, diverse cohort of graduate students, including more women, people of colour, and students from working-class backgrounds, challenged received historical narratives about slavery, the American Revolution, the industrial revolution, the role of the state, foreign policy, class relations, and the labour movement. Some members of this cohort found our path to the study of history through our experiences in the New Left, including the anti-war, civil rights, and women's movements, where some of us also found Marxism, socialism, communism, an interest in the agency of working people, and a particular concern with understanding the history of the labour movement. We claimed – despite differences in methodologies, chosen subject matters, and political orientations – that we were creating a “new” labour history.

This “new” labour history never cohered into a monolithic reinterpretation of the experiences of working people in the United States. The calls for a “synthesis” remained unrequited and, as the labour movement itself staggered and declined amidst the shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism, and the cultural representation of working people slid from the caricatures of Ralph Kramden and Archie Bunker to virtual invisibility, labour historians struggled to impact popular awareness of

working-class history, on the one hand, and the labour movement's participants' sense of their historicity, on the other. It was a difficult, even confusing struggle. "Why do we keep telling triumphant stories about labour history," I heard one labour historian poignantly ask at a conference, "when the overarching narrative seems to be a tragedy?"

Now, in the second decade of the 21st century, that cohort of "new" labour historians is beginning to retire. We have barely reproduced ourselves, especially as the academy has identified fewer and fewer tenure-track positions for labour historians. Our students have come to graduate school and the field of labour history through a set of experiences very different from our own, while the labour movement's crisis has deepened. Work itself and the demographics of the working class continue to churn, as globalization, technology, and immigration generate profound changes.

The time has never been more ripe for a book which might encourage and enable labour historians to look in our mirror(s) and practice the concept of "self-criticism" to which many of us paid homage (or lip service) back in the day.

Nelson Lichtenstein has long been one of the leading voices in this cohort of labour historians. He has produced a series of thoroughly researched, well-argued, and well-written books: *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983); *Walter Reuther: The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); *The Retail Revolution: How Wal-Mart Created a Brave New World of Business*, (New York: Henry Holt, 2009). He has also contributed to the publication of widely assigned teaching books, *Major Problems in the History of American Workers*, (New York: Houghton Mufflin, 2002) and *Who Built America: Working*

People and the Nation's History, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007). His scholarship has also included many journal articles, which have appeared in academic and activist journals.

A Contest of Ideas: Capital, Politics, Labor, the book under review here, held great promise. Not only did it collect a wide range of Lichtenstein's essays spanning three decades of work, but the author also suggested that he would lay bare the evolution of his thinking, that he would contextualize the essays and even revise some of them to reflect changes in his assessments of their subject matter. Here could be a chance to trace the ways a scholar, living in the present, has looked to the past and, as his present has changed, his perspective on the past has changed as well.

Unfortunately, *A Contest of Ideas* does not deliver. The essays are arranged thematically ("Shaping Myself, Shaping History," "Capital, Labor and the State," "The Rights Revolution," "The Specter on the Right," "Intellectuals and Their Ideas") rather than chronologically. The five thematic sections have introductions, but they are very brief – no more than two or three paragraphs – and they do not provide an intellectual context for the material which follows. Annoyingly, the reader is challenged to turn to the back of the book and hunt down each essay's publication information. Some of the essays are contextualized; some are not. Some of the essays appear to have been revised; some have not, and the status of many is unclear. This is not the historiographical, meta-level collection that I had expected. This collection makes for a choppy, discontinuous read, and it is hard for me to imagine how one might use it in a classroom as a teaching tool or in a study group as the focus of discussion.

Despite my criticisms of the book's shortcomings as an historiographic

project, I found it to be a rich treasure trove of ideas and analyses on a number of critical topics. Unlike some labour historians who operate as anthropologists of working class life, Lichtenstein casts a net which captures capitalism as his subject and investigates the complex position of working people within its contradictory dynamics. He presents the depths of anti-unionism on the part of US employers as a significant formative force in the development of class relations. While he provides evidence of how this force has grown stronger in the neoliberal era, he insists – and demonstrates – that its history is much older than the election of Ronald Reagan. He distances himself from those critics of business unionism who have depicted the post-World War II era as dominated by a social contract between large employers and the leaders of large unions. At the same time, Lichtenstein traces two threads within labour history – a rights discourse, operative not only between workers and bosses, but also operative among workers, and a current of grassroots activism which has linked struggles inside workplaces with struggles in surrounding communities. He presents these threads as countervailing tendencies to business unionism which, when they were dominant, could catapult organized working women and men into positions of power and effectiveness. Finally, through a set of essays which provide biographical sketches of fascinating individuals – C. Wright Mills, Harvey Swados, B.J. Widick, Jay Lovestone, Herbert Hill, Lichtenstein makes a strong argument for the importance of ideas and the people who formulate and promulgate them. Intellectuals and their ideas have been critical to identifying and valuing those vital threads – the rights discourse, the linkage of workplace and community struggles – which have been woven together to create breakthroughs for the

labour movement and have, thereby, kept alive the very ideas that the labour movement can triumph over its own business unionist practices and institutions, on the one hand, and the employer and state resistance on the other. It is, after all, as the title suggests, “a contest of ideas.”

And, in the end, this collection of essays contributes significantly to that “contest.”

PETER RACHLEFF
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Sean P. Holmes, *Weavers of Dreams, Unite! Actors' Unionism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2013)

ONCE UPON A TIME in the bad old USA, actors' professional lives were even more precarious than they are now. Like other late 19th-century workers, actors had no health insurance, disability, or retirement guarantees. Specific to their industry, however, they were also expected to work without pay during rehearsal periods, which could run up to six weeks; they had to cover their own transportation costs to an out-of-town tour's point of origin; they might be abandoned on the road anywhere during the tour if the show was unsuccessful; and they were expected to furnish their own costumes. Sean P. Holmes spins a lively, well-researched yarn about how actors decided to take matters into their own hands, giving birth to the union that survives today: Actors' Equity Association (AEA).

The impetus for actors' pushback was the creation of big producing cartels around the turn of the century. The Theatrical Syndicate and the Shubert brothers were, as Holmes aptly notes, parallels to “the oligopolies that came to dominate other sectors of the American economy in the early twentieth century.” (15) They ruled with an iron fist, putting

other producers out of business and blacklisting resistant performers. The actor, however, was not quite like other labourers, being “both the producer of the commodity and its embodiment – the weaver and the dream ... inextricably bound together,” (59) simultaneously worker and product, making identity as labour fraught. Moreover, as workers, actors comprised a hugely hierarchized community. Stars enjoyed big salaries, job security, and major perks. The vast majority of performers, however, rarely if ever even worked in New York, as they filled the tents and travelling repertory houses that dotted the heartland. Employment was never guaranteed, making ordinary childhoods, regular nourishment, and garden variety respectability sometime things. In this setting, the first proposal for AEA was made in 1913 by a group of successful, mid-career male actors in New York. Their initial meeting included management and the actors saw themselves as gentlemanly artistes, invested in high culture and middle-class propriety.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, these founders neglected their non-New York counterparts as well as chorus girls and Blacks. Holmes returns repeatedly to the difficulty of reconciling notions of art with issues of labour, pointing out the (elitist) worry that wage scales and “craft rules” would undermine individual merit and undercut artist status. Finally, in 1916, vaudevillian Frank Niblo stood up at an Equity meeting and pointed out that the artist argument put all the cards in management’s hands: “It is not art to travel in a vile-smelling day coach all day – a coach so old and terrible that railroad companies only keep it haul actors in.” (45) By 1917, the fledgling union and management had agreed on a standardized contract guaranteeing two weeks of pay, transportation, and costumes for actors earning less than \$150 a week. It also established the eight-performance

workweek and the principle of binding arbitration.

Nonetheless, producers continued to hire actors on non-AEA contracts and then went on to challenge Equity’s desire for a closed shop. Chief villains in the David and Goliath tale were the Shuberts, whose recalcitrance finally motivated AEA to “cast aside their class prejudices and vote for affiliation with the organized labor movement.” (57) Game on. In 1919 AEA went on strike, alienating many members – especially those still beholden to management for emerging careers – and still excluding chorus women. Strike leaders saw the importance of the latter group, however, and quickly reached out to them by creating Chorus Equity Association. Then the actors got savvy and took to the streets doing what they did best: performing. There were parades, snippets of shows offered outside theatres to discourage potential audience members from buying tickets, and pickets. Holmes points out that the actors were well served here in their capacity as *product*. People wanting to see a show wanted to see live actors. The embodied, performative nature of live theatre meant that the public as well as local businesses got on board with the actors’ cause. When Equity activist Preston Churchill was visited by police after picketing in front of a theatre, he expected to be arrested. Instead, the cops explained city ordinances and gave him a virtual blueprint for picketing legally. Restaurant proprietors offered free meals to any actor who showed an Equity card. In Chicago (the strike was national), strike leaders organized a benefit ball with pretty chorus girls who danced with ticket buyers. A New York dentist offered to treat all Equity members free of charge. No less a player than Samuel Gompers pledged support.

In the end, it was the stagehands and musicians – already unionized – who

forced management to come to terms. Fearing that a producers' victory in the actors' strike would hurt their own chances to negotiate for themselves, they walked off the job at New York's Hippodrome. Five days later, actors, musicians, and stagehands shut down theatres in Boston, Philadelphia, Providence, and Washington, D.C. The thirty-day strike yielded Equity actors an eight-performance week, collective bargaining, and a standard contract. The closed shop, however, was still a pipe dream.

In the months and even years following the strike, with the Shuberts and their other New York counterparts taking every opportunity they could to run counter to Equity, the union found an unwitting friend in the producers' organization representing four-fifths of American producers – those outside New York and the major cities. Hit hard by movies and the waning of touring shows, these producers cried poor mouth in an attempt to circumvent AEA rules. AEA hit back, went to arbitration, and won. The penny dropped for the Shuberts, "who had finally come to the realization that the scale of their operations and the level of capital investment in their business demanded continuity in the production process and that they had much to gain from union-directed labor stability." (99) By 1925, AEA had 11,000 members – 97 per cent of legitimate stage actors – under its jurisdiction, and had an "iron grip over the contractual relationship between performer and producing manager." (101)

All was not fully rosy, however, as old values died hard and AEA leaders still had little interest in "circuits of the rural hinterland" (118) and sought to discipline members for drunkenness, sexual laxity, and other violations of Victorian propriety. Holmes points out that dignifying the profession was tough sledding in light of changing mores, especially when actresses were in the position of portraying new

values onstage while being held to old ones off. Later, when AEA was attempting to unionize actors in Hollywood, the new category of professionals recognized that they understood their on-camera, "canned" performances and west coast industry better than the older, still snobby New York thespians did. Equity was not to be the screen actors' union.

Holmes's book is a lively read. My only reservation is that, with most of his secondary sources being books and articles published before 2000, his analysis of changing cultural values – especially with regard to gender and the rise of the middlebrow – does not include my own book about the Little Theatre Movement, nor key studies by Faye Dudden, Angela Latham, David Savran, or Monica Stufft. Moreover, his understanding of audience segregation by class is that it emerged at the end of the 19th century, something refuted by Heather Nathans's fine study of early Republican theatres.

Nonetheless, this is a clear and smart study. The late Brooks McNamara, who founded the Shubert Archive (where Holmes did a good deal of research) was fond of saying "no one ever complained that a book was too clear or too interesting." He would have approved of this one.

DOROTHY CHANSKY

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Robert P. Wolensky and William A. Hastie, Sr., *Anthracite Labor Wars: Tenancy, Italians, and Organized Crime in the Northern Coalfield of Northeastern Pennsylvania 1897-1959* (Easton, PA: Canal History and Technology Press 2013)

IN JANUARY 1959, when workers at the Knox Mine Company tunneled too close to the Susquehanna River near Pittston, Pennsylvania, millions of gallons of water broke through and poured into the

network of mines that existed in the region, killing twelve men and effectively ending the anthracite coal industry. The disaster was directly attributable to mismanagement; the mining company had ordered its miners to dig into coal seams that were under the river in violation of the law and basic safety standards. The investigations that followed the accident uncovered a web of corruption involving several area mining operations and the district leaders in the United Mine Workers Union (UMWA). "In one of the darkest episodes in northern-field history," Robert P. Wolensky and William Hastie observe, "an astonishingly broad and entrenched culture of corruption had been exposed." (180) Their book provides a richly detailed history of that culture of corruption. For scholars of labour history the book offers an important new window into labour racketeering in the anthracite coal mining industry.

Wolensky and Hastie argue that the practice of subcontracting played a central role in this story. By the turn of the 20th century, coal mining companies seeking to boost their profits struggled against a unionized work force that stubbornly clung to a traditional understanding of how much coal a miner should load. This stint, as labour historians since David Montgomery have referred to it, was two to three coal cars a day. Bituminous (i.e. soft coal) mining operations were able to adopt various kinds of mechanization to circumvent such restrictions and boost productivity, but the distinctive geology of hard coal made it impossible for anthracite mine companies to use the same tactics. Instead subcontracting offered employers a way to boost productivity and undercut the union-supported stint. Essentially, subcontractors pushed miners harder than the mine company could, often violating union contract provisions, while at the same time insulating the employer from

any repercussions. By the 1930s, subcontracting was replaced by leasing. The mine owners leased their mines to companies like the Knox Mining Company, creating a pattern of more long term arrangements that provided the mining corporations with one more layer of insulation. These leasing companies also violated safety rules to access more easily available coal and it was this practice that led to the Knox Mine disaster.

Miners opposed subcontracting because it rendered unionization a hollow victory and the book describes the internal union political battles that raged around this issue. Bringing a new perspective to the history of labour relations in anthracite, the authors provide evidence of how a string of union sanctioned strikes – and frequent wildcats – stemmed from the determination of workers to end subcontracting. Similarly, a series of rival union movements emerged out of worker dissatisfaction with the UMWA's inability, or unwillingness, to curb subcontracting. In the early 1910s, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was a militant voice for anthracite miners who opposed subcontracting. After government repression drove the Wobblies from the coal fields, other union insurgencies emerged, the most prominent being the United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania (UAMP). The defeat of that group in the mid-1930s marked a turning point, as effective worker resistance came to an end and subcontracting with its attendant corruption became firmly embedded.

The struggles over this issue, and contests between rival unions, were violent. Subcontractors who defied the miners' efforts to end this practice were sometimes victims of dynamite bombs. Some vocal union critics of subcontracting, or of the union's apparent tolerance for the practice, were assassinated. In one case a shootout occurred in the district headquarters of the United Mine Workers

Union, leading to the death of a local union president. The authors refer to a string of "30 homicides in the Pittston area since 1916 [and stretching to 1928], many of them subcontracting related." (95) Although the authors do not make this connection, it seems evident that this climate of violence and the weak state that fostered it, provided an environment in which organized crime could thrive.

And organized crime did indeed thrive in the coal fields of Northeast Pennsylvania; the authors detail a long history of Mafia-connected individuals involved in the field of subcontracting. For Hastie and Wolensky, the origins of this Mafia influence stretch back to the subcontracting and *padrone*-style labour relations that existed in the Sicilian homeland where many of the anthracite miners had originated. The Sicilian Mafia had played a role in the island's sulfur mining industry, and American Mafia leaders based in Northeastern Pennsylvania came to play a similar role here. For instance, Santo Volpe, the leading Mafia figure in this region, was also among the earliest subcontractors employed by the area's coal mine companies. Wolensky and Hastie note Volpe's previous experience in the Sicilian sulfur industry, but they might also have explained how his organized crime connections allowed him to take on subcontracts that others, mindful of the often violent nature of mineworker resistance, turned down out of fear. Here, as in other industries where labour racketeering thrived, gangsters acting as businessmen played a role that grew out of their facility with violence in an economic environment where the state offered relatively little in the way of security. One suspects that gangsters such as Volpe also benefited from the ways in which the structure of organized crime facilitated various long-term corrupt arrangements, such as bribing or co-opting union leaders. This

pattern certainly existed in other similar situations where union corruption had become endemic, and the authors might have done more to explore the structural contours of labour racketeering as it existed in the anthracite industry.

They do, however, nail down the link that existed between the region's mine company executives and these gangsters. This is one of the book's most significant achievements. The authors push against much of the literature that has been written on labour racketeering, which essentially relegates this form of endemic corruption to some sort of exotic, ethnic, underworld, separated from the rest of the economy and American society at large. Instead Wolensky and Hastie place the origins of this corruption right in the corporate boardrooms of the major mine and railroad companies that resorted to subcontracting. These executives knew what they were doing when they subcontracted to a Santo Volpe. The actions of these businessmen represented no ethnic anomaly and they certainly belie efforts to link labour racketeering to a distinct working-class ethnic acceptance of corruption. Indeed the authors of this book take great pains to spotlight the militant history of Italian American miners in the anthracite region, devoting a sizeable afterword in their book to this topic. This perspective, as well as the quality of the research, that draws on union records, oral history and newspaper accounts from the region, will make this a valuable book for those seeking to learn about labour racketeering and especially about its role in the anthracite mining industry.

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Carol Quirke, *Eyes on Labor: News Photography and America's Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press 2012)

IN THE SCHOLARSHIP on the history of photography, the most overlooked genre is the news photograph, even though it is the genre most heavily consumed. Seemingly straightforward, these images do not call out for interpretation and analysis. They are the visual equivalent of the journalistic text, a pictorial "who, what, where, when and how." But as Carol Quirke demonstrates in *Eyes on Labor: News Photography and America's Working Class*, it is these very images that are the most susceptible to what visual culture theorists call the "myth of photographic truth," the erroneous but widespread assumption that photographs are factual, that their makers and context creators are objective. Thus the photograph, "the central instrument of our time," as James Agee noted in 1941, (3) is a powerful tool in the shaping of public opinion.

Focusing on US labour in the first half of the 20th century, Quirke examines the manner in which news photography increasingly intervened in public debates concerning trade unionization as it simultaneously contributed to the construction of working class identity. Her first chapter traces the public profile of organized labour as it developed in the decades before the rise of photojournalism in the 1930s, with special attention to visual representations of labourers transmitted through earlier technologies like engravings, stereographs, and halftones. Although 19th-century news outlets reported on such events as the 1877 Railroad Strike, the number of photographs published were few and often looked static or even staged. The invention of the Graflex camera in 1898 greatly increased the ease and speed with which

events could be covered, and with the rise of the rotogravure and tabloid presses in the 1910s, news photographs were finally able to make some impact on the visual construction of labour relations and unionization covering, for instance, the 1909 Uprising of the Twenty Thousand, the 1911 Triangle Fire, the 1914 Ludlow Massacre, and the wave of strikes that followed World War I. Quirke analyzes in depth the "visualization of strikes" in the *Mid-Week Pictorial* in the latter half of 1919, arguing that the use of formal headshots to depict corporate and government leaders conveyed a sense of order, whereas photographs of union leaders and strikers bearing rifles or being beaten or restrained by police suggested a threat to order and stability, especially accompanied by captions proposing "that labor activism led to violence." (27) It wasn't until the development of high-speed film and high-speed hand-held cameras like the Leica and the Speed Graphic, however, that news photography gained greater currency on a national level, abetted by New Deal experiments using photography to sway public opinion; the introduction of picture magazines, such as *Life* and *Look*; and the increasing use of photography by corporations, pro-business organizations, and labour unions in their own publications.

This first chapter sets the stage for the series of chapter-length case studies that follow, beginning with an investigation into *Life's* coverage of labour unions, particularly the CIO, from the magazine's founding in 1936 to the country's entry into World War II. Utilizing their new "photo-essay" format, the magazine privileged photographs as much as, if not more than, the written text and, as Quirke argues, for the first time brought to millions of consumers visual evidence that a vast number of American workers were fighting to unionize, countering pro-business claims that the numbers were

few. However, through a careful analysis of the weekly issues published over these six years, Quirke concludes that *Life's* attitude towards organized labour was a shifting and often contradictory one. Workers were at times portrayed as heroes, at others as violent agitators, a result of *Life's* middle-of-the-road approach that supported the concept of unionization as long as social stability was not threatened nor business leaders demonized. After all, as Quirke points out, working-class Americans were also consumers, and thus their patronage was important to the expansion of Henry Luce's media empire and to his goal of providing a picture of all of America to all Americans.

This chapter includes some of the best examples of what I consider a major strength of Quirke's book, and that is her close reading of individual news photographs without sacrificing form to content in the interpretation of meaning. Such formal elements as angle of view, contrast, focus, and framing are given as much consideration as the people, buildings, and objects photographed. She also underscores the fluctuating interpretations that were applied to the same photographic "evidence" over time as various factions struggled to control the manner in which these images were understood, as she adeptly demonstrates in her discussion of the photographs and newsreels of Chicago's Memorial Day Massacre of 1937. Quirke takes this same approach in her analysis of the Hershey Chocolate Sit-Down Strike of 1937, the United Steelworkers of America's attempts to create an idealized picture of heroic labourers and strong yet moderate union leaders through its newspaper *Steel Labor*, and Local 65's shaping of a collective identity for its members through its newspaper *New Voices* and its Camera Club. In each, Quirke demonstrates a keen ability to decipher images as she weaves a nuanced narrative that reveals

the complex and ever-changing picture of the American worker as presented to the general public and to labour itself. Throughout, Quirke pays careful attention to issues of gender, race, and ethnicity, noting the preference for a manly "native-born American" (190) as a symbol of worker solidarity and the image of the women worker as primarily decoration or as a source of entertainment in both labour publications and the popular press.

Quirke took on a tremendous task in this study, in that the topic necessitated wading through decades of newspaper, periodical, and journal publications, as well as archival materials, although unfortunately not the *Time-Life* archives which, she points out, are closed to researchers. The result of Quirke's extensive research is a major contribution to the history of labour in the United States and, although primarily a broad cultural history, the study also contributes to the history of photography in that it refuses to ignore one of the most overlooked of genres, but of course, one of the most potent and prolific ones. With the exception of a few *Life* photographers, such as Margaret Bourke-White, Hansel Mieth, Otto Hagel, and Alfred Eisenstaedt, Quirke pays little attention to individual artistic style, which may disappoint photography historians preferring a more art-historical perspective. However, it is these same historians that have tended to neglect news photography as not artistic enough for consideration. Carol Quirke's *Eyes on Labor: News Photography and America's Working Class* proves the fruitfulness of taking these photographs seriously.

PATRICIA VETTEL-BECKER
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Matthew L. Basso, *Meet Joe Copper: Masculinity and Race on Montana's World War II Home Front* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2013)

MATTHEW L. BASSO, in *Meet Joe Copper*, argues that the masculinity of home front men was threatened during World War II, when soldiering took precedence over breadwinning as the ideal masculine trait. According to Basso, in his three study sites, Butte, Anaconda, and Black Eagle, where many men were employed in war-necessary industry, "a period of stable masculinity" came to an end, causing "working-class men to modify their behavior to meet the standards of home front masculinity," (6) complicating home front race and gender relationships well into the postwar years. In focusing on the home front, Basso offers an alternative to the majority of World War II masculinity scholarship, which contends that the war offered men, whose masculinity as breadwinners was challenged during the Great Depression, an opportunity to assert their masculinity through military service. However, as Basso rightly recognizes, this view privileges military experiences while neglecting those of home front men.

Basso's text is broken into three parts, "Defining Whiteness and Working-Class Masculinity, 1882-1940," "Copper Men and the Challenges of the Early War Home Front," and "Making the Home Front Social Order." The first part examines the dynamics of gender and, as Basso terms them, racial-ethnic identities as they were locally constructed. It covers the ways in which men and women, various classes, immigrant groups, and races interacted in order to understand how white privilege and social norms were established and propagated in the decades leading up to the war.

Focusing on wartime propaganda and military draft debates, part two discusses

how the war redefined masculinity and the increasing power of the government to define and impact copper men's masculinity, as the Anaconda Copper Company (ACM) and the government turned to female, nonwhite, aged, or disabled persons to fill labour shortages within the copper industry. Additionally, Basso illustrates how copper men deployed their working-class masculinity in order to protect their occupations in the face of deferment and labour shortage debates. Here Basso argues that Butte, Black Eagle, and Anaconda disrupt the popular narrative of increasing women and minority men in wartime industry, as Montana copper men directly challenged these employment initiatives, which they perceived as a threat to "the mine's white male status." (130-131)

In part three, Basso looks at wartime crisis (a wildcat strike in Butte, local soldiers posted near Black Eagle and women in smelter jobs in Black Eagle, and the fight to exclude women and minority men from production jobs in Anaconda) in each city, which reveal long-held beliefs about race and gender and the ways in which copper men worked to protect their local gender and racial-ethnic order.

In the final chapter of the text, Basso carries his history into the postwar years, arguing that when returning veterans entered working-class jobs, they integrated themselves into home front definitions of masculinity "that home front men carried from the Great Depression through the war and into the postwar." (15) In doing so, Basso more fully accounts for the role of working-class masculinity in shaping postwar norms than previous scholarship has.

One of the greatest strengths of Basso's text is his attention to paradoxical constructions and intersections of race, class, and gender in the American West and in the United States. Embracing these paradoxes complicates simplistic or

popular narratives of World War II home front politics. Basso illustrates that during the war, the nation held a vision of masculinity that sometimes drastically differed from that of the Montana copper men. For example, the public called the masculinity and patriotism of copper men into question when they fought against ACM and government policies that attempted to curb labour activism, including persuading workers to sign a no-strike pledge. However, gendered constructions in which autonomy and independence from the company were central to a working-class masculine identity meant that participants in wartime work stoppages understood their actions as patriotic assertions of “working-class Americanism” rather than contrary to national ideals. (133) Here Basso illustrates the tension between two contradictory narratives of masculinity, demonstrating the fluidity of the identity and calling into question the popular construction of World War II masculinity that dominates scholarship into the present.

Additionally, Basso examines the intersections of gender and race identities and the sometimes seemingly paradoxical relationships between these identities. For example, Basso discusses the seemingly contradictory relationship between Montana copper men and national labour movements, including the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (Mine Mill). Mine Mill fought against workplace discrimination and supported the inclusion of minority men in labour rights campaigns across the nation, and yet Montana copper men engaged in battles to exclude minority men from participation and employment. The refusal of white miners to work alongside African American miners during the war demonstrates, according to Basso, “the limited hold the Popular Front’s class-based racial progressivism had on Butte’s

white ethnic men.” (161) Rather than uniting with African American miners along labour lines, Butte’s white miners, familiar with the ACM’s use of racial-ethnic stratification to fracture union power, walked off the job. The national press again understood white miners’ refusal to work with African Americans as unpatriotic, as they failed to comply with Executive Order 8802, which prevented discrimination based on race in the national defense program. The local press, however, made sense of this contradiction in claiming that Butte miners’ actions were not based in racism but rather in their belief that the government failed to protect Butte workers when it brought in outside soldier-miners rather than returning Butte soldiers to fill labour shortages. Additionally, Butte miners feared that the inclusion of African Americans was an ACM plot to fracture union activism. Far from a defense of their actions, Basso presents a coherent assertion that although Montana copper men’s actions and similar actions of home front men across the nation are frequently left out of the World War II narrative, they had significant impact and are necessary to historians’ understanding of race and gender relations during and after the war.

An important contribution to both gender and western history, Basso successfully traces a narrative of World War II gender and race politics that runs contrary to the national narrative and demonstrates that wartime and postwar power relations were rooted in decades-old gender and racial-ethnic hierarchies. However, Basso’s analysis of white males’ anxieties about and resistance to changing norms largely neglects men of colour in Montana. In his discussion of the 1942 wildcat strike in Butte, for example, Basso touches on the actions of Black soldier miners only in order to support his definition of ideal World War II masculinity, and his claims about the ways

in which white copper men challenged this definition. He claims that African American soldier-miners defended their right to stay and work in Butte by appealing to wartime definitions of masculinity in arguing, "if we are worthy of wearing the uniform ... we are sufficiently worthy to work with the Butte Miners in all the mines here." (185) Here Basso seems to assume that the definition of ideal wartime masculinity, and men's responses to that definition were the same across race lines, neglecting to provide an equally nuanced analysis of nonwhite masculinity and the ways in which Black soldier-miners may have deployed their masculine identities in order to protect or advance their own status. Basso's early assertions that masculinity is unfixed and contestable would have benefitted from closer analysis of racialized masculinity.

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Colleen Doody, *Detroit's Cold War: The Origins of Postwar Conservatism* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press 2013)

IN HER BOOK ON anti-Communism and the development of conservative thought and action after World War II, Colleen Doody agrees with those scholars who see a contested New Deal liberalism and a powerful conservatism before the latter's flowering in the 1970s. Her most important contribution is to show how "the ideas that became central to this [conservative] movement developed at a grassroots level much earlier." (4)

Using Detroit as a case study, she shows how conservative anti-communism grew out of anti-unionism, white supremacist racism, anti-secular Catholicism, and business hostility to the New Deal. Detroit is a fitting place to study these four. A well-known union city, it was

home to the third largest Communist Party organization in the nation. But it was also a city where conservative politicians who linked labour and anti-communism often won elections. As the Black population increased and looked for a place to live, the city erupted in racially charged housing fights. And, as she tells us, Detroit was a Catholic centre with 70 per cent of its million parishioners attending mass once a week.

Anti-communism had been well-established in Detroit in the 1920s and early 1930s by the Ku Klux Klan and its murderous offshoot, the Black Legion. But the crisis of the Depression challenged pro-capitalist views and the successful role played by Communists in organizing the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) weakened the self-confidence of local elites. Doody uses a postwar letter from a *Detroit News* reader to identify a mix of "fear of big government, antipathy toward organized labor, and hostility toward communism." (19) She traces the role of anti-Communism in the chaotic local and state elections, noting that it worked best when combined with other conservative themes. For instance, she notes a claimed correlation of Communism and high taxes which allowed anti-communists to attack supposedly high-tax liberal New Dealers. But she pays less attention to analyzing the liberal anti-Communism of Walter Reuther, Gus Scholle, and G. Mennen Williams. Liberal anti-Communism in the White House and the union hall preceded the McCarthy onslaught and helped validate anti-Communism.

In her treatment of the intersection of racism and anti-Communism, Doody shows how opposition to integrated housing mixed easily with anti-radicalism. Given the frequent Communist Party presence in open-housing fights and in Black organizations like the National Negro Labor Council, the racists had an

easy task of identifying the left with the "threat" of integration. By defining racist exclusion as a defense of hard-won property values, conservatives were able to win away a significant portion of New Deal supporters.

Liberals, who wanted to achieve better race relations using moderate means, limited themselves both by their own anti-Communism and their top down approach. Some more analysis of the Communist Party's attractiveness to Blacks would have been helpful. The Communist strategy of mass protest clashed with the liberal approach of "quashing mass action," in, for example, their responses to the 1948 police murder of Black teenager car robber, Leon Moseley. (65) In the struggle for fair employment, the liberals' only victory in the early 1950s was to keep a Communist-supported fair employment referendum off the Detroit ballot. Yet the conservatives ultimately gained from the red-baiting of civil rights activists.

What may be the book's most original chapter examines Catholic anti-Communism. For these conservative Catholics, the real enemy was secularism. They were not interested in the businessmen's libertarianism; instead, they defended what they saw as Christian civilization. The Catholic Church had been preaching anti-Communism as well as anti-secularism for a long time and events during the Spanish Civil War only reinforced the Church's hatred of the left. Yet many Eastern European immigrants were attracted by charismatic radical leaders like the often-elected Michigan state Senator Stanley Nowak and supported the radicals who built the CIO. Nevertheless, among Detroit's Catholics there was a deep and developing devotional culture which, Doody notes, "has been largely invisible to historians of American society and politics." (83) At events which drew up to 100,000 participants, these

devotees of Mary heard defenses of the family that included protection of patriarchy and questioning of science. As Doody writes, "the Virgin Mary replaced Rosie the Riveter as the model women should emulate." (121) Far from waning, attendance at mass actually increased in the second and third generations, as well as among the new suburbanites. In this postwar combination of anti-secularism and anti-Communism, there was no place for the earlier Catholic critique of industrial capitalism. Conservative Catholics criticized pro-CIO priests as being too close to Communism. (92)

In her penultimate chapter, "Business and the Welfare State," Doody leaves behind any discussion of the actual Communist Party and shows how gestating Detroit conservatism became the new model of the Republican Party. In the immediate postwar period, Detroit businessmen promulgated a libertarian philosophy which condemned national economic planning as well as the welfare state. Their propaganda campaign went as far as having a cartoon version of Friedrich Hayek's 1944 *The Road to Serfdom* printed in *Life* magazine. They portrayed themselves as acting for the good of the community and the nation in contrast to greedy and self-interested unions. They championed "individual freedom" against government-supported "security." In the postwar years, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) rose from its World War II doldrums and overtook less conservative business organizations. NAM attacked the welfare state which it depicted as the opening wedge in a drive to socialism and Soviet repression. (100)

Walter Reuther was the main target of Detroit's conservatives. Detroit's small businessmen often hated him and resented the peace which prevailed between the United Auto Workers and the Big Three automakers. But in 1958, facing an

economic downturn and foreign competition, the automakers joined with small businessmen in denouncing Reuther and the high wages he had helped autoworkers to win. The keynote speaker at the 1958 Wayne County (Detroit) Republican Party convention was Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater who condemned what he called "this socialist-labor thing" (115). As Doody shows, that year's liberal victories marked a turning point for postwar conservatism which shifted from Joe McCarthy's anti-communism to an anti-statist, anti-labour attack on unions, the New Deal, and the welfare state.

In her conclusion, Doody takes issue with other scholars of conservatism who ignore the immediate postwar years. She finds the elements of the later powerful conservative ideology already well developed. She identifies these as, "support for free-market capitalism, small domestic government, anti-Communism and traditionalism." (122) She might have added anti-unionism and racism. All these were brought together by anti-Communism upon which many Americans projected their fears.

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Chris Rhomberg, *The Broken Table: The Detroit Newspaper Strike and the State of American Labor* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation 2012)

THE BROKEN TABLE tells the dramatic story of the Detroit newspaper strike, a five-year strike by 2,500 workers in six unions against the Detroit Newspaper Agency (DNA), a joint operating agency of Knight-Ridder, then-publisher of the *Detroit Free Press*, and Gannett, owner of the *Detroit News* (Gannett now owns both papers). Beginning in 1995, six years after the formation of a joint operating agreement between the two corporations

– what Rhomberg calls "a legally sanctioned monopoly" (37) – workers struck over three unfair labour practices: the transfer of work from the printers' bargaining unit without union negotiations; the unlawful declaration of a bargaining impasse by the DNA as a strategy to impose merit pay on Newspaper Guild members; and the DNA's reneging on a commitment to bargain with the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions (MCNU), which represented all six unions involved, on economic issues. And while Rhomberg demonstrates in great detail the transformation of newspaper labour practices in the decades leading up to the strike, which gave journalists, printers, circulation workers, and truck drivers plenty of issues over which to fight with management, he argues that the strike was about much more than wages and working conditions. At stake was the ability of management to freely restructure operations and to wrest control over production in an industry with a long history of craft unionism and worker control over the labour process and hiring. Ultimately, for workers, the strike was an effort to retain collective bargaining rights at a time when employers across North America began forcefully working to decimate unions. *The Broken Table* is the history of an important strike, but it is also a story about power: how it is mobilized, deployed, and negotiated during labour conflict. Such attention to power highlights the limitations of the collective bargaining framework in the United States.

Rhomberg draws on extensive research, including 100 interviews with key informants (striking workers, union leaders, company representatives, non-striking employees, civic leaders and public officials), news articles (including articles from the *Detroit Sunday Journal*, the newspaper striking workers published for four years), and thousands

of pages of legal records. The result is a richly detailed historical account that engages with strike theories to argue that under the political economic conditions of the post-1981 anti-union climate in the United States, the strike has been utterly transformed. Whereas once the strike was an economic tactic and protected legal right used by workers as part of an institutionalized collective bargaining process, it has been transformed into a "high-risk confrontation" (9) with increased likelihood of violence, state intervention, and the hiring of replacement workers – in short, a fight for the very existence of the collective bargaining relationship.

Rhomberg cites the Detroit strike as an "extreme case" that demonstrates the implications of the ongoing erosion of the New Deal accord, under which – and facilitated by the *Wagner Act* – the importance of the right to strike and the ability to collectively bargain was recognized. Although the institutionalization of collective bargaining severed labour negotiations from historic ties to communities and limited involvement to management and unions, Rhomberg argues that such a framework encouraged parties to reach a "peaceful, negotiated settlement." (177) From the beginning, the Detroit strike encouraged nothing of the sort.

In the months leading up to the strike, as the MCNU worked to continue negotiations, DNA management undertook unprecedented strike planning. Executives went to preview strikes at the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner*, militarized its strike preparation by spending millions on security, including US\$1 million for police overtime at newspaper production and distribution sites, and most contentiously, hired replacement workers to staff the newspapers' production and distribution (at one point, replacements numbered 1,100). The hiring of replacement

workers was key to enabling the papers to continue publishing despite striking workers' best efforts at picketing and, for Rhomberg, demonstrates the major flaws in the Wagner model of collective bargaining. Under this model, the state retains power to determine if a strike is one of "economic" issues or "unfair labour practices," which determines if a company can hire replacement workers. By going to great lengths in the courts to demonstrate that the strike was over economic issues, the DNA was able to hire replacement workers and continued to publish papers. Such a practice makes strikes much longer and more difficult for unions to win, as the Detroit case demonstrates. It also undermines unions' strike efforts and puts labour conflict on extremely uneven ground from the start. As Rhomberg vividly demonstrates, the presence of replacement workers encourages violence and intensified hostility, and foregrounds the state as a central player in labour negotiations.

The Broken Table portrays plenty of drama on the streets of suburban Detroit, where workers held lively protests – often supported by thousands of community members and labour allies – and clashed with security and police. But because of the use of replacement workers, much of the strike played out in courtrooms. In 1997, the unions made unconditional offers to return to work after nineteen months on strike, but the DNA would take back only a small portion of workers, keeping replacements on. The National Labor Relations Board found the DNA guilty of prolonging the strike and of unfair labour practices that caused the strike, and ordered the DNA to immediately reinstate workers. The company appealed, launching a protracted legal process that ultimately ended in 2000 when the unfair labour practice charge was overturned by the federal appeals court, forcing unions to accept contracts

on management's terms. All six unions settled by 2000, but the damage was deep: many longtime employees were fired (Rhomberg includes brief portraits of select workers, personalizing the story of the strike) and legal appeals dragged on further.

As the book's title suggests, the bargaining table – a metaphor for the collective bargaining framework governing labour negotiations in the United States – is broken. Rhomberg's historical account of the Detroit newspaper strike provides a deep understanding of a critical strike that has had lasting implications for all involved, but also offers important lessons for today's workers and unions. In our contemporary anti-union and anti-worker climate, with growing numbers of workers' struggles occurring outside of trade unions and a collective bargaining framework, social movements, citizens, and community members have critical roles to play in mobilizing support and pressuring employers. The Detroit newspaper workers received extensive community support through participation in demonstrations, boycotts, and building coalitions. Rhomberg demonstrates that such solidarity signals a return to pre-New Deal era relationships with communities, where sympathy strikes, boycotts, and other consumer actions were central to workers' protest repertoires.

It is an interesting time to revisit the labour history of newspapers. Today's digitally enabled newsrooms, populated by a thin core of employees and an expanding freelance workforce, seem starkly different to the large, unionized newsrooms Rhomberg describes, with their dense layers of reporters, editors, printers, circulation and delivery workers, advertising departments and, significantly, union representation. Yet, while the transformation of newspapers in a digital age is in flux, newswriters still labour for large, powerful organizations

pushing for a high-speed reorganization of work without unions to protect workers and give them a voice. *The Broken Table* makes clear the implications of regarding unions as a historical relic at a time when newswriters need them more than ever.

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Phil Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer: Labor, Sexuality, and AIDS in the History of Male Flight Attendants* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2013)

PHIL TIEMEYER'S BOOK, *Plane Queer*, is a great read. Who knew the history of flight attendants would be such a good lens through which to assess and analyze gender politics and civil rights over the past century? Tiemeyer's decision to consider this history from a male perspective was wise since it doesn't downplay or sidebar the experience of women, but in fact helps to heighten the fact that gender and sexuality were at the centre of corporate decision making related to this occupation.

Tiemeyer traces the history of flight attendants from the earliest days in the 1920s through the present time. He identifies important milestones along the way that are emblematic of the transformations, reinventions, and oppressions that characterize the occupation, and his sharp analytical and writing skills kept this reader engaged. It would be an excellent book to have on the reading list of a wide range of courses including studies in labour history, sexuality, civil rights, and feminism.

In Chapter 1, Tiemeyer covers the period up to World War II. The first commercial passenger flights in the United States started in the 1920s. One of the earliest was Pan American's flight from Key West, Florida to Havana, Cuba and, like

all flights at that time, was staffed entirely by men, with everyone multitasking. The job was considered too dangerous for women. These flights were perilous: very bumpy, no oxygen, and almost guaranteed to induce air sickness. The first passenger flights with women attendants began in 1930 by United Airlines. This came about after an assertive campaign by a registered nurse who convinced corporate executives that women could better reassure passengers and assist them in emergencies, and that attendants should be nurses. Pan American and Eastern tried to hold strong with all-male flight attendant corps, but the tide was turning. Tiemeyer highlights a shift in thinking that was taking place, especially in newspaper reporting, that began to characterize male flight attendants as “male hostesses” with the implication that they were doing work best left to women. At the same time, the job of flight attendant for women became more and more sexualized, some airlines going so far as to suggest their female flight attendants could and should “follow through” when asked to date a male customer.

Chapter 2 highlights the demise of the male steward in the post-World War II period. Besides the growing public and corporate opinion that attending people in the air was “women’s work” and the hyper-sexualisation of air attendants as objects of male desire, Tiemeyer argues that this development also had economic roots. An oversupply of aircraft due to the government’s decommissioning of wartime planes forced the airline industry to recalibrate its bottom line. This meant that stewards, who often had higher salaries and more tenure, became less cost effective than stewardesses. The corporations also found it economically convenient to introduce punitive rules for women such as marriage bans, weight restrictions, and forced retirement, which meant they could have a fairly constant

flow of “pretty” young women at the lowest possible pay. All of these factors conspired to reduce the number of men being hired into the occupation.

The 1950s was a period of heightened conservatism and homophobia in North America. Chapter 3 charts how the ideal post-World War II male was characterized as a hyper-masculine family man and, when combined with the scourge of McCarthyism, reinforced the acceptability of purging men from the workforce who did not fit this narrow parameter such as male flight attendants. Tiemeyer also uses the murder of a Miami-based steward who was the victim of a casual sex encounter gone terribly wrong to illustrate changing perceptions of male flight attendants. The assailants avoided a first degree murder charge on the basis of what was probably the first “homosexual panic” defence. This sensational case served to further characterize male flight attendants as perverse, inadequate males, who posed a threat to normalcy and decency. Pressure mounted to eliminate them from the occupation and, by the dawn of the 1960s, there were almost no stewards serving on major American airlines.

Chapter 4 illustrates how pivotal the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was in shifting the plight of male flight attendants. Tiemeyer draws on a legal case that transformed the restrictive hiring policies of the airlines. Celio Diaz was able to reverse the female-only hiring practices of Pan American Airlines using the “sex” provision that had been a last minute addition to the Act. The author rightly positions this case as not only a victory for air stewards, but as an important early landmark case for LGBT civil rights since it was assumed Diaz was homosexual, even though he claimed he was not. The Diaz verdict served to reopen the door to men who wanted to be flight attendants. By the 1970s, the growing force of

feminism was also helping to transform what was happening in airline fuselages. Chapter 5 highlights how women and gays gradually became allies to fight for better working conditions, a move often accompanied by union certification. In many ways, the 1980s morphed into the heyday for flight attendants: air travel was still a luxury, flight attendants got to travel the world and had relatively high occupational status, wages and perks were good, especially because of unionization, and men and women had more or less equal opportunities, especially compared to most jobs at the time.

But then along came the curse of AIDS, and male flight attendants took considerable heat for its inception and rapid spread. Chapter 6 charts what Tiemeyer calls "the darkest days" of the plague and Chapter 7 chronicles the legacy of AIDS on the industry. He challenges the notion that a flight attendant for Air Canada was the so-called patient zero who helped to rapidly spread the disease with his rampant promiscuity. Nonetheless, AIDS had a devastating impact on men in the industry: many died, many became very ill and had to leave their jobs, and the airlines acquiesced to a misinformed public by suspending and refusing to hire males on the grounds of public safety. The only bright side to this story is that some unions fought for the rights of these men to receive long term disability, enhanced pharmaceutical coverage, and same-sex benefit packages.

Chapter 8 turns to the modern period, one Tiemeyer characterizes as relatively gay-friendly and less restrictive for women. He highlights the way flight attendants and their unions have been at the forefront of changes in domestic partner laws, and how the airlines have increasingly taken on LGBT issues such as American Airlines' early adoption of progressive policies for transgendered workers. But this progress has

been accompanied by a huge downside. It is now an occupation located in an extremely competitive industry that has made the job more and more like herding cattle on a bus. He points to the ongoing deterioration of the occupation by using the case of JetBlue steward Steven Slater, who went berserk and jumped down the emergency shoot with a bottle of beer, when his plane landed at JFK. The press made a huge story out of it, emphasizing that he had been arrested at his home, supposedly in bed with his same-sex partner. In an interview with Tiemeyer, Slater argued that the worsening of the job conditions (understaffing, angry and hostile customers, decreasing wages, and impossible shifts) had driven him over the edge. The declining work environments no doubt affect men and women equally.

The excellent final chapter summarizes the various epochs that have characterized the occupation, highlighting once again the circumstances that epitomize shifts in the legal and social conditions for flight attendants. As he demonstrates, it is in some ways a unique occupational trajectory when considered through a gendered lens. In the beginning it is all male, women enter the occupation as nurses, it shifts to gender mixed, the occupation becomes highly feminized and sexist with a systematic purge of men, a legal challenge based on a law that was never designed to protect men in women's jobs reopens the door to males, and it eventually returns to gender mixed.

This is a superlative book. Tiemeyer waded through over 80 years of archival material (enough to produce 50 pages of notes), and interviewed a cross section of flight attendants: male and female, old and young. I found the book so interesting, readable, and informative that it is difficult to find fault. One criticism I have is that the book is based almost entirely on American material, and I

was left wondering if similar dynamics might have been at play in other settings. I would also have liked to hear more female voices – the book relies heavily on male informants. He might also have spent more time assessing the impact of the neoliberal state and the deregulation of the industry in the deconstruction and deterioration of the occupation. Overall, the book makes an important and timely contribution to the history of labour, civil rights, LGBT activism, feminism, and aviation.

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Stewart Van Cleve, *Land of 10,000 Loves: A History of Queer Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2012)

DON'T SKIM OVER this review quickly in the mistaken assumption that this book has a limited audience of specialists. If you do, you will miss a gem of a book. *Land of 10,000 Loves* has something to offer those readers interested in histories and geographies of sexuality, the American Midwest, and gender history. In 280 pages, Stewart Van Cleve provides an engaging introduction to the history of queer Minnesotans, their lives, and loves. Organized into a series of thematic chapters devoted to history, geographies and places, activism, education, and community-building by and for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) peoples Van Cleve's book has a dual focus. The first is to showcase the incredible range of materials housed at the Jean-Nickolaus Tretter collection at the University of Minnesota. According to Van Cleve, the Tretter collection is "one of the world's largest repositories of LGBTQ thought, art and history. (1) Tretter is an omnivore collector, who amassed a wide range of materials from "Magnus

Hirschfield's burned books, the flyer from the Stonewall Riots, and innumerable newspapers, flyers, buttons, books, and photographs that tell the story of local struggles against heterosexist power." (281) As one can imagine, utilizing such an archive, and trying to separate the historically important from the locally significant, takes skill. Van Cleve is at his best when he assesses the motivations of the original collectors, the ways in which their interests shape the histories that academics and graduate students will be enabled to write, and how matters of finances – initially acquisitions, but subsequently funds for curating, directing and cataloguing – impact communities, their histories, and their accessibility. As a former assistant curator of the collection, Van Cleve had significant time to immerse himself in the collection. He learned its complexities and limitations, a luxury few other scholars will have time to duplicate. The collection has benefited from the largesse of the University of Minnesota, but without further investments, the potential of these materials cannot be realized. Those interested in the political and economic roles of community archives, and aware that they will increasingly need to be relocated to larger, more secure academic or public archives, will find this book beneficial. It should serve to stimulate some much needed discussions about the values, costs, and challenges of preserving our artifacts and histories while still providing access to multiple audiences.

The volume's second goal is to provide an accessible history of queer Minnesotans. Van Cleve makes a compelling case for the importance of local histories stating "regional queer history is important because the local LGBT community has been consistently maligned, misrepresented and ignored." (2) It will not surprise historians of sexuality that there were queer Minnesotans; what will

be more notable is how prevalent they've been in the state's history. Starting with histories of two-spirited peoples, through to contemporary queer politics and community building, *Land of 10,000 Loves* offers a series of intriguing snapshots of queer social histories throughout the state. Following on two notable earlier books, Ricardo J. Brown's *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's: A Gay Life in the 1940s*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003) and the Twin Cities GLBT Oral History Project's *Queer Twin Cities*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), Van Cleve's book showcases and historicizes documentary materials from the collection. The collection isn't perfect (none are) and so Van Cleve notes that documents and cultural products about and by lesbians, African Americans, two spirited peoples, and bisexuals are not as well represented, nor as numerically plentiful, as those produced by and for gay men. To Van Cleve's credit he doesn't stop with that common caveat but attempts to compensate by making every attempt to highlight materials and histories from these less well-represented groups. Social historians with interests in race, class, geographies, and popular culture will be fascinated with the glimpses into Minnesota histories and will observe linkages with many contemporary social histories in different urban and regional locations in Canada and the United States. The book offers much rich potential for further work with the collection, and serves to stimulate interests in utilizing these archives for graduate student theses and a variety of academic work in the history, culture, and activism of queer communities.

This short review cannot highlight all the marvelous material contained in this volume, but a few examples shall suffice. For example, we learn about Minnesota's variation on how to meet other queer people. In Minnesota, one of the signs

queer men utilized to signal their interests in other men was to display an up-turned pack of Pall Mall cigarettes which "carried the slogan 'Wherever Particular People Congregate.'" (56) In a section devoted to local activism, reproductions of the cover of Gay Pride Guides (printed in colour) offers a rich, visual material history of activism in the Twin Cities. And Van Cleve's book reminds us that gay, lesbian, queer, and transgendered activism had a lengthy history in Minnesota. The first American gay couple, Jack Baker and Michael McConnell, who attempted to get legally married and force this political issue, did so in Minneapolis in May 1970. Not surprisingly, the Minnesota Supreme Court denied their application. Various other university and community activist groups were created throughout the state from the 1970s through the 1990s. As well, there was a strong cohort of lesbian feminist activism and cultural engagement in Minnesota, including the creation of lesbian-centred rural collectives, women's bookstores, cafés, and feminist organizations. For example, the Amazon Feminist Bookstore in Minneapolis, and the women who created it and patronized it, inspired graphic artist Alison Bechdel to set her syndicated, acclaimed lesbian comic strip *Dykes to Watch Out For* in its fictional counterpart "Madwimmin Books." Ultimately, Van Cleve's point is well taken, that Minnesota has a vibrant queer history. In fact, the documents in the Tretter collection make a very strong case that "the entire state has been queer, to a certain extent, from the very beginning." (3)

Ultimately, this deceptively engaging, entertaining, and thought-provoking regional history illustrates the politics and importance of archiving, researching, and writing sexualities history. Not every American state or Canadian province will have the rich stores of archival materials to enable writers to duplicate what Van

Cleve has accomplished in *10,000 Loves*. Yet Minnesota, in all its hard-working, wholesome, ordinary Midwestern ways, potentially offers a valuable insight into how queer people elsewhere in North American may have lived before and after the gay and lesbian liberation movements. Historians have recently turned their attention to the American South, and rural areas of the United States, but it is worth encouraging graduate students and other academics to think carefully about what happened in the heartland. There is much we still need to learn about fashioning identities, building communities, daily activism, and the more striking moments of high political and legal drama around gay, lesbian, trans, and queer issues. Identity politics, movements, and queer lives were not just forged in a few key cities, but were built, sustained, and initiated in a variety of places and spaces – including Minnesota. We would do well to re-frame our histories beyond urban centres to studies of regions, states, provinces, and small towns, so as to better capture these historical realities.

VALERIE J. KORINEK

University of Saskatchewan

Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder, eds., *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 2013)

THIS BOOK EXPLORES a largely overlooked aspect of student activism in the 1960s – that which occurred in the southern United States. Historian Jeffrey A. Turner begins his contribution to this collection by stating that “the 1960s student movement in the South was built along the color line.” (129) This theme, whether implicit or explicit, is present in almost all of the essays presented here. The title, *Rebellion in Black and White*, is therefore perhaps more apt than

intended. But Robert Cohen and David Snyder’s anthology also addresses issues that reverberated beyond the South.

Contributors represent a range of experience; some are recent PhDs, others accomplished scholars. Southern historian Dan Carter and former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC – pronounced snick) activist Cleveland Sellers bookend the volume with autobiographical pieces. Doug Rossinow, known for his pioneering work on the student left at the University of Texas, has contributed a concluding historiographical reflection. David Farber, who has published numerous books on the Sixties, provides an afterword. But the substance of this book is largely the work of young scholars teaching at southern universities. Co-editor Robert Cohen points out that “all contributors reject the traditional notion that southern student activism in the mid-1960s was less important or interesting than its northern counterpart.” (21)

The body of the book is divided into four, partly thematic, partly chronological sections. The section titled “Early Days: From Talk to Action” highlights student activism in the early part of the era. It includes articles by Wesley Hogan on SNCC, Joy Ann Williamson-Lott on free speech battles in Mississippi and the Carolinas, Erica Whittington on the Southern Student Human Relations Project, and Marcia Synnott on moderate white activists on South Carolina campuses. Hogan’s and Whittington’s articles represent how different historians have come to place the period within the larger history of the United States. Hogan, taking a decidedly decadal approach, argues that the South’s Sixties began in 1960 with the formation of SNCC. Like Sellers, she argues that the popular narrative of the 1960s greatly diminishes the importance of SNCC. (43) But the rich historiography of the subject, including books

by Claybourne Carson, Barbara Ransby, and Hogan herself indicate that despite what she believes to be "popular," historians have not forgotten SNCC. In contrast, Whittington's "Interracial Dialogue and the Southern Student Human Relations Project" explores what many historians are increasingly referring to as "the long nineteen sixties". Established in 1958 by the National Student Association, the Southern Student Human Relations Project was an annual seminar held at northern campuses where African American and white university students from across the South could come together and candidly discuss issues of race. Such gatherings were illegal in the South. The project lasted a decade and gave to the future SNCC several of its leaders.

Kelly Morrow, Nicholas Meriwether, and Gregg Michel contribute to the section "Cultural Revolution and its Discontents." Morrow presents a case study of what she terms "the evolution of the sexual revolution" at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. She argues that men played a prominent role in women's liberation. (196) Meriwether provides a history of South Carolina's first head shop. Michel presents an outline of the Southern Student Organizing Committee, the largest left-wing organization representing white students in the South throughout the latter 1960s. Michel is the author of *Struggle for a Better South: The Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1964-1969* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). In addition to Rossinow, Michel's work represents one of the few works on how the new left manifested itself in the South.

The section "Black Power and the Legacy of the Freedom Movement" includes Sellers' essay as well as Jelani Favors' study of the movement at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (NCAT) in Greensboro. Favors argues that historically black colleges and

universities (HBCUS) such as NCAT "continued to serve as flashpoints for confrontation with the white power structure as the 1960s drew to a close." (255) The 1969 fatal shooting of NCAT student Willie Grimes falls within the larger pattern of African American students being gunned down on their campuses by white law enforcement agencies, an issue that Cohen touches on in his introduction. But a discussion that neither Cohen nor Favors raise is the commonality that all fatal shootings of African American students took place at publicly owned schools where administrators answered to state authorities. Kenneth Heineman, in his study of white campus shootings makes a similar observation in his book *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993). Just as police or National Guard units did not open fire on students at privately-owned, elite, white universities, rarely did they gun down students at private HBCUS. Students at Fisk or Howard were almost as immune to government bullets as those at Harvard or Columbia.

Rebellion in Black and White is at its best in the section "Campus Activism Takes Shape." This is for two reasons. First, it addresses the largely segregated nature of the civil rights movement on campus. Jeffrey Turner profiles student activism at Nashville's two preeminent, private universities – the predominantly white Vanderbilt, and the historically black Fisk. Unfortunately he tells us far more about the former than the latter. It is noteworthy that an inordinate number of white civil rights activists at Vanderbilt tended to be Northerners or foreign exchange students. (131) Cohen, in his introduction, addresses this dearth of southern white activists. To be a white, southern student activist risked ostracism from one's family, community and classmates. (21)

This section also introduces the southern antiwar movement. Gary Sprayberry's account of activism at the University of Alabama includes the South in a historiography from which it has been largely excluded. None of the major scholars of the antiwar movement – Charles DeBenedetti, Tom Wells, Mitchell Hall, Melvin Small to name only a few – include the South as part of their national narratives. The movement came late to the University of Alabama, arriving about 1968 and climaxing in May 1970. Absent is any mention of how, if at all, the 1969 Moratorium, the largest antiwar campaign of the era, took shape on campus. Significantly, Christopher Huff, in his article on conservatism at the University of Georgia argues that a significant factor in mobilizing the Young Americans for Freedom chapter there was in reaction to a vibrant Moratorium movement on campus. (175) At both universities, antiwar activism crystallized around the killing of four students at Kent State in May 1970. The invasion of Cambodia, the killings at Kent State, and the widespread protests that followed appear several times throughout the book. Indeed, *Rebellion in Black and White* emerged from a conference at the University of South Carolina marking the fortieth anniversary of the occupation of the student union building there in response to Kent State. (xix) Cohen, in his introduction, also mentions the wave of student protests that gripped southern campuses in May 1970. (10) Missing, however, is context: these demonstrations represented southern contributions to America's most successful national student strike. The actions that unfolded at southern campuses in May 1970 expressed more than sectional opposition to the war. While many of the articles in this book advocate the distinctiveness of southern student activism, the strikes, occupations, demonstrations, and countless other

protests that occurred at the Universities of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and other campuses represented southern contributions to a larger phenomenon. Participation in the national student strike of May 1970 demonstrated one's identity as an American student.

Rebellion in Black and White is an important contribution to the scholarship concerning America in the 1960s. It will make an excellent reader for a seminar course on the subject. It addresses issues that, while often already part of the grand narrative, have to a large degree excluded the South.

CHRISTOPHER POWELL
Edmonton, AB

Gordon K. Mantler, *Black-Brown Coalition and the Fight for Economic Justice, 1960-1974* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2013)

IN DECEMBER OF 1967, Martin Luther King Jr. announced a series of marches, demonstrations, and civil disobedience actions aimed at highlighting the extent of poverty across the United States and demanding action from Congress and the White House. Intended to demonstrate the continued effectiveness of non-violent disobedience in the era of Black Power, the Poor People's Campaign was plagued from the start by interpersonal conflicts, differences over priorities and tactics, and the difficulties of organizing a diverse and geographically dispersed constituency. King seemed hopeful when he travelled to Memphis, Tennessee, where he hoped to launch the campaign by supporting a strike by African American sanitation workers, but his assassination on April 4, 1968, threw the movement into turmoil. Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who succeeded King as President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), sought to carry on his friend's "last great

dream" by organizing an encampment on the National Mall to house protesters and to draw media attention to the poor. (122) Continued infighting, terrible weather, and poor management turned Resurrection City into a quagmire – both literal and symbolic – for the SCLC.

Gordon Mantler does not dispute the common view that the Poor People's Campaign was, as one SCLC leader stated, "the Little Bighorn of the civil rights movement," but he argues that this conclusion overshadows important qualities and outcomes of the effort. Despite the failure to reinvigorate the civil rights movement or revive the War on Poverty, Mantler contends that "a closer look at the campaign reveals a unique and remarkably instructive experiment to build a multiracial movement designed to wage a sustained fight against poverty." (5) The day before Resurrection City opened, for example, the National Welfare Rights Organization led an interracial march of several thousand to highlight the plight of poor women. And while the media focused on the disorder at Resurrection City, Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Appalachian whites forged a vibrant interracial network at a nearby high school where they stayed during the campaign. Perhaps most impressive was Solidarity Day, the official culminating rally of the Poor People's Campaign, which drew between 50,000 and 100,000 people to a well-publicized rally at the Lincoln Memorial.

This history matters, according to Mantler, because it complicates a widespread assumption that the anti-poverty activism of the 1960s was undermined by the rise of race- and gender-based identity politics in the 1970s. In fact, he demonstrates, the Poor People's Campaign emerged from the convergence of racially identified movements in the early 1960s and its "most important, long-term legacy" (184) was to strengthen those racial

identities. "Ironically," he writes of the years following Resurrection City, "those who boldly pursued multiracial coalition just a year or two earlier stressed race-based identity politics as essential not just to meet their political needs of the moment but also to establish genuine coalition among the nation's politically weak and disempowered poor sometime in the not-so-distant future." (189) In the final chapter, he shows how those legacies of the Poor People's Campaign resonated in the Raza Unida party, the Gary Black Power convention, and other iconic examples of identity politics in the 1970s.

Mantler provides a fresh and persuasive view of the Poor People's Campaign, but the scope is often too narrow to sustain his broader claims about its significance. He is strongest when reconstructing the varied roots of anti-poverty activism in the civil rights and Mexican American movements of the early 1960s, and in tracing activists who helped merge those movements into the Poor People's Campaign. Beyond that, however, his argument loses coherence. In detailed accounts of grassroots activism in Chicago and the Southwest, he shows how veterans of the Poor People's Campaign cooperated to build the Gary Black Power convention and the Chicano convention in El Paso, both of which came to be seen as emblematic of the identity politics of the 1970s. He does not tell us how those meetings were influenced by anti-poverty activists, however, or that they addressed the issues of unemployment, wages, and landownership that had been central to the anti-poverty movements of the previous decade. It may be true that identity politics grew out of the Poor People's Movement, but there is little evidence that it sustained its primary objectives in the following decades.

WILLIAM P. JONES

University of Wisconsin–Madison

John D. Skrentny, *After Civil Rights: Racial Realism in the New American Workplace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2014)

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN police officer on a city beat, the Latino on a politician's staff, the South Asian waiter at the local Indian restaurant: the racial or ethnic identity of the people in these jobs is rarely considered unusual or troubling. Most scholars examine the exclusion, not inclusion of minorities in jobs. In *After Civil Rights*, sociologist John Skrentny argues that the employment of minorities frequently violates a host of equal employment opportunity laws and constitutional guarantees of equal treatment. Many of these workers are in jobs, not on the basis of their qualifications (although many employers see one's race as a kind of qualification), or to address historical, structural inequality. Instead, the "racial realism" at work in the hiring and promoting of minorities is motivated by a confusing mix of the well-intentioned goals of diversity and fairness, a practical way to gain profit or votes, and a toxic form of job typing by race and ethnicity. Although Skrentny doesn't provide a figure for racial realism's share of the total workforce he contends that it is sizeable. More importantly, it has come about with little forethought. "American employers' strategies for managing race in the workplace are, to a large extent, unregulated," he writes. (266)

Classical liberalism and affirmative action liberalism, not racial realism, have informed most laws and public policies. Conservatives insist that classical liberalism serves as a colour-blind means to reward individual merit and qualifications. There is no place, at least in theory, for racial realism. Liberals and progressives have tended to favour affirmative action liberalism as a way to offer educational and employment opportunities to racial

and ethnic minorities. Skrentney allows that there is an overlap of affirmative action liberalism with racial realism. Some is due to the "*bona fide* occupational qualification" or "BFOQ" exception provided in the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which allows for otherwise discriminatory hiring if there are considered reasonably necessary to the normal operation of a particular business (e.g., a men's clothing manufacturer might lawfully advertise for a male model). More commonly, it is there with the use of the diversity justification as articulated by US Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell's plurality decision in the landmark *University of California v. Bakke* (1978). In recent years, however, judges have increasingly narrowed the range of *Bakke*'s use.

Racial realism hiring takes different forms in different employment sectors. It is a regular and accepted practice in politics. Media companies – especially television and radio – use it to cater to their target audiences. Where it clashes with competing claims of qualification and merit, such as in police and fire departments as well as higher education, there have been fierce legal battles over its validity. Skrentny weighs the evidence of its value carefully. Does racial realism "work," and for whom? Advertisers have clear reason to adopt racial realism. In the fields of law enforcement, judicial appointments, and education, however, the evidence is less clear. Is the "role model theory," for example, a compelling argument for placing assigning a large number of Black teachers in a school with a predominantly Black student population? Although the evidence is mixed, Skrentny concludes, on a guarded note, that racial realism can produce positive results.

But he does note the dangers of racial realism for ethnic and racial minorities. Its use for appealing to students, consumers, and local residents can lock the

racial realist workforce into a kind of employment ghetto. Large advertising agencies do not allow for adequate promotion of minority executives into the upper management positions. The film and television industry has a long history of "narrow casting" its actors. He identifies another problem: if the hiring of minority retail service workers and managers to interact with customers in a city or neighborhood store is legitimate, then a mostly white workforce in white areas seems legitimate as well. Skrentny warns of the corrosive effect of racial realism on the laudable goal of equal employment opportunity.

Labour historians will be drawn especially to his chapter on the low-skilled workforce. It is here that job typing by race and ethnicity has left Black workers and, to a somewhat lesser extent, white workers in the unemployment line as poorly paid, often undocumented, Latino workers toil in dangerous jobs alongside Asian workers who are seen as more reliable and hard working. Sidelined Black and white workers are almost always unable to mount the expensive and time-consuming legal actions to challenge this kind of racial realism. When challenged, employers cite Black and white workers' "lack of interest" in these jobs. (249) There is nothing "natural" about this, however; in his focus on the changing shape and character of the packinghouse industry, Skrentny demonstrates that employers engage in careful hiring decisions to shed these workers in order to create "brown collar" jobs. (245)

Skrentny is a skilled sociologist but he lacks an appreciation of the class and gender nature of racial realism. His only observation about class is that the low-wage immigrant workers he studies insist that their jobs are only temporary and that they plan to open small businesses. In his book there are no avenues of cross-racial solidarity to check the employers'

power. Labour historians will hesitate to accept this conclusion given the considerable literature on union successes in bridging race and ethnic divides. Nor do entrepreneurial aspirations inform the actions of ethnic group members. For instance, Leon Fink's *The Maya of Morganton* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) is an account of Guatemalan workers' labour organizing in a North Carolina chicken processing plant. In terms of gender, Skrentny's unfortunate decision not to explore the gendered nature of racial realism will leave readers wondering how job typing by sex has infused the understanding of who should occupy certain jobs, and the racialized nature of these jobs. This is true for domestic workers as it is for flight attendants and other female-dominated jobs.

The lack of worker agency in addressing racial realism is a sobering reminder of what little impact unions have in contemporary United States in shaping employment policy. Although his many policy prescriptions to "mend it, not end it" lack a central objective Skrentny is to be applauded for documenting the varied and understudied manner in which Americans are employed. As the harsh criticisms lodged against Skrentny in a *New York Times* column he wrote on his main arguments illustrate, the most immediate work is to convince many Americans that raising this issue is not racist or counter to equal opportunity.

DENNIS DESLIPPE

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Steve J. Shone, *American Anarchism* (Leiden: Brill 2013)

STEVE J. SHONE's *American Anarchism* is a collection of writings on a select number of anarchists who were either active in the United States in the 19th and

early 20th centuries or who had a profound influence on anarchist thought in that country during this time period. The author wishes to re-introduce the political thought of anarchist writers such as Benjamin R. Tucker, Voltairine de Cleyre, and others because he believes the anarchist critique of government coupled with a concern for humanity can help American readers in the present imagine an alternative system of government to what currently exists in the United States. According to Shone, the US government is far more concerned with spending money on national security and foreign wars than the welfare of its own citizens. Shone also hopes that this book will act as a bridge between present day anarchists and libertarians who he feels have some natural affinities when it comes to themes like individual liberty.

Steve J. Shone's *American Anarchism* begins with promise. The author identifies eight anarchists, most of whom were active in the United States. Each chapter is dedicated to a specific anarchist and provides biographical information and brief summaries of their political thought. Some of the historical figures on whom Shone focuses are well-known while others, such as Lucy Parsons, partner to martyred Haymarket anarchist Albert Parsons, are not as prominent in anarchist history. Shone should be congratulated for his attempt at resuscitating Parsons, Samuel Fielden, and others whose theoretical contributions are largely ignored in histories of anarchism. However, the opportunity to provide us with new insights on these figures is largely squandered. In the chapter on Parsons, for instance, the author spends nine pages getting bogged down in debates surrounding Parsons' racial background in a chapter twenty-six pages in length. Considering the points this book is trying to make, it seems odd to focus so much energy on whether Parsons was

Black or Indigenous or a mixture of both. This is information that could have been summarized in one or two sentences with any other key information placed in an endnote. Another issue with the Parsons chapter is how little of her anarchist philosophy is discussed. Shone quotes directly from her husband Albert's writings almost as often as from Lucy's and, in one case, uses an Albert Parsons quote to summarize Lucy Parsons' criticism of institutions. This leaves the reader wondering why Shone chose Lucy Parsons for this book. Much more research is needed here by the author to make a convincing argument that Lucy Parsons had something unique to add to anarchist political philosophy as it developed in the United States.

The book would have benefited tremendously if the author had defined what he meant by the term "American anarchism." The author focuses on a rather broad cross-section of anarchists. There is the American-born anarchist individualist Benjamin R. Tucker, Michigan's anarchist feminist Voltairine de Cleyre, the Italian anti-organizationalist anarchist communist Luigi Galleani, and Alexander Berkman, the Jewish anarchist communist from Russia. It would have been useful for Shone to explain how these individuals, and the others in this book, fit into the "American anarchism" rubric. Is there a certain form of anarchism that one could argue developed in the United States and influenced successive generations of anarchists? How does the reader reconcile the fact that some of the anarchists in this book migrated to the United States after engaging in anarchist activism in their home countries and abroad?

Take Luigi Galleani for example. His involvement in the Italian anarchist movement began in the 1880s. As a result of his experiences in his country of birth, Galleani was involved in the debates

among comrades in the Italian movement on how best to proceed in the face of intense state repression. While some Italian anarchists felt the best way to challenge the Italian government was to create a mass popular movement others, like Galleani, believed that organizations provided a target for state authorities to attack. They preferred a movement that could not be seen and that resorted to spontaneous actions against authorities and capitalists among others. It was this form of anti-organizationalist anarchist communism that Galleani advocated for after his arrival in the United States in 1901. In addition, Galleani tended to work almost exclusively among Italian anarchists in the United States. His journal, *Cronaca Sovversiva*, was published in Italian and he lectured in his native language as well. Galleani would be deported back to Italy in 1919 because of his anarchist activities in the United States. Based on this very brief summary of Galleani's life, it is unclear how he ended up in a book called *American Anarchism*. With no definition of "American anarchism," the impression is left that, for most of this book's subjects, it was their birth or residence in the United States that qualified them for inclusion in Shone's work. Clarifying "American anarchism" would also help reconcile those personalities who represent either anarchist individualism or anarchist communism. Though both strains of anarchism share some commonalities, it is more often the case that they diverge dramatically from one another. Perhaps this book should have been called *American Anarchisms* to more accurately reflect what was happening in the US during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

American Anarchism could also have benefitted from the work of an editor. The early chapters in particular are poorly written. Throughout this book, Shone repeatedly resorts to listing the names

of scholars and their specific claims related to an historical figure. For instance, in the chapter on Voltairine de Cleyre, Shone names ten scholars who have commented on de Cleyre being both an anarchist and a feminist within the main body of the text accompanied by short quotes. This does not add anything to the author's argument and, again, is information that could be succinctly summarized in the text and any further elaboration placed in an endnote.

American Anarchism is a frustrating book to read. Shone makes his case for writing the book but does not deliver on a useful political alternative to the current political realities in the United States. Instead, he provides a series of random anarchists fleshed out with some biographical information and snippets of their respective political philosophies, and gets bogged down in irrelevant debates surrounding these historical figures. If readers are interested in the personal histories and political philosophies of people like Tucker, de Cleyre, Berkman, and the others, there are biographies and collections of political writings that will serve you much better than Shone's *American Anarchism*.

TRAVIS TOMCHUK

Canadian Museum for Human Rights

**Elizabeth Tandy Shermer,
*Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and
the Transformation of American
Politics* (Philadelphia: University of
Pennsylvania Press 2013)**

NO OTHER CITY SEEMS to epitomize the Sunbelt more than Phoenix, Arizona. Its eight-lane freeways, palm trees, and ranch homes sprawl 700 square miles across the desert floor. Physical and economic growth are the political imperatives for most Sunbelt cities, but it always seems like Phoenix's explosive march

across the desert made it the epitome of the growth-at-any-and-all-cost mentality of postwar city boosters in both the US West and US South.

I often thought about sprawling and sunny Phoenix when I read the recent historiography on the Sunbelt. This literature on the region's postwar economic and urban growth focuses heavily on the US South's deep-seeded racial issues or on Southern California's virulent anti-communism. It is difficult to identify how Phoenix fits into either of these interpretations. In other words, the current literature does not provide an adequate structure for explaining how Phoenix became such an exemplar of Sunbelt economic development and urban growth.

Elizabeth Tandy Shermer's *Sunbelt Capitalism*, however, provides a framework for understanding how 20th-century Phoenix boosters pursued and managed the explosive growth of their city and how their policies to recruit corporations to the city undermined the post-World War II economic and political order. She argues that Phoenix boosters and businessmen remade American politics to serve a pro-growth agenda that promoted corporate investment at the cost of social services. Phoenix boosters' pro-growth philosophy and industrial recruitment practices amounted to a field-tested menu of policies that we would now call "neoliberalism." The industrial recruitment tactics that boosters such as Barry Goldwater developed in Phoenix during the 1950s emphasized "the use of the state to facilitate commerce," by "decreasing regulations, taxes, and union rights." (3) The model of Sunbelt development pioneered by Phoenix boosters relied heavily upon the use of state power to facilitate public-private investment partnerships and allowed Phoenix to grow from a small town into a postindustrial metropolis.

Shermer's framework places Phoenix businessmen and boosters at the centre of the story. *Sunbelt Capitalism* is not a social history of Sunbelt workers, nor does it focus on documenting a grass-roots movement. Instead, Shermer develops her argument around the work of "grasstops" (2) – prominent businessmen and financiers, such as Walter Bimson and Barry Goldwater, attorneys such as Frank Snell, or civic and educational leaders, such as Grady Gammage. These business and civic leaders met and collaborated on political projects through the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce. During the Great Depression and the post-war era, these grasstops sought to weaken Phoenix's economic dependence on the state's "five Cs": cattle, copper, citrus, cotton, and climate. Goldwater and his coterie of fellow grasstops sought to transform the US West from a colonial outpost into an economic powerhouse by recruiting high-tech manufacturing firms. Phoenix boosters' single-minded focus on industrial investment allowed city boosters to use Phoenix to enact a set of economic policies that favoured "large, bureaucratic conglomerates" over small-scale, proprietary firms. (117)

Phoenix grasstops' pursuit of a high-tech manufacturing base led to the development of private-public partnerships in public finance corporations and universities. For example, Walter Bimson accepted Federal Housing Administration funds to advance his goal of distributing publicly backed, but privately issued, loans to correct the financial difficulties of the Great Depression. The Central Arizona Project and the expansion of Arizona State University from a normal school to a research university also demonstrated Phoenix boosters' strategy of using the state to advance the goals of corporations.

Phoenix grasstops embarked upon these public-private partnerships in

order to promote their city as the ideal "business climate" based, according to Shermer, on low corporate taxes and cheap labour rates. The Arizona legislature made the tax rate favorable to high-tech, defense industries, but Shermer argues that Arizona's 1946 right-to-work law was the true source of the grasstops' political strength. The absence of strong labour unions maintained Phoenix's "enticing wage differential between the Steelbelt and its hinterlands," but also allowed city boosters to exercise more control in determining the future of the city's economic growth. (115) Local businessmen worked hand-in-glove with the city council, bureaucratic planning agencies, and the Chamber of Commerce's Industrial Development Committee to build competitive "business climates." The vision of postwar capitalism embodied in the "business climate" ideal stood in stark contrast to the corporatist model developed by social democratic labour leaders such as Walther Reuther.

Shermer analyzes how cities across the US West and South, and even the Rustbelt's postindustrial cities, emulated Phoenix's model of pro-business development. Local leaders vaulted Phoenix politicians and officials into influential posts in the federal government. Phoenicians such as Barry Goldwater, John McCain, William Rehnquist, and Sandra Day O'Connor used the US Senate and Supreme Court to make their local views about "hypergrowth, anti-union, low-tax, deregulatory, peripheral politics" into the "mainstream orthodoxy." (291) The wide adoption of Phoenix's model of industrial recruitment resulted in the expansion of local governments because cities and states needed to create state planning agencies or business development bureaucracies to remain competitive with their peers. In the 1940s, Phoenix booster Barry Goldwater stated "that businessmen must govern," and by the 1970s,

most city and state boosters across the country agreed. (133)

But, Phoenix's model of growth-oriented politics weakened the economic health of both the Sunbelt and Rustbelt. Local cities' use of tax holidays, giveaways, and nonunionized wage rates caused Sunbelt development to become irregular because companies relocated to pursue the financial perks offered by competing cities. This atmosphere of hypercompetitive recruitment caused economic inequality to proliferate throughout the country as cities vied with each other for investment dollars. Ultimately, the migration of corporations to other parts of the Sunbelt left many "communities devastated as northeastern and midwestern manufacturing centers." (11)

Shermer joins a growing number of historians who are providing a host of revisions to the "rise and fall of the New Deal order" thesis. This historiography suggests that the New Deal political order floundered because of the inability of postwar Keynesians to cure stagflation. But Shermer boldly contends that during the 1940s and 1950s, the businessmen of Phoenix, Arizona, developed a package of policies that undermined the New Deal order by deploying state resources to serve the interests of large corporations. Shermer's most important insight is that conservatives were affected by the expansion of the state that occurred during the Great Depression. But, instead of using state power to pursue an equitable social democracy, Phoenix businessmen and civic leaders used state power to pursue the development of private corporations. Through Shermer's telling, the collapse of the New Deal at the hands of conservatives during the 1970s and 1980s should not be interpreted as the destruction of the large postwar state, but rather a re-orientation toward the interests of corporations and boosters, rather than labour interests.

It is difficult to criticize Shermer's measured and comprehensive treatment of Phoenix grassstops and their development of nascent neoliberal policies. There are, however, some gaps that future scholars can cover more fully. In order to contextualize Phoenix, Shermer sometimes makes extended comparisons to other prominent Sunbelt grassstops, such as Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield and North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges. The connections between these figures and Arizona's boosters are amply demonstrated, but Shermer does not adequately prove how these prominent boosters were connected in similar projects of economic and urban development. Future works, however, can deploy a comparative framework to more fully understand the links between local and regional Sunbelt boosters and how their competition led to the uneven prosperity of postwar American cities.

Shermer successfully works at the intersection of several complementary historiographies. She builds upon recent works that detail the reemergence of conservatism, the political economy of postwar industrialization in the US South and West, and the history of Sunbelt urban boosterism. It will surely be of interest to labour historians, urban historians, and historians of capitalism, but is also a must-read for anyone interested in understanding the economic and political development of the postwar United States.

SEAN PARULIAN HARVEY
Northwestern University

Melanie Simms, Jane Holgate, and Edmund Heery, *Union Voices: Tactics and Tensions in UK Organizing* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2013)

THE 1990s WAS AN optimistic period for organized labour in the United States and

the United Kingdom as unions emerged from a decade long assault by Reaganism and Thatcherism. By the mid-1990s, union membership in the UK was just over seven million workers, down from thirteen million in 1979. (18) While Clinton and Blair hardly lent a helping hand to lift labour off the ground, they did perhaps remove the state's heavy boot from union backs. The dramatic decline of union membership in the UK began to level off and union density stabilized in the US. New organizing practices were being experimented with by unions that eventually found their way into the UK.

Melanie Simms, Jane Holgate, and Edmund Heery document the "organizing turn" in *Union Voices: Tactics and Tensions in UK Organizing*. The book contains well over a decade of intensive research on union organizing strategy, campaigns, and activist development that is simply unparalleled. The research begins in the late 1990s when labour leaders realized that UK unions were struggling and the "partnership" model had failed. As a result the Trades Union Congress (TUC, a UK central labour body) developed the Organizing Academy (OA) based on similar projects in the US and Australia. Through original survey and interview data, the researchers not only provide an account of the OA's development but also its impact on leadership development, union culture, and campaign success. As a result, they are able to provide an evaluation (perhaps less than optimistic) of organizing in the UK.

The book is an extremely focused piece. Building from the experience of the OA and its ripple effects across UK unions and campaigns over a decade allows for deep empirical reflection on union organizing and renewal efforts. However, the very focus on organizing and union renewal/revitalization as conceptual frameworks also presents the authors with significant theoretical challenges. The authors

attempt to address many of these conceptual problems in the first chapter which enters debates on union decline and renewal. For scholars engaged in some of these debates, the chapter will seem very familiar as the problems of binary models (e.g., organizing versus servicing, business versus social unionism, bottom-up versus top-down organizing) and what actually constitutes “renewal” (i.e., increased recruitment versus democratic reform) are presented. Many these early binaries have long been discounted by scholars, including the authors themselves. For example, a major argument throughout the book is the need for some coordination or “managed activism” (31) of union campaigns rather than dependence on spontaneous workplace action. If some of the theoretical issues now read as dated, it must be kept in mind that the research project itself is a long study grounded in a theoretical framework that emerged in the late 1990s. My other minor issue with this chapter is the explanation of the rise of organizing in the US. The authors’ strong assertion that US organizing in the 1980s and 1990s can be linked to *rww* ideology requires more qualification. A similar claim could be made to the influence of community organizers inspired by Saul Alinsky, or anti-war organizers from the New Left that found their way into union leadership positions. The US turn to organizing is simply too overdetermined to be reduced to one group’s political influence.

Perhaps it is my own disciplinary bias, but welcomed geographical insights are found consistently throughout the book. The authors have an implicit (if not explicit) geographical sensibility, which can perhaps be credited to their exposure to the work of Jane Wills among others. The second chapter provides a useful account of how the “organizing turn” travelled to the UK (via the US and Australia). The international lineage is traced with special attention to how the UK national labour

regulation regime reshaped organizing to the local context. Specifically, the practice of voluntary recognition by less hostile UK employers versus the statutory recognition (i.e., certification votes that are dominant in North America) significantly shape workplace organizing strategies. The authors argue persuasively against any single universal model of organizing.

The OA managed to train 240 organizers between 1998–2008, not only building skills capacity and networks of union organizers, but also changing the organizing culture of unions. While the OA had an impact, it was found that, over time, there was more emphasis on the bundles of tactics used to reach workers and much less on larger strategic questions and developing capacities to deal employers at a sectoral level.

The third and fourth chapters turn to the experience of organizers themselves and their impact on unions. The authors document the tensions that emerge between often younger “specialist” organizers and “generalist” staff. While these tensions are very real, there is also evidence of hybridity and the variety of ways organizers are integrated into union practices. Particularly insightful are the case studies used to illustrate these different approaches. The intensive research with organizers themselves is also compelling as the 240 graduates of the OA are tracked throughout the UK labour movement and are integrated among the 3000 union staff in the UK. While there are relatively few organizers who have left the union movement, many do identify workload pressures and career path limitations. While metropolitan organizers were much less isolated from their OA networks than their rural counterparts, there are cases of isolation in unions that maintain specialist and generalist divisions.

In the chapter that specifically focuses on campaigns, there is a clear criticism on the scale of efforts which continue to address workplaces rather than entire sectors or regions. UK unions are commended for focusing campaigns on greenfield private services as well as in-fill targets where unions already have a presence, but the focus on the scale of the workplace is of primary concern when wages need to be removed from entire industries.

The primary strength of this book is its exhaustive examination of organizing *within* the confines of UK union renewal. Here, the book situates itself among leading labour renewal research in the UK, US, Canada, and Australia. At the same time, the conclusions the book reaches are rather limited by the confines of these debates. Yes, evaluating union organizing with criteria beyond recruitment of new members is important. Union recognition without strong membership support and involvement only leads to poor collective bargaining outcomes. Targeting underrepresented groups of workers in underrepresented sectors will also remain a challenge even with the current organizing turn if workers are not themselves involved. The authors are clear that self-organization and union democracy are just as vital for worker empowerment and that organizing must include these objectives.

But how do you really achieve this in the UK union context? The authors spend less than two concluding pages on alternative models such as social movement unionism. Indeed, the authors finish quite pessimistically and are clear that restriction to workplace organizing and bargaining “does reflect a certain lack of imagination on behalf of unions.” (170)

But why not expand the final chapter to discuss the organizing done by unions and unionists outside of recognition and bargaining processes? Did Unison not

support London Citizens and the very successful organizing campaign for a living wage? Do graduates of the OA have any links to other Left and community organizations struggling outside of unions? It is here where I think the book’s greatest strength, a clear focus on organizing and renewal within the confines of traditional unionism may also be its greatest limitation. The authors might have also considered if innovative “UK organizing” for workers is simply occurring elsewhere.

STEVEN TUFTS
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Elizabeth McKillen, *Making the World Safe for Workers: Labor, the Left, and Wilsonian Internationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2013)

IN 2013, SEVERAL North American trade unions came out against the Keystone XL Pipeline project. On the 20th anniversary of the North American Free Trade Agreement, AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka expressed misgivings about the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. (*New York Times*, 28 February 2013; Center for American Progress, americaprogress.org, 25 March 2014) This, plus years of protests by union-members against US wars abroad, show that organized labour is keenly aware of international relations.

Following up on work presented in a special issue of *Diplomatic History* (no.4, 2010) devoted to the US working-class and international policy, Elizabeth McKillen puts this awareness into historical context by addressing the role the US Left had in shaping the international policies of the Woodrow Wilson administration during World War I. McKillen focuses on President Wilson, his ally Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and their leftwing working-class opposition

composed of Socialist Party rank-and-filers, AFL-affiliated unions, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Irish-Americans, European immigrants, women, and people of colour.

According to diplomatic historian Norman Graebner, Wilson promoted an "ideal, principled, peace program." (*The Versailles Treaty and Its Legacy*, [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011], 23) McKillen, instead, contends Wilson was committed to furthering US business interests. There is nothing new about this argument, but the author links it to the activities of the labour movement, which has been long ignored by diplomatic historians. McKillen argues that leftwing labour activists were convinced that the goal of Wilson's "internationalist agenda" was to maintain a capitalist world order. (11) McKillen holds that rejection of the League of Nations scheme by most leftists doomed US membership in that organization.

The first and second sections of *Making the World Safe for Workers* cover the Mexican Revolution and US neutrality. Because Wilson had always opposed colonial liberation, he was not concerned with Socialist and IWW charges that the invasion of Mexico in 1914 was hypocritical. Common enmity toward leftist factions in the Mexican Revolution and the anti-war "majority wing" of the US Socialist Party brought Wilson and Gompers together. (57) Gompers' promotion of corporatism, and friction with the United Mine Workers Association (UMWA), trumped questions about Wilson's inaction with problems like the Ludlow Massacre. Wilson's need for working-class support of his preparedness campaign impelled him to appoint Gompers to the Council of National Defense in 1916. The Committee on Public Information funded Gompers' pro-war American Alliance for Labor

Democracy. Gompers willingly collaborated with the Wilson administration.

The third and fourth sections cover US belligerency and the Paris Peace Conference. McKillen sheds light on conflicts within the US labour movement, and within the AFL itself. Strong anti-war sentiment existed in the labour movement before war was declared in 1917. McKillen examines Seattle and Chicago labour federations, the UMWA, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) to show that dissimilar groups of workers opposed the war. Deeply opposed to the anti-war socialists, Gompers would later write in his memoirs that they composed an "adjunct in America of the German Socialist Party." (168) Nor was Wilson's commitment to industrial democracy genuine since labour unrest was an abiding concern of his during the war. Government repression of Socialists and Wobblies, abetted by Gompers, was necessary due to the popularity of their positions.

McKillen covers relations between the AFL and labour leaders from Allied countries at the Paris Peace Conference. Because Gompers and most European socialists did not get along with each other during the war, there would be discord within the Commission on International Labour Legislation at Versailles over labour provisions in the peace treaty. The Wilson administration had to contend with rival labour conferences in neutral countries. Like African, Asian, Irish, Mexican, and Russian delegations, German and Austrian trade unionists were banned from Versailles. Of crucial significance is the discussion of the International Labour Organization (ILO) which, after internal debate, was designed to contain working-class radicalism, the Bolshevik Revolution, and colonial nationalism. There was great opposition to the labour provisions of the

Versailles Treaty and the ILO charter in the US labour movement. Following the example of the leftwing press, the first attacks on the League in the Senate came from leftwing reservationists like Robert LaFollette who felt that the ILO would be used *against* workers. (For their part, conservative reservationists from the South and the West feared ILO standards could be applied to sharecroppers and migrant workers.) McKillen's observations are noteworthy for the ILO is little-studied in the context of US labour history.

McKillen sheds light on leftwing political parties. She devotes attention to the anarcho-syndicalist Partido Liberal Mexicano, the US Labor Party, the British Labour Party, and the pro-war faction of the US Socialist Party. She does the same with less noted labour conferences, including ones held by the Pan American Federation of Labour and the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). (Sponsored by the WTUL and the ILGWU, the International Congress of Working Women endorsed the ILO despite hostility from the Wilson administration.) McKillen discusses the Pan-African Congress in the context of (unheeded) colonial demands at Versailles.

McKillen is critical of "realist" international relations but she is not blind to the reality of global power relations. For instance, Secretary of State Robert Lansing commented on a memo Gompers wrote about the dangers of revolutionary socialism that this tendency was "in many ways more to be dreaded than autocracy." (152) McKillen nevertheless challenges the notion that the state enjoyed unrivalled power over US public opinion during the Progressive Era. Concerning working-class culture, European ethnic communities were not docile subjects of Americanization. On the other hand, the Left subscribed to the ideology of American exceptionalism and employed concepts of gender in the service of

pacifism. The Black socialist and diasporic movements had a clear grasp of the capitalist world system.

Some general comments are in order about this book. It is a well-written narrative that draws on diverse schools of scholarship, including labour, gender, Black, borderland, immigration, and international relations. McKillen complements recent studies on draft resistance, the IWW, the wartime state, and the AFL (Jeanette Keith, *Rich Man's War, Poor Man's Fight*, [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004]; Peter Cole, *Wobblies on the Waterfront*, [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007]; Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*, [New York: Oxford University Press, 2008]; Jennifer Luff, *Commonsense Anticommunism*, [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012]). To great effect, McKillen has consulted the papers of all of the key individuals and organizations examined in this book.

In any work of this scale, there are bound to be omissions. Perhaps McKillen should have taken racial violence in the United States during the Great War and the 1919 Seattle general strike in account. For that matter, what did Gompers and the anti-war Left think about the occupation of Haiti authorized by the Wilson White House in 1915? Was Article X of the League of Nations Covenant as crucial an issue to workers as it was to Senate reservationists?

These comments notwithstanding, *Making the World Safe for Workers* is an enlightening study of an undeservedly forgotten chapter in modern history. Opponents of "overseas contingency operations" and "free trade" today will feel vindicated after they read McKillen's account of how leftwing labour stood up for democracy and workers' rights a century ago.

ANTHONY B. NEWKIRK
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Yuichiro Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in 20th-Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa* (New York: New York University Press 2013)

AS THE TITLE IMPLIES, Yuichiro Onishi has sought to explore the growth of a transpacific union between African Americans and Japanese to eliminate racism. In doing so, Onishi takes an episodic approach to his subject. In the first half of the book, subtitled "Discourses," he examines the prominence of Japan in the thinking of leading African American intellectuals and civil rights activists including W.E.B. Du Bois and Hubert Harrison. Japan's swift rise into the ranks of the great powers impressed many African Americans and led some to hope that the Asian nation would lead an international campaign against white supremacy. Onishi refers to this support for the upstart Japan as "the pro-Japan provocation," a term that nicely captures the vicarious thrill one could experience by siding with Japan against the white imperialist nations. The rise of Japan also helped Du Bois fashion an Afro-Asian interpretation of modern history that challenged then fashionable explanations about the rise of the West. This was an important intellectual achievement. Nevertheless, Onishi also acknowledges that in doing so, Du Bois and others who championed Japan ignored or excused Japanese imperialism and racism.

In the second half of the book, subtitled "Collectives," Onishi looks at the activities of two different groups in the post-World War II era. In the first chapter he describes the creation and early years of the Association of Black Studies, an academic organization in Japan. In the second chapter of this section he looks at the activities of Okinawan and American peace activists who opposed the treaty that would permit the continuation of

American military bases on Okinawa after Japan regained sovereignty over the island.

As Onishi shows, two Japanese intellectuals, Nukina Yoshitaka, and his former student, Furukawa Hiromi, overcame their colleagues' indifference to African American history and culture to form *Kokujuin Kenkyu no Kai* (Association of Negro Studies) which published numerous works by African American authors in translation often accompanied by scholarly essays by Japanese academics. In addition to extolling the merits of, and significance of, African American culture, the founders hoped that the organization would create the basis for what Onishi calls "communal learning." It is not clear that they were successful in achieving their larger goals but, as Onishi shows, in 1969 Nakajima Yoriko, a female member of the group helped spearhead a campaign in Japan to aid in the defense of the erstwhile Black power advocate Robert Williams.

In the last chapter, Onishi describes the activities of a variety of anti-imperialist groups and individuals on Okinawa in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In this final section the scene shifts from African American and Japanese efforts to achieve solidarity to those of Black GIs, Okinawans, and white American peace and civil rights advocates. These efforts took place during the height of the Vietnam War when Okinawa, then under American control, was used as a base and staging area for American military operations. Restoration of Japanese sovereignty over the island had been in the works for some time, but the American officials would not consent to the transfer until they received Japanese assurances that US military installations on the island would be maintained. The Japanese government, which had sacrificed Okinawa twice before, once during the war and then in the peace treaty that granted the

U.S. authority over the island, obliged. As Onishi notes, Okinawans preferred to see Japan regain control of the island until they learned that the American bases, which occupied vast stretches of the island, would remain. As the anti-reversion movement gained strength, Black GIs stationed on the island also protested continuing discrimination in the military and, in some cases, they extended this critique to include what they condemned as America's imperialist policies in Asia. Okinawa had the potential to bring together the disparate groups necessary to build the long-desired solidarity between African Americans and Japanese, although that dream was never fully realized.

Onishi is clearly sympathetic with the anti-imperialist, anti-racist agenda of his subjects but that does not prevent him from identifying their shortcomings. As noted, Du Bois excused Japanese imperialism and Japanese scholars too often dismissed African American culture as something not worth studying. Onishi also notes that Japanese antiwar advocates in the 1960s overlooked their own treatment of Japan's outcast group the *Eta*, and, of course, they often failed to understand Okinawans' perspective on the bases problem. Black GIs also complained of being discriminated against by Okinawans. Onishi also notes, that most of his subjects subscribed to a patriarchal world view that did not make room for women as equals.

On occasion, Onishi's desire to demonstrate the vitality of a transpacific movement leads him to make assertions unsupported by his evidence. For example, in one instance he links the US-based International Council of Women of the Darker Races to the pro-Japan provocation by noting that in 1924 the "Japanese question" "was taken up" at one of their meetings. (36) In fact, his source indicates that the organization's president,

Margaret Murray Washington, wrote that they would be taking up the "whole Japanese question" that fall. We do not know if they did. Nor do we know what was meant by the "whole Japanese question." In another instance he links the protest of Quinton T. Allen, a Black GI, to emergent Third World internationalism. But when Allen faced a court martial he declared his solidarity with "Blacks, whites, [I]ndians, [P]uerto [R]icans and Chicanos," all groups that came under US sovereignty. (147) He did not mention Okinawans or Japanese, which seems like a significant oversight given that the court martial took place on Okinawa.

The book's structure poses another problem in that the connections between the sections are tenuous. Onishi sees in the thoughts and actions of his subjects a transpacific striving for a better world based on equality but that common striving, to the extent that it actually existed, is not sufficient to tie the different sections together. It is more accurate to say that Onishi's has given us a collection of several articles, not a cohesive book length study of a subject.

Onishi's fondness for academic jargon is an even larger problem. For the most part, Onishi is writing for other academics in his field. This is obvious in his frequent invocation of other scholars as if they were the last word on a subject. Nevertheless, I suspect even academic specialists will be deterred by the book's many infelicitous phrases and meandering sentences. Onishi appears to recognize this when he follows many of those sentences with the phrase "in other words...."

A few examples will suffice. "Thus, this book argues that the dynamism of the culture of liberation was such that by stepping into this space, the participants of Afro-Asian solidarity projects began moving in a 'racial groove,' as Du Bois so aptly put it, and changing the groove

itself, they made connections across multiple efforts to revise the blueprint of Black radicalism to present a meaning of human liberation that exceeded the boundaries of nations and modern political thought." (10) Referring to the journal *Kokujin Kenkyu*, Onishi writes that "What precipitated from this collective endeavor to translate the literature of the Black Liberation movement was that it set in motion the group's efforts to inhabit the space and time of the shifting grounds of race and to organize a repository of shared hopes for a new society to produce the echo of Black radicalism in Japanese translations. In other words, the making of this anthology helped constitute a space of diaspora." (121) Readers should not have to work so hard to discover the author's meaning. In some cases no amount of effort will help. Take for example Onishi's description of a Quaker activist on Okinawa and her mother in the United States who, although physically separated, "nonetheless moved together, across, below, above, and behind nation-states during the era of Okinawa reversion and the Vietnam War." (181)

Yuichiro Onishi has provided several interesting case studies of groups that hoped to forge a trans-Pacific coalition against imperialism and racism. Unfortunately, the small rewards to be gained from these essays are nearly overshadowed by his impenetrable prose.

MARC GALLICCHIO

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Michael David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941* (New York: Oxford University Press 2012)

THE "PILGRIMAGE" of interwar travellers to the Soviet Union is a notorious phenomenon in the political and intellectual

history of the 20th century. Until recently, the historiography in the field has been dominated by books researched during the Cold War, including works by Sylvia Margulies, David Caute, and particularly Paul Hollander's *Political Pilgrims* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) which appeared in its fourth edition in 1998. Michael David-Fox is one among a number of scholars, including David C. Engerman and Ludmila Stern, who in recent years have been using Soviet sources to revisit the experiences of Westerners in the Soviet Union. *Showcasing the Great Experiment*, based on extensive mining of the massive archive of the All-Union Society for Cultural Ties Abroad (VOKS), provides a nuanced portrait of visits to the Soviet Union but, further, explores these visits in the context of a larger web of cultural relations between the USSR and the West – a web that exerted influence in both directions.

Many ideas in the West about Russia and Russian ideas about the West predated the 1917 revolution but persisted in the Soviet period with new complexities. To some Westerners, Russians were a backward race, a primitive and exotic "other." Bolsheviks could, in this view, be seen as heroic, intellectuals pulling the Soviet Union unwillingly into modernity. Quirks of the "Russian soul" could be offered as explication for the brutality and repression of the regime. To the Soviets, the attraction of the industrial modernity associated with the West was great but this attraction was balanced against xenophobia, class-based suspicions about bourgeois intellectuals, and fears of capitalist aggression. In the Soviet era, a novel twist on traditional Russian attitudes towards the West was the idea that Soviet communism would not merely "catch up" to the West, but surpass it. Under Stalin, great pains were taken to have foreign visitors confirm that this superiority had, in fact, been achieved.

Judgements about superiority and inferiority – made both by and about foreigners in the Soviet Union – recur frequently in *Showcasing the Great Experiment*. David-Fox claims that his “approach throughout has been to detect, trace, and interrogate the expressions of superiority and inferiority that were at the heart of the interwar pilgrimage.” (25) Fortunately, the book does much more than this. The “superiority/inferiority” trope is certainly a relevant one – whether David-Fox is writing about the peculiar appeal of the Soviet Union to a number of Germans on the far right (an extraordinary relationship that is the focus of much of a chapter) or to British Fabians or to Paul Robeson – but the nature and motivations of the sentiments are so various as to make it a weak organizing principle to tie a wide-ranging book together. The range and specificity of *Showcasing the Great Experiment* is its major strength; David-Fox conscientiously avoids sweeping generalizations (contra, for example, Hollander’s thesis about “utopia-seeking” intellectuals alienated from their own society) and roots each of his examples and cases in rich historical context both inside and outside the Soviet Union.

One of David-Fox’s contributions is his analysis of vokhs and its officials. Created in 1925, largely through the efforts of Olga Kameneva, Leon Trotsky’s sister, vokhs became “at best a modest, mid-level force in power-political terms within the party state.” (41) Nevertheless David-Fox’s close study reveals much about the politics and inner workings of the Soviet bureaucracy. vokhs’ intersection and interactions with other agencies included a strained and occasionally hostile relationship with Intourist, the profit-oriented Soviet tourist company; a separate spheres arrangement with branches of the Comintern (vokhs focused principally upon notable non-Communist Party cultural and scientific figures, the Comintern on Party

members and the working class); and a constant dialogue with the secret police. Because of the nature of vokhs’ work, key figures in the organization such as Kameneva were cosmopolitan, multilingual intellectuals with many contacts abroad; David-Fox describes these figures as Soviet “westernizers.” This profile made them highly vulnerable in the xenophobic atmosphere of the purges of the late 1930s. These caused disruptions within vokhs simultaneously with a decline in the demand for its services from foreign intellectuals, a decline that reached its nadir with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1939.

vokhs had to wrestle with what David-Fox calls the “Potemkin village dilemma.” (98) The purpose of foreigners’ visits, from the Soviet perspective, was to create positive impressions and so these visits required careful planning and control. On the other hand, for a positive impression to be achieved, visitors could not feel that they were being prevented from seeing the “real” Soviet Union. vokhs developed several strategies to overcome this challenge. Packed itineraries, for one, could limit a tourist’s freedom to find places and people that might provoke negative views of Soviet progress. vokhs guides, however, were also equipped to handle encounters with less-than-ideal conditions in the USSR; their narrative encouraged visitors to see the present of the Soviet Union always in terms of transition between a dark past and a bright future. Nevertheless, David-Fox finds that many of the roughly 100,000 visitors to the USSR in the period considered by his book were critical, asked difficult questions, and pushed their guides to explain evidence that did not fit official explanations. The degree to which agencies such as vokhs were successful in “duping” foreign visitors has been exaggerated, David-Fox suggests.

The “cultural show” foreigners experienced in the Soviet Union was, nevertheless, misleading. Famous foreigners were taken to visit model or model-experimental institutions, such as schools, or prisons, factories, or farms. These sites were often not entirely artificial (i.e. created for the benefit of tourists), but they were exceptional. They were not merely intended to inspire foreigners; they were, also, to provide examples of practices that would ultimately (in theory) be followed throughout the USSR. Foreign endorsements added to their legitimacy in this regard within the Soviet Union while also promoting a positive view of the Great Experiment abroad.

Maxim Gorky, falling somewhere between the foreign and domestic audience when he returned to the Soviet Union in 1928 after a seven year exile, was guided through model prisons and his positive impressions were used to combat circulating accounts and evidence of forced labour and inhumane conditions. As with the other examples of famous figures whose visit to the USSR David-Fox examines at length – including George Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, the Webbs, Romain Rolland, Theodore Dreiser, Lion Feuchtwanger, and others – Gorky’s experience of the Soviet GULAG is richly contextualized in terms of the motivations and biography of the visitor, the history and circumstance of the sites visited, and what contemporary evidence exists for what transpired during the visit itself. David-Fox uses this context to reveal the extent to which the travel writing published by Soviet visitors, including Gorky, is a “genre of political text par excellence” replete with literary strategies and formulas. (109) The *actual* experience of Soviet visitors was often at variance with their representation of that experience. In some instances this was because of deliberate, politically motivated self-censorship, but *Showcasing*

the Great Experiment suggests that this is only one of many, often complex reasons for the choices visitors made about how to describe what they saw, including, in Gorky’s case for example, a hope to guide the direction of Soviet policy and practice.

By studying the establishment of “Soviet Friendship” societies in a variety of national contexts – societies that were (secretly) funded by voks – David-Fox adds an important element to the study of foreign visitors. Through these societies, voks cultivated long-term relationships with foreign intellectuals that in many cases preceded and followed visits to the USSR. Becoming a “friend” of the Soviet Union could result in a patron-client relationship that exchanged status and recognition in the USSR for loyalty and public support abroad. In some cases, David-Fox writes, “friendship was virtually a contractual relationship that both sides understood.” (208) If the Soviet Union hoped to shape influential foreign opinion, what did its “friends” seek? Some had “illusory aspirations” (209) about playing a role in shaping the USSR, others had developed close personal relationships with Soviet mediators, still others had hopes invested in the success of Soviet communism that were linked to their own domestic politics and aspirations.

The erudition on display in *Showcasing the Great Experiment* is exceptional. David-Fox’s footnotes lead to a vast array of historical scholarship in several European languages. This reading, combined with the extensive archival research and insightful analysis, make this a remarkable transnational study. It contributes significantly to Soviet historiography, but is also relevant to any historian interested in the influence of the Soviet Union – or the “idea” of the Soviet Union – on the West.

KIRK NIERGARTH
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Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck, eds., *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism before the Baby Boom* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)

IN *CONSUMING MODERNITY*, editors Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck have curated an interesting, well-documented collection of essays exploring consumption during the 1920s and 1930s. The ground that this volume covers is not wholly original, but the insertion of Canada into debates about consumption and modernity is a welcome development. In the Introduction, the editors promise to move the debate beyond the “Anglo-American nexus” that has dominated scholarship on consumption, including essays not only on Canada, Britain and the U.S., but also Mexico, Argentina and Germany. (3) It is organized into sections exploring consumption, public display, modern girls and ideologies of modernity. The essays are for the most part well written and the volume is attractive, with appropriate inclusion of illustrations. It will serve well as an undergraduate reader in courses dealing with consumption and culture in Canada, and contains articles that will interest scholars of cultural history, gender studies, and media studies.

Some of the strongest contributions in the collection are able to balance attention to global trends in consumption with careful eye to local context. Susanne Eineigel examines the construction of the gendered modern subject in Mexico City. Eineigel explores the messages that young people received about how to dress, move, and interact with the opposite sex not only from advertisements but from radio, movies, magazines, plays, cartoons, and dance halls. She skillfully demonstrates how Catholic understandings of morality came into conflict with new attitudes about appropriate

masculine and feminine behaviour in Mexico. Fiona Skillen traces the growth of women’s sport participation in Britain, outlining debates over appropriate attire for sportswomen and spectators. Skillen pays attention to the class distinctions of different sports clubs, where modern middle class Britons could go to socialize while still remaining “respectable” in the eyes of their families and communities. (118) Jane Nicholas uses the advice columns of *Saturday Night* magazine to consider just how Canadian women of the 1920s and 1930s learned to be modern and what product choices were most appropriate. Nicholas nicely contrasts the messages women were bombarded with about how to cultivate male attention through consumption of cosmetics and lingerie with the cautions of Canadian legal and medical authorities who blamed women for tempting men and encouraging sexual assault. (191)

Other chapters use advertising to track changing notions about women’s bodies, health, and beauty. Using a close reading of patent medicine advertisements like Dr. Chase’s Nerve Food, Denyse Baillargeon traces the influence of both American and English Canadian business in the French-language press. Baillargeon points out instances where the advertisers’ vision of modernity might be at odds with local attitudes towards the display of bodies, as in the case of an ad depicting a young mother in a bathing suit. (91) Kristin Hall analyzes North American ads for Lysol disinfectant as a means to explore changing expectations for mothers and housewives to ward off disease using modern, scientific methods of housekeeping. (58) Hall effectively traces shifts in the visual style and emotionally charged copy of Lysol ads, showing how the manufacturer used increasingly blatant references to infection, disease, and death to scare female consumers into purchasing disinfectant. Tracy Penny

Light similarly explores how ads for Fleishmann's Yeast or Kotex used medical discourses to encourage Canadian women to buy. (35) Light's analysis would be strengthened by considering the relationship between multi-national corporations and the Canadian market. An ad for Calay soap included in the chapter (38) specifically mentions that the product is produced in Canada and has a different name in the US, suggesting that manufacturers tweaked their ads before placing them in Canadian periodicals like *Maclean's*. Were these products sold in the same way in the United States? Were any of these messages about womanhood and medicine distinct to Canada? Should the ads in Canadian periodicals simply be viewed extensions of American ad campaigns?

Marilyn Morgan's exploration of women swimmers adds a new dimension to understandings of the "new woman," demonstrating that modern sportswomen were the counterpart to the flapper in news stories, advertisements, and film. Australian swimmer Annette Kellerman developed a new style of swimsuit, which she modelled onstage in her vaudeville swimming act. Morgan argues that the media trivialized the flighty flapper but revered the strong physique of endurance swimmers and divers. (155) Her article is complemented by Devon Hansen Atchison's piece on suntanning. Atchison argues that just as Americans embraced the sleek form of the swimmer as the ideal of modern womanhood, they rejected Victorian notions of beauty in pallor and embraced tanned skin as "the badge of modernity." (163) Atchison traces the rise of new products (cosmetics, skin creams, bathing suits) associated with the tanning craze during the 1920s, and argues that by the time of the Depression tanning was a permanent part of middle-class American life. (174) While Atchison does touch on some of the class messages

associated with tanned skin, she could more explicitly acknowledge race as crucial to understandings of modernity in the United States. White women could choose to tan, but those born with black or brown skin were excluded from any discussions of fashionability. This point is made briefly in passing, but more discussion of just how Elizabeth Arden could promote "a rich uniform tan" (173) for customers without ever challenging their essential whiteness would enrich the analysis.

The big question that looms over this collection is how much it actually pushes the bounds of scholarship into new territory. Previous collections on consumption and gender including Victoria DeGracia's *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California, 1966), Lawrence Glickman's *Consumer Society in American History: A Reader* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), Jennifer Scanlon's *Gender and Consumer Culture Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) and most notably the celebrated collection, *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), have articulated connections between modernity, gender and consumption. Indeed, chapters from this volume like Cecilia Tossounian's piece on the Argentine Modern Girl and Jane Nicholas's article, mentioned above, would not be out of place in the *Modern Girl* project. Many of the individual contributions in *Consuming Modernity* contain appealing (but perhaps not entirely surprising) examples of how individuals, particularly women, experienced commercial capitalism in the 1920s and 1930s. The editors of the volume could do more, however, to articulate just how these articles work together to advance a new understanding of modernity and consumption. Is

the intent of this work to simply add new comparisons to discussions of modernity and the market? The assertion that “it was the modern woman whose body graced the pages of print advertising across the Western world” (7) fails to acknowledge that this was a global phenomenon, taking form in complicated variations in Asia and Africa as well as Europe and the Americas. Finally, the decision to subtitle this work “before the Baby Boom” seems a curious one, and perhaps had more to do with concerns about marketing the book than any conceptual decision to use the baby boom as a tool for periodization. Within the volume itself, there is absolutely no mention of the baby boom and why it should serve as the delineating line ending this episode of modernity. “Interwar period” seems a more accurate if less flashy term. This seems a minor point, but it indicates further the lack of theoretical and conceptual precision that shadows this collection.

SARAH ELVINS

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Helen Graham, *The War and its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press 2012)

IN 1987, 43 YEARS after the Liberation of France, Henri Rousso published his seminal book, *Le Syndrome de Vichy* (Paris: Editions du Seuil), in which he detailed the torturous ways in which the French had avoided coming to terms with the memory of the Vichy regime and their large-scale collaboration with the Nazis. In West Germany, although the Adenauer government made reparations payments to Israel, general awareness of the Holocaust among Germans was quite limited until the broadcast of the US television series *Holocaust* kick started broad public debate on how it

should be remembered and commemorated. This came in 1979, 34 years after the defeat of the Third Reich and 30 after the creation of the democratic Federal Republic of Germany. Even so, the situation in Germany remains, to quote Saul Friedlander, “a constant seesaw between learning and forgetting” (*Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe*, [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993], 8). In Poland, which lived under a Communist dictatorship for 44 years, Jan Gross’ 2001 book *Neighbours* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) provoked a huge controversy; so did his *Golden Harvest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), which led Solidarity hero and former president Lech Walesa to say that Gross was a “Jew who tries to make money.”

I raise these examples because they illustrate the tremendous difficulties that European democracies, even one whose non-democratic experience was brief, have had in coming to terms with the dark realities of their recent pasts. Spain returned to democracy only in 1978, after a vicious three-year-long civil war and another 36 years of brutal dictatorship. The transition to democracy which followed Francisco Franco’s death in 1975 included the so-called “pact of forgetting” which freed members of the Franco regime from any fear of punishment. In 2000, however, a grass-roots movement devoted to finding and unearthing mass graves put memory on the public agenda and led to the Socialist government’s 2007 “Law on Historical Memory.” The law was hugely controversial and satisfied no one, and the question of memory continues to roil.

If Spaniards are having trouble dealing with their traumatic past, this should not be in the least surprising. With memory politics, as with so much else in its modern history, Spain is very much part of the European mainstream and not an outlier.

This background is essential when approaching Helen Graham's *The War and its Shadow*. This is not a straightforward history of post-Spanish Civil War memory and forgetting; readers looking for such an account will be better served by Michael Richards' *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re-Making Spain since 1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Rather, Graham, one of Great Britain's leading historians of the Civil War, has produced an uneven series of interconnected essays: the best tells the moving story of Amparo Barayón, a Republican woman married to well-known novelist Ramón J. Sender, who was imprisoned and then murdered by a death squad in October 1936. Less successful is the chapter on the International Brigades in which Graham tries to present the IBs, most of whom were orthodox Communists, as forerunners of our own progressive times, the embodiment of "hybridity and heterodoxy ... soldiers of cosmopolitan cultural modernity." (75–83)

These essays are undergirded by the proposition that the Nazi new order properly provides "the major analytical reference" (6) for understanding the Franco regime. The choice of the Nazis as the comparators is intriguing. Graham justifies it on the grounds that "Francoism was born of a war made viable by Nazi and Fascist intervention, with a political project conceived therein as a fundamentalist nationalism, extreme in its virulent extirpation of difference." (6) If I understand this sentence correctly, Graham is saying that Franco's exterminationist project was a product of the Civil War, not something the Nationalists had created beforehand and were prepared to implement in July 1936. This would contradict the main argument of Paul Preston's influential *The Spanish Holocaust* (London: HarperPress, 2012), as well as Graham's own contention that the violence of the

Civil War was the product of a pre-existing "fearful imaginary projected into war". (3) Graham notes that "external war" (106) radicalized the Nazi project, but there is no suggestion she thinks that the dynamics of civil war might have had any effect on the Nationalists. Symptomatically, Stathis Kalyvas' important *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) appears in the bibliography, but nowhere does Graham engage with its arguments.

While Graham does note that there are some "pertinent" comparisons with the Soviet Union, these are mentioned in passing and never fully developed. In fact, Stalin's regime is a much closer comparator. Franco, like Stalin, killed his own people, while the vast majority of Hitler's victims were outside Germany. And both dictators imprisoned and executed large numbers of their own citizens after as well as during the war. Graham also employs some apples and oranges type statistics. Her discussion of extrajudicial murders compares Nationalist Spain between 1936 and the late 1940s, during and after the Civil War, to Germany between 1933 and 1939, when the Nazi regime was at its mildest, and when comparing the number of prisoners per 100,000 population, she picks the Franco regime at its height and the Nazi regime in November 1936. This is followed by one of the few references to the Soviet Union, one which shows that Stalin was much "worse" than Franco, but one which is then explained away. (110)

Graham is among those who claim a powerful therapeutic and political value for memory and the non-state movements that advocate on its behalf. While there can be no doubt that a full understanding of its past – which it should be remembered cannot be based on any single memory but requires attention to multiple *memories* – is important

for any society, Graham sees memory movements as “the best holding action we have against resurgent fascism” and nothing less than the means by which we can achieve “our survival as something worthy of the name of ‘humanity.’” (151) These are huge claims, characteristic of the rhetorical register of the book as a whole. (Elsewhere she describes the Restoration monarchy as holding the country in an “iron grip” [5]; says that the Franco regime imposed “apartheid policies” [23]; and that comparing the Catholic rhetoric used to justify Franco’s prison labour to the Nazis’ *Arbeit Macht Frei* “is *probably* a step too far” [111] – my emphasis.) However, one does not even need to leave Spain to find evidence that, whatever else it might do, “proper” memory provides no defence against exclusivist nationalism. In 2007, the regional government of Cataluña passed the Law of Democratic Memorial which created a public institution dedicated to the “recovery, commemoration and stimulation of democratic memory” for the period 1931 to 1980. Memorial Democràtic has been hugely active since then, yet the one part of Spain with a “healthy” memory, and one that is often portrayed as a particular victim of Francoism, is the one part of Spain to have a xenophobic, anti-immigrant political party, Plataforma per Catalunya, which is now trying to export its poisonous platform to the rest of the country.

ADRIAN SHUBERT
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Stephen J. Silvia, *Holding the Shop Together: German Industrial Relations in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2013)

STEPHEN SILVIA introduces his readers to the state of industrial relations in Germany today and concludes his book

with some brief speculations about future developments. He makes no secret about his corporatist leanings, which he presents as an alternative to the allegedly more adversarial industrial relations systems in the United States. To demonstrate the viability and persistence of corporatist arrangements between employers and workers, often moderated by the state, his book takes readers back to the Weimar Republic. It traces corporatist continuities since those days and takes a look at employers’ and workers’ organizations. Quite correctly, Silvia points out that most industrial relations literature looks either at employers or unions rather than both. His reconstruction of corporatism from the Weimar Republic until today, and possibly into the future, is rather arbitrary, though. It ignores the fact that corporatist roots go back to Imperial Germany where Chancellor Bismarck laid the foundations of a corporatist welfare state that later served as the institutional framework for collective bargaining even though it was originally introduced as an effort to suppress workers’ organizations and quests for a democratic republic. The book is also silent on corporatism during the Nazi period and its legacy in the post-war period. For example, the Nazi law on maximum work time, without a doubt a key plank for collective bargaining, remained in place in West Germany all through the post-war period until it was changed – in fact, relaxed – after German unification in the 1990s. Silvia is also silent on the state-socialist interlude in East Germany and the reasons why it didn’t leave institutional traces in today’s industrial relations system. Silvia is right in saying that history matters but one should add that it matters in more ways than he is willing to acknowledge.

The blind spots in Silvia’s historical account are complemented by a fascination with the high degree of

institutionalization of industrial relations in Germany. Like many Anglo-Saxon scholars more accustomed to the voluntarism of common-law systems, Silvia assumes that institutional anchorage translates into a strong labour movement. This assumption, expressed repeatedly throughout the book, is at odds with the presented facts of resilient corporatism accompanied by a significant weakening of organized labour since German unification. As a matter of fact, the decline in union density and bargaining coverage since the 1990s has been much more drastic in Germany, despite or maybe even because of the resilience of its social partnership mechanisms, than in many other countries where labour institutional representation has been much weaker. One interesting aspect of institutional resilience is the relatively strong presence of unions in export-oriented industries. From this, Silvia concludes, that economic globalization does not necessarily lead to a weakening of unions. However, had he added data on unit labour costs and German export surpluses since the 1990s it would have been obvious that the presence of unions in export industries complemented and, indeed, might have fostered, competitive advantages *vis-à-vis* firms in other countries. Germany's union-supported export offensive led to escalating current account surpluses that accentuated the 2008 Great Recession and triggered the 2010 Eurozone crisis. Silvia presents union presence in export industries as a model for union revival in other countries under conditions of economic globalization but he doesn't seem to realize that employers and unions in Germany built their partnership on the backs of deficit-countries who, since the outbreak of the Eurozone crisis, have been forced to drastically cut wages and social standards and also have witnessed a further weakening of their unions. The inability to recognize the

interdependences of competing industries and national locations in an integrated world economy are due to Silvia's methodological nationalism that dominates much industrial relations research.

Since international economic integration didn't weaken unions, and this is true even though this German experience can't be exported to other countries like its automobile, machines, and chemicals, the question remains which other reasons were responsible for a decline in union density. Silvia's data suggests that German unification was a turning point in this respect. He discusses the responses of employers' associations and unions, notably the latter's transformation from industrial to multi-sectoral unions, in some detail but again neglects economic transformations following unification. Other analyses on this subject have shown convincingly that unification allowed German employers to create a two-tier wage system that enabled them to roll back unit labour costs despite the resilience of corporatist arrangements. The share of the working poor in total employment in Germany today is as high as in the US.

An interesting argument that Silvia makes to explain the weakening of unions is the dissolution of the social milieu that supported them in the past. He points out that this dissolution had begun much earlier than the decline in membership. Unfortunately, he only refers to pop-sociological arguments about individualization of society even though labour history has produced more thoroughly researched accounts of the dissolution of labour's milieux. This is not only a question of disciplinary preferences and competition. The counterposing of collectivism and individualism that Silvia alludes to paints workers and their organizations invariably as a homogenous group unable to represent occupational or personal differences.

This is a caricature not supported by the facts that labour historians have collected about the making and unmaking of labour milieux and identities including multi-faceted diversities. Moreover, such processes of making and unmaking are also crucial to assess the potential to rejuvenate the labour movement. Silvia presents attempts that German unions made in adopting the organizing practices of US-style social unionism. Due to his institutional focus, he is highly aware of the difficulties of transferring these practices from one institutional setting to another but he doesn't pose the more fundamental question of whether the re-making of some kind of labour milieu is a necessary and possible precondition for union renewal.

Holding the Shop Together offers many insights into the institutional set-up and changes of unions and employers' associations in Germany but its methodological nationalism and its focus on institutions also neglects many economic and social developments that are necessary to fully comprehend the state and possible futures of industrial relations. From this angle, it is a welcome opportunity to re-think the prevalent methods and foci of industrial relations scholarship of which Silvia is but one representative. A dose of labour history and international political economy, it seems, could enrich the outcomes of this scholarship.

INGO SCHMIDT

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Dennis Pilon, *Wrestling with Democracy: Voting Systems as Politics in the Twentieth-Century West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)

IT MAY BE DIFFERENT elsewhere, but where I live (in the UK) anyone outside the rarefied ranks of political scientists expressing more than the most casual

and passing interest in voting systems is in grave danger of being labelled an "anorak" – a weird and obsessive individual, humourless and socially isolated, who pursues a strange and esoteric interest analogous to a lifelong devotion in collecting train numbers. Strangely, but perhaps significantly, "anoraks" are invariably male. But no "anorak alert" is required in relation to this book. Anyone expecting a detailed analysis of the pros and cons of First Past the Post (FPTP), Single Transferable Vote (STV), second ballot, or party list Proportional Representation (PR) will be disappointed. The clue is in the words "as Politics" in the subtitle.

Having discussed several other political science approaches to the study of changing voting systems and finding them, at best, inadequate, Dennis Pilon sets out to apply a "comparative historical" method. (22) The territory he explores is vast, both as regards time-scale and geographical extent. He takes us on a journey from the very late 19th to the early present century and to "the countries of north-western Europe and the Anglo-American countries of North America and Australasia" (10) which, in spite of many significant shortfalls, he takes as satisfying, by 1920, "the minimum conditions defining democratic rule." (39) When we reach the 1990s Japan is added to "the West."

An important key to understanding Pilon's argument is to recognize the contested nature of the idea of democracy. Though, he says, "political scientists often carry on as if democracy is obvious" it has never been fully established what "democracy is or should be in the west." (53) This is surely one of those truths that, though obvious, we still need to be reminded of frequently. For the neoliberals of the last 30 years democracy is always linked with free markets as though this inevitable combination is both

self-evident and unchallengeable. For the leftwing democrats the aspiration has always been to establish democratic control and accountability over the economy. How they have proposed to do this, and the extent of the desired control, has varied greatly from time to time and place to place. But it has always been present.

The century studied is considered in four periods: 1900–1918, 1919–1939, 1940–1969 and 1970–2000. In each there were clusters of changes in voting systems in “the West.” In the first of these, though there were demands for such change from a variety of other quarters including the socialist left, PR systems were only introduced – in Germany, Sweden, and Belgium – when the established elites were faced with a significant challenge from the left. Pilon concludes that the “key catalyst shifting consideration of proportional voting systems from the meeting rooms of reformers to the halls of power was the rise of disciplined, organized mass parties of the left in the 1890s.” (70)

This was continued in the years following World War I when the “conservative regimes dominating the European continent shifted decisively to PR as a key means of limiting the socialist left.” (153) The situation in Europe was more complex after World War II. At first, “the key occupying power, the United States, made its initial preference for PR clear as a means of limiting the left and holding national disputes in check.” But as centre-right coalitions replaced centre-left ones and the Cold War took hold, “the post-war consensus for PR gave way to a new majoritarian strategy designed to marginalize the large, powerful, and electorally popular Communist parties” a process in which both “the American state and American academe provided support for efforts to dislodge proportional voting in favour of a US-style first-past-the-post system.” (188) By the 1990s

the situation had changed. The challenge from the left seemed to be in retreat. Sometimes, as in New Zealand, voting system reform reflected “struggles within the Labour party over its government’s neo-liberal policies.” (225) In Italy and in Japan the situation was more complex. Pilon ends with a cautious peer into the future of conflicts over voting system and concludes “whether the dynamic sketched out here will continue to fuel them can be ascertained only by bringing these historical and comparative insights into dialogue with the context-specific exploration of these new conditions and possibly new dynamics.” (233)

A very wide-ranging collection of (English language) sources is employed to support the interpretation of each episode. In pre-1914 Germany the left, in the shape of the Social Democratic Party (the SPD), by far the largest and most impressive socialist party of the time, had always demanded proportional representation, as had most other socialist parties of the era. It figured as the first point in the SPD’s Erfurt program coupled with universal suffrage. Yet Pilon is able to quote Donald Ziegler’s unpublished study of 1956 to the effect that “in almost every case P.R. was used to combat the socialist movement, appearing chiefly where the latter threatened the interests of dominant social and political groups.” (67) This happened with the elected industrial courts, social insurance boards, in many municipalities, and a number of German states, while still being resisted at national level where the majority system under-represented the SPD. When, in spite of this, the Social Democrats became the largest party in the Reichstag in 1912 resistance began to weaken and a move to PR was defeated in 1913 by only one vote. (80–82)

There is probably nothing more calculated to causing historians to detonate distress rockets than social and political

studies by anyone with the word “scientist” in their job description suggesting something approaching a common explanation of the phenomenon over such a vast temporal and geographic sweep. One can almost hear the sighs of specialists in some of the various areas, and the mutterings of “it was more complicated than that.” But Pilon’s “comparative historical” method means that all the particular historical episodes of voting reform are examined in the light of specific studies. No doubt, in at least some case it would be possible to find others taking a different view and offering an alternative interpretation. The author of *Wrestling with Democracy* would express no surprise. “There are no singular or static processes that can be mapped. Historical struggles are too contingent; political actors and their choices are fundamentally too unpredictable.” (232) What he invites us to do is to go back and look at what people are fighting for, what they are worried will happen, and see how that connects with this seemingly “anorak” type subject of voting system reform. We will often find, he predicts, that some species of class struggle is going on. If nothing else, this book has opened up an important debate and it will be fascinating to see where that leads.

It would be churlish, after reading about such a range of countries over a period of more than a century, to complain that the scope of the study is too narrow. Yet, to continue the debate which this book should animate it would be interesting to hear about conflicts over voting systems in some of the countries mentioned, if at all, only in passing such as post-apartheid South Africa and the new democracies of South America. India is routinely labelled “the world’s largest democracy.” What could we learn about the politics of voting systems there?

IAN BULLOCK

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Frank Zelko, *Make it a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (London: Oxford University Press 2013)

FRANK ZELKO’S book *Make it a Green Peace* documents the history of Greenpeace from its countercultural beginnings as the “Don’t Make a Wave Committee” in Vancouver, British Columbia, to the start of its rise as an international environmental non-governmental organization. It is a familiar and often-told story as almost all of the key players in the campaign have written their own memoirs. (6) Zelko is largely successful in painting a more nuanced view of these years. However, by ending the book just as Greenpeace was going international, he misses the opportunity to tell the whole history of Greenpeace.

In Chapters 1 and 2, the author explores the intellectual and activist roots of Greenpeace by connecting the intellectual tradition of New York Jewish communities to the Quaker idea of bearing witness and to the intersection of 1960s counterculture and technology including “LSD, the I Ching, and, above all the camera.” (51) Zelko deftly explains how all these elements contribute the foundational narrative of Greenpeace. He does not create caricatures of the “hippy” activists, but instead takes his subjects seriously and creates a credible portrait of the creators of Greenpeace.

In Chapter 3, Zelko devotes himself to a history of place and its role in shaping the origins of Greenpeace. He aptly describes British Columbia as “an unlikely birthplace for a radical new form of environmentalism.” (53) He notes how the reigning Social Credit government “aggressively promoted a virulent form of state capitalism aimed at wringing the utmost from the province’s vast reserves of mineral and timber wealth.” (53) Zelko describes why Vancouver was

a focus of activity, pointing to "the rise of the counterculture, the Vietnam War, American nuclear testing in the Aleutian Islands, and a growing anti-Americanism on the part of many Canadians." (53) Unfortunately, he keeps to the stereotypical narrative of labour as uninterested in resource conservation or wilderness preservation. Later in the chapter, he notes that the Vancouver District Labour Council was one of the original contributors to the Don't Make A Wave Committee's campaign to raise money to sail to Amchitka. He offers no explanation of this contradiction. Despite this, Chapter 3 does a good job of setting the social, political, and cultural backdrop for the foundation of Greenpeace.

Chapter 4 tells the story of the first campaign of the Don't Make a Wave Committee. Zelko aims to examine the participants in depth, explaining that it is "vital" to see "how the movement's culture is shaped by the relationships between the key participants." (79) He does this well and creates a decent character study. However, this is where Zelko's book inadvertently becomes a great man history of Greenpeace. By only examining a few key players his book becomes the history of privileged white male social movement actors without any acknowledgment of how class, race, and gender shape the dynamics he purports to explain.

Protests against French nuclear testing in the South Pacific are covered in Chapters 5 and 6. Zelko provides a deeper character study of the main protestors but does little to illuminate the rise of countercultural environmentalism. His study suggests the main protestors had only disdain and contempt for counterculture ideas and practices. For example, Zelko argues that for Ben Metcalfe and David McTaggart, "grassroots democracy, consensus decision making, and egalitarianism were of little interest." (129)

Zelko also notes that McTaggart "seemed more interested in talking about how much money they could make from the publishing rights of their story than he was in the protest itself." (132) Metcalfe and McTaggart have become larger than life figures in the Greenpeace mythology and Zelko needs a more nuanced analysis to help explain these apparent contradictions.

Chapters 7 through 9 cover the Greenpeace move to anti-whaling protests. Zelko follows the transition of Greenpeace from a primarily anti-nuclear peace group to one concerned with larger issues of ecology. He does a good job of illustrating how the disparate views of Greenpeace activists "led to the development of a fractured environmental philosophy based on various elements of biocentrism, neuroscience, animal rights, and New Age romanticism." (230) He uses this to lead into his two chapters on their anti-sealing campaign.

This is where Zelko's bias in favour of Greenpeace comes to the forefront. For example, Zelko underplays the fact that harp seals, the focus of the Greenpeace campaign, were never endangered. Chapter 11 begins: "By 1976, the Canadian government had succeeded in convincing many of the more traditional conservation organizations that the harp seals was not an endangered species." (249) However, he ends the chapter by stating that "the species as a whole, however, did not appear in imminent danger, and earlier claims that harp seals were on the road to extinction appear, in hindsight, to have been somewhat exaggerated." (274) The only exaggeration was that done by Greenpeace as Zelko's text shows that the seals were never endangered and that government, scientists, and sealers themselves, had always been clear about this. Rather than try to obfuscate, Zelko would be better served explaining why Greenpeace had insisted that the harp

seal was on the road to extinction. Zelko also presents a curious portrayal of how Greenpeace dealt with the local sealers. He argues that, "despite his best efforts, [Robert] Hunter's vision of a worker-conservationist coalition was not to be realized." (260) He notes that a "successful alliance would have required Hunter, or somebody with similar negotiating skills, to remain in the region for much longer than a few weeks." (260) He later states the reason Hunter could not put in more of an effort was that he had left the seal campaign to join McTaggart in Wales to write a book about the French campaign. (263) How that constitutes a best effort is left unclear.

While glossing over the criticisms of Greenpeace is problematic, the fundamental problem lies within the failed promise of the title. Zelko states in his conclusion that Greenpeace, "did not develop into the kind of grassroots, participatory movement that Irving Stowe had hoped to build." (318) He argues that, "to one degree or another, these men had come to accept the need for hierarchy and professionalism as a by-product of Greenpeace's *modus operandi*." (318) This is a radical change from the Greenpeace that had "embraced ideas that questioned the values and norms of mainstream Western Society." (52) Zelko does not explain why such a change happened except to argue it was inevitable. He poses the question, "could things have turned out differently?" His resounding answer is no. "Even without McTaggart's opportunism, therefore, it seems that Greenpeace would probably have evolved much the same way." (319) How Zelko reaches such a teleological conclusion is never revealed. Now would be a perfect time to tell the whole story of Greenpeace from counterculture to mainstream. However, Zelko ends up simply going over the same stories that has been covered by others. It is a shame as the title of

the book, and the first few chapters, set the stage for a study that never materializes: a book that explains how and why Greenpeace went from counter culture to mainstream. Zelko's book starts strong but the promise of it slips away.

JOHN-HENRY HARTER

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Stephen D'Arcy, *Languages of the Unheard: Why Militant Protest is Good for Democracy* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press 2013)

THE TITLE OF Stephen D'Arcy's new book *Languages of the Unheard* cites Martin Luther King Jr., noting that the militant tries to "give a voice to the voiceless." (22) D'Arcy's project asks for elaboration of this idea – wondering how might militancy facilitate democracy? Mixing rigorous analysis of the arguments for and against militancy with thought experiments that explore scenarios within a range of social movements, the book makes a compelling case that when used appropriately, militancy can be a civic virtue.

D'Arcy's argument hinges on what he calls the "democratic standard" of public autonomy, "that is, the self-governance of people through inclusive, reason-guided public discussion." (4) He proposes four principles of soundness that can be used to evaluate whether or not militant protest builds that self-governance. I'll restate the principles here, as they are so central to his argument and should be discussed even by those who do not have the opportunity to read the book. The first is the Opportunity Principle which holds that "militancy should create new opportunities to resolve substantive and pressing grievances, when attempts to do so through reason-guided public discussion are thwarted by intransigent elites or unresponsive institutions". The second is the Agency Principle, which notes that

"militancy should encourage the most directly affected people to take the lead in securing the resolution of their own grievances." The third principle is that of autonomy. "Militancy should enhance the power of people to govern themselves through inclusive, reason-guided public discussion." The final principle is that of accountability, which means that "militancy should limit itself to acts that can be defended publicly, plausibly and in good faith as duly sensitive to the democratic values of common decency and the common good." (64–70) Together, the four principles are intended to provide a set of criteria to help those evaluating tactics and social movement strategy. Militancy (and by this he means militant action or tactics) is grievance motivated, adversarial, and confrontational collective action. He usefully identifies four styles of militancy – that escalate from defiance (symbolic or material), to disruption, destruction, and armed force.

The book is divided into two parts: the first develops and articulates a standard by which one can evaluate the soundness of a militant tactic; the second evaluates when and how different militant tactics can fulfill the democratic standard. He targets the main arguments both in favour and opposed to militancy. Beginning with the liberal critique, he questions the liberal argument that militancy is coercive by shutting down reasoned debate, countering it by pointing out that there is little possibility of such debate in the unequal contemporary context. Given a situation where small, privileged elites dominate political, economic, and social life, militancy that disrupts this order has the possibility of providing opportunities for more agency, autonomy, and accountability. He also counters three common defences of militancy – that of amorality (that virtue and vice are irrelevant in assessing tactics), consequentialism (that tactics should only be evaluated by their

maximization of welfare), and pluralism (diversity of tactics).

In the section where he evaluates the defence of militant action, D'Arcy's history of engagement within social movements becomes particularly visible. Those similarly involved will appreciate his discussion of diversity of tactics as a defence of militancy, and how this pluralist approach has led to certain dilemmas. He notes that it often conflates two different ideas – the idea that a multiplicity of tactics is beneficial and desirable, with the idea that that any tactical choice should not be condemned or debated because there is no single way of evaluating tactical choices. D'Arcy traces the dynamics of this debate from the Seattle protests of 1999 against the World Trade Organization to the St. Paul principles adopted in 2008 at the Republican National Convention protests in Minnesota, to the G20 protests in Pittsburgh and then Toronto in 2010. While embracing the idea of diversity, he challenges the idea that militant tactics cannot be evaluated by anyone except the militant themselves, instead showing how a shared democratic standard might be used to distinguish between approaches that are unaccountable and those which build popular power. To illustrate how this might be done, the subsequent chapter shows the case of the Mohawk land defense at Kanehsatà:ke and Oka met this standard, in which militant action built opportunities for the community to have more agency and autonomy.

Because the emphasis of the book is on action, there is less attention given to the actors involved. I'll point out two simplifications that may be of particular importance. First, D'Arcy's creation of a general category of "militants" may blur the different relationships activists have to a grievance and a community. He argues that "militancy normally arises in response to patterns of persistent

insensitivity to the concerns of certain classes and categories of people – the exploited, the excluded, the oppressed.” (22) But some scholars and activists note that there is a difference between those who engage in militant action because of their own grievances and those who engage in such action in support of the demands of others. Such a distinction might then also affect the perspective by which a tactic is evaluated using the democratic standard. Relatedly, questions of power and inequality within and between communities are bracketed. The public is portrayed as one which is relatively undifferentiated and singular, fighting unjust authorities, which perhaps has a particular class but not one divided by race, gender, sexuality, nation, and ability. It would be useful to think through how a democratic standard might be applied in contexts where such inequalities divide populations and movements.

D'Arcy argues that almost every form of militancy, from classical, non-violent civil disobedience to armed struggle sometimes achieves the democratic standard, but that no form of militancy always does. This warning against tactical fetishism is appropriate, as contemporary social movements sometimes tie their identity to particular tactics, hampering them from thinking strategically about how to successfully make change.

This book is a terrific addition to a collection of recent work by activist scholars including David Graeber, *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*, (New York: Spiegel and Grau, 2013), Judy Rebick, *Transforming Power*, (Toronto : Penguin, 2009), Francesca Polletta, *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), Marina Sitrin and Dario Azzellini, *They Can't Represent Us! Reinventing Democracy From Greece To Occupy*, (London and New York:

Verso, 2014), Tom Malleon, *After Occupy: Economic Democracy for the 21st Century*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014) and others, each which make the link between social movements and substantive practices of expanding democracy beyond the electoral sphere. It will be appreciated by activists and scholars thinking through the intersections of democracy and social movements. In addition, its short chapters and clear prose will make it a superb teaching tool for courses on social movements, logic, political sociology, and social change.

LESLEY WOOD

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Myriam J.A. Chancy, *From Sugar to Revolution: Women's Visions of Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2012)

THE EARTHQUAKE on 12 January 2010 that killed hundreds of thousands of Haitians is just the most recent cataclysmic event experienced by those living on the island of Hispaniola. Generally accepted as the first landing site by Columbus and his crew, the island hosted the first permanent European settlement in Latin America in 1492. The subsequent holocaust of the Amerindian population set the stage for the arrival of Africans whose slave labour in the cultivation of sugar cane created the basis of wealth for the French colonizers and centuries of misery for the enslaved. Haiti also became the centre of the most successful slave revolt in the Americas which resulted in its independence from French colonization, the first independent nation-state in Latin America and the Caribbean. In spite of this promising start, Haiti's modern era has been dominated by dictatorial regimes and continued poverty and Haitians themselves have remained

largely invisible as evidenced by the rapidity with which the 2010 earthquake itself receded from public memory.

It is this invisibility that Myriam Chancy addresses in her work *From Sugar to Revolution*. Using literature as her starting point, Chancy explores the exclusion of Haitian women writers arguing that their marginalization is due to a complex intersection of identities including ethnicity and gender. Believing that texts by women have the most to teach us about the limits of subjectivity and identity, Chancy fearlessly exposes the role of gender and the identity of Blackness in making women invisible. Her analysis playfully swirls throughout the text, an intellectual liveliness that defies its serious and challenging conclusions. Of the many poignant questions posed by the author, her ultimate quest is an exploration of how can the bodies of women in these three regions – Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic – be reclaimed, if at all, and can they, as figures of the nation, reformulate the body politic?

Ostensibly, Chancy has created a literary work exploring Haitian women's exclusion from contemporary Latin American and Caribbean literary studies. However, the work erupts in a myriad of directions and academic disciplines in a marked departure from previous analysis which Chancy argues has been too departmentalized. Drawing on the work of scholars in history, geography, sociology, political science, anthropology, women's sexuality, and gender studies, Chancy employs feminist, race, and literary theories to constructively reconceptualize the role of Black women. Moving effortlessly between these perspectives, Chancy arrives at a fundamentally different rationale for the absence of Black women in the historical record. Rather than identifying the notion of the degenerate African as the heart of the problem, she argues that it is the strong, courageous,

adaptable, and living African, or in this case descendants of Africans, that remains the fundamental obstacle. This Blackness is menacing not because of racist views of degeneracy, but rather because of the threat of the alternative epistemes and structures of power of the African presence, especially as embodied by the first constitution of the Haitian nation, upsetting the drive for "whiteness" reflected in the national discourses of Latin American countries. (10)

The book is organized into a series of triads. To substantiate her argument that Haitian literature and Black women have been excluded from the broader Caribbean and Latin American corpus, Chancy used a comparative approach creating three sections in which she analyzes writers and artists from Haiti and its island sister, the Dominican Republic, and from Cuba. For Haiti, Chancy analyzes writers Julia Alvarez and Edwidge Danticat while for the Dominican Republic she highlights the work of Marilyn Bobes, Achy Obejas, and Loida Maritza Pérez. She tracks the work of Zoé Valdés, Nancy Morejón, and artist Mar a Magdalena Campos-Pons for Cuba. She argues that these women have created dialogues within their work and Chancy replicates this model by including transcripts of conversations with authors from each region.

The physical triad of island-nation writers is supported by the thematic triads of race, gender, and sexuality within the identity triad of memory, realities of collectivities, and subalternity. Chancy explains this complex interaction. "The three countries occupy contingent spaces of memory and recognizing the racial and gender issues they share might disrupt the tensions born of an amnesic approach to history, a result of hierarchies of race that have benefited some while disempowering others. Within such hierarchies, gender, when consciously united to

considerations of racial disenfranchisement, provides not only an avenue to reconsider what is at stake in histories of disavowal but also what there is to be gained." (134) Although the author's primary goal is the reconstitution of Black women into literary and historical narratives, *Sugar, Sovereignty and Revolution* creates a deeply gendered notion of colonialism, mapping and identifying how land and people are masculinized or feminized in order to justify the colonial project.

This is a complex and multi-faceted work whose analysis some might criticize as too multi-directional. I would suggest however that this approach is not only necessary but path-breaking and serves as an indictment of the current state of the book's topic rather than a critique of Chancy's methodology. Consequently, the work mirrors the intellectual challenge of recovering the literature, the histories and the roles of Black women so long obscured. "Indeed, in asserting the collective memories of the underprivileged and discounted classes, and women's place within them, the destruction of the status quo can only but bring about a reconstructive healing. We can begin anew." (301) In so doing, Chancy contributes to the burgeoning field on Africans in Latin America creating a direct link between literature and history. As with all pivotal works, Chancy has created an intellectual and activist road map for us to follow believing that these writers, their stories, and the painful truths they expose, will provide a new way forward.

PATRICIA HARMS
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**Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds.,
*The Breakthrough: Human Rights in
the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of
Pennsylvania Press 2014)**

BY FOCUSING ON human rights in the 1970s, this collection of essays attempts to address an imbalance in a scholarship often occupied with the more distant past. This alone would be enough to recommend the book to those interested in human rights history, but there are many additional reasons to read *The Breakthrough*.

As implied by the title, editors Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn see the 1970s as a pivotal decade for human rights. Their goal is to better understand the developments of these years, both from a long-term human right history perspective and within the framework of the 1970s itself. To that end, the book is divided into thirteen chapters, each with a different author and topic. In total, eleven essays are bookended with an introduction by Moyn and a concluding chapter by Eckel.

Moyn's introductory chapter identifies some of the book's recurring themes. Worthy of note is the repeated use of the concept of the "long" 1970s. Decades are ultimately arbitrary demarcations of time; even the most unique ten years are not without precedent and antecedent. The concept of the "long" decade allows the historian to take into account precursors and predecessors, but only defers the problem of demarcation. Moyn leaves it to each author in the volume to individually decide where they will stop and start.

A diversity of opinion is one of the book's strengths. Moyn and Eckel do not solely provide a forum for those who agree the 1970s was a breakthrough decade. While some writers argue for exceptionalism, others stress continuity. While some emphasize globalization and international movements, others focus

on the national or even the local as equal or greater factors.

Chapter 2, by Lasse Heerten, focuses strongly on the international stage, looking at the human rights movement and the Biafran War of Secession in Nigeria (1967-1970). Heerten challenges the contention that the Biafran crisis did not contribute significantly to the human rights movement of the 1970s, arguing advocates attempted to find a political language – such as human rights – which could galvanize support for the secession movement.

Chapter 3 also looks at the uses of human rights language, this time by Soviet dissidents. Author Benjamin Nathans focuses on Moyn and Eckel's argument that the 1970s human rights "boom" was due to the implosion of earlier utopian projects and applies it to the internal politics of the Soviet Union, attempting to build a dialogue between the global and local processes of history. Nathans brings into question the notion of a sudden shift in the 1970s, tracing the dissidents' disenchantment as far back as 1956.

In Chapter 4, Ned Richardson-Little focuses on the local side of the equation, looking at human rights in East Germany in the 1970s. The East German government adopted the language of human rights well before the 1970s, as both propaganda and as a means of achieving legitimacy in the international community. This adoption accounts for the absence of a human rights movement within East Germany until the 1980s, leaving the communist state out of Moyn and Eckel's "boom."

Chapter 5 is the only chapter to deal specifically with the intersection between women's rights and human rights. Celia Donert focuses on the 1975 World Congress of Women in East Berlin, and the often overlooked role of the Soviet bloc in promoting gender equality as a human right. The Congress attempted to

envision women's rights through a socialist prism that was often in opposition with the approach of Western feminists. Once again, the discourse of human rights, seen as non-political, was used as a political language to push certain interests.

The next two chapters, by Patrick William Kelly and Lynsay Skiba respectively, deal with human rights and the 1970s in South America. Kelly looks at activists' attempts to raise awareness of human rights abuses by some of the dictatorships in South America, and asks the deceptively simple question: "why did activists begin to speak the language of human rights?" Like Nathans, Kelly concludes that human rights advocacy was adopted not as a matter of course, but in part because earlier utopian plans such as socialist revolution became increasingly remote possibilities.

Lynsay Skiba explores the shifts in the international landscape that allowed Argentine activists to undermine Argentina's dictatorship by emphasizing their human rights abuses. Skiba describes how increasing international awareness created new openings for advocacy, particularly in the United States.

Chapter 8, by Daniel Sargent, deals directly with what he calls America's Human Rights Rediscovery. Sargent offers perhaps the most direct – and surprisingly poetic – alternative to Moyn and Eckel's argument for exceptionalism. Instead of seeing human rights as a long river or a sudden flood, Sargent proposes the model of an oasis in the desert: the groundwater represents the different elements that produce human rights, occasionally bubbling to the surface to push back the desert. Sargent argues the 1970s saw a confluence of factors – such as globalization and cold war détente – come together to allow the oasis to bloom.

Carl J. Bon Tempo also looks at the United States in Chapter 9, but focuses on the often overlooked debate about human

rights in the American Republican Party in the 1970s. Bon Tempo finds that a lively and varied debate was eventually restricted by Ronald Reagan and his neo-conservative supporters, who redefined Republican views on human rights in an anti-communist and anti-statist mould.

Chapters 10 and 11 both focus on the local while linking to the global. Each discusses how increasing globalization and international scrutiny made it difficult for states to silence human rights advocates. In Chapter 10, Gunter Dehnert returns the reader to the Communist bloc to present how the international human rights boom contributed to the survival and eventual success of the Polish opposition movement. Brad Simpson's Chapter 11 looks at the battle over human rights in Suharto's Indonesia, where the military government resisted human rights advocates as part of Western Imperialism.

In Chapter 12, Simon Stevens burrows down to the ultra-local, studying the politics of British Anti-Apartheid groups. While Stevens notes that many of these groups received their impetus from South African exiles, he stresses that they were very much grounded in local politics and contexts that made the exiles able to move their agendas forward.

For the final chapter, Jan Eckel soars up from the local to an eagle's view of the 1970s, providing a synthesis of the disparate movements, moments and trends in the decade, emphasizing the revolutionary and rapid change that took place.

One of the book's main weaknesses as a whole is a seemingly lopsided geographical representation. Africa and Asia receive one essay each, while Europe and America retain the lion's share of the attention. It is always difficult to achieve perfect representation in such a collection, and one hopes that future volumes on human rights and the 1970s will be able to redress this balance.

It is difficult to decide whether the 1970s really does come together with this disparate collection of essays. Moyn himself admits in his introduction that "it may be that a volume like this ends up proving that there is no alternative to a plurality of stories all happening at the same time." (12) Despite the particular nature of many of the essays, there is the sense of a wider conversation taking place over the course of the chapters. Authors such as Nathans and Sargent respond directly to Eckel and Moyn's ideas, and many of the other chapters contribute to the historiographical debate around the 1970s and human rights, whether explicitly or implicitly. There is no denying *The Breaththrough* makes a compelling case for further study of this pivotal time in our recent past.

MATTHEW McRAE
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Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson,
Border as Method: Or, the Multiplication of Labor (Durham: Duke University Press 2013)

IN THIS IMPORTANT book, Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson re-examine some of today's most debated and commented upon processes and practices (migration, globalization, neoliberalism) as well as some of the most naturalized of state categories (citizenship, illegals). In linking what they call the proliferation of borders with the expansion and intensification of competition within a labour market that encompasses the entire world, they provide new insights to the ways in which practices of border-making and maintenance are essential to the production of labour power as a commodity and hence to capitalism. Most refreshingly, their aim is to not only reveal the significance of bordering practices to the creation of current ruling relations

but also to argue for the creation of new political spaces – and subjectivities – necessary for the possibility of living a life without the sorts of exploitative and destructive social relations organized by capitalism.

In doing so, Mezzadra and Neilson map out new conceptual terrain. A dizzying array of new concepts are deployed – “border as method,” “multiplication of labour,” “sovereign machine of governmentality,” “assemblages of power” – as well as a reworking of older concepts such as “differential inclusion,” “translation” or “the common” (versus a singular commons).

The book is named after their main conceptual contribution: “border as method.” Studying the border as a *method* draws attention to the fact that borders are much more than lines drawn (and constantly re-drawn) on a geo-political map to separate a plethora of state territories. Borders, they argue, are also a social *method* of division as well as of multiplication. They divide geographical as well as social space and they multiply socially organized “differences.” Borders, thus, do significant epistemic and ontological work (and violence) by constructing both the space of “society” and who can be known as its members and who come to be known as its “problems.”

Mezzadra and Neilson discuss how borders don’t simply demarcate inclusion (of citizens) or exclusion (of non-citizens) but also *differentially include* (some) non-citizens as intensely subordinated labour power through the enactment of differential legal categories (such as “illegal”). They further analyze how racism, sexism, and the construction of class create borders between people, all in the service of commodifying and providing human labour power for the owners of capital. In discussing the proliferation (and the “heterogenization”) of borders (by which they mean the production of

differentiated subjectivities and legal statuses), Mezzadra and Neilson wish to point to the deeply *interrelated* material and ideological work done by bordering practices. “Border as method” thus helps to deconstruct the false line of “interior” and “exterior” that borders organize while radically remembering the connections that exist between people across such borders. This is refreshing for it helps to reconceptualize the space of “society” as something other than the currently hegemonic geo-political order. In short, “border as method” is developed to show that the border is a material relationship, not a mere objective “fact” to be studied.

In the process, unfortunately, *geo-political* borders demarcating nation-state territories and social spaces are given less import than they ought to. In the attempt to discuss *borders as social difference*, the significance of nation-state borders is given short shrift. This, ironically, leads to a dizzying proliferation of “borders” in this book. Alongside international borders, there are temporal borders, urban borders, social borders, borders separating colonizer from colonized, borders separating present from past, borders separating memory from reality, borders separating identity from image, cognitive borders, and linguistic borders. Is it useful to conceptualize social processes of differentiation as “borders,” especially in a world where political borders between states (and the differentiated legal and social statuses people are given by them) are increasingly consequential to every aspect of people’s lives and to their sense of self? I think not.

Nation-state borders matter. It is undoubtedly correct that the historical construction and ever-intensifying enforcement of state borders are very much productive (as well as dependent) on the construction of social divisions of class, “race,” gender/sex, and “nation” (as much

critical migration scholarship has shown over the past two decades). And it is crucial that we understand the centrality of what Sylvia Federici has helpfully termed the “accumulation of difference” to the accumulation of capital. However, by taking our focus away from the kinds of socio-legal differences constructed by nation-state borders and by seeing all socially organized “differences” as a type of “border,” the crucial difference between “citizens” and “non-citizens,” particularly in the process of actively constructing highly differentiated labour market categories (e.g. “citizen worker,” “immigrant women” and “illegal”) is obscured. This leads to a greater problem: the crucial form of power that states wield, especially the peculiar power of *nation*-states, is minimized.

Border as Method lacks a historicization of state power, especially in relation to regulations and restrictions on human mobility. Mezzadra and Neilson start at the usual place – the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia – and proceed as if all post-Westphalian states in Europe were nation-states, each of them enacting immigration controls. However, while the Treaty of Westphalia did indeed begin the process of establishing discrete territorial borders of distinct sovereignty between states in Europe, none of these states were *nation*-states at that time – or, indeed, for centuries later. Rather, most were monarchical states while a select few had become imperial states with territories beyond Europe. More to the point: the Treaty of Westphalia did not mark the beginning of regulations and restrictions on human mobility across sovereign states, particularly in regards to the *entry* of people into state territory (they were mostly concerned with emigration so as not to lose either labour power or potential solidiers).

Lack of attention to this historical detail prevents Mezzadra and Neilson from

achieving what they set out to do: show the relationship between restrictions on immigration and the construction of hierarchical social “differences” and the kinds of Manichean subjectivities they produce. There is, instead, a transhistorical idea of the existence of the “modern state,” one that is said to have always been concerned with immigration controls.

Paying attention to the form that states take (e.g. monarchical, imperial, or national) is crucially important for understanding the history of human mobility and how different kinds of states contribute to the production of differentiated markets for labour power. Crucially, imperial states were much more interested in facilitating human mobility than in restricting it. This was, of course, so they could construct and facilitate access to commodified labour power (i.e. through the African slave trade, the transport of convicts, the movement of the dispossessed and displaced, the “coolie” labour system). Those whose labour power they commandeered (both in the metropole and in the colonies) were categorized as co-imperial subjects, all bound to the authority of the same imperial sovereign. They were of course differentiated from one another but this was not accomplished through the construction of territorial borders. Indeed, only in the mid-19th century did imperial states begin to restrict the entry of co-imperial subjects into other parts of their territories and this was largely as a response to the nationalist positions taken by elites within various colonies.

Restrictions on immigration came about as a result of a *nationalist* logic and began mostly in the late-19th century. Thus, it is *nation*-states – not their imperial predecessors – that are interested in regulating and restricting immigration. It is the expansion and intensification of the international system of nation-states that has resulted in the enormous

importance states (all of them now nation-states) place on border controls – both ideologically in terms of legitimating nation-states (as “representative” of those constituted as the “nation”) and in constructing highly subordinated and super-exploited labour markets within nation-states for those categorized as “foreigners.” The two are intimately connected: it was the nationalization of states that led to the use of distinctions of class, “race,” gender/sex, and sexuality as key criteria for (national) societal membership. By leaving what they call the “modern state” undefined and unspecified in their book, especially in regard to immigration controls, Mezzadra and Neilson miss this crucial point.

This leads to perhaps my biggest concern about the arguments in *Border as Method*: the idea that the desired alternative to the present world order is one where distinct and separate “commons,” each with “different spatiotemporal extensions and different legal and political constitutions,” co-exist. (290) Nowhere in their discussion of this plurality of “commons” do they address human migration. This is evident in their resolute dismissal of calls for the elimination of borders. Instead, they argue that “from the point of view of border as method, a politics of the common can only be imagined and constructed as one that ... invests processes of bordering across and among [the various commons].” (304) It is difficult (impossible?) to see how this either challenges the socially organized “differences” constructed between people or the borders that enshrine these differences in legally distinct polities. How would membership in the plurality of commons be determined and by whom? Their response seems much more like the status quo than a new world built on common-ism.

NANDITA SHARMA

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Ewa Mazierska, ed., *Work in Cinema: Labor and the Human Condition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013)

THIS COLLECTION claims to correct a lack of attention from film critics and historians to the many complex ways films have represented work and the labour process. It aims to respond to new developments in global capitalism, particularly the ongoing domination of neoliberalism and its ruthless attacks on a weakened labour movement and drastic reconfiguration of work and labour relations, and to new developments in theoretical and conceptual debate, within, and post-, Marxism. A modest, if worthy, number of previous books and essays in film studies have focused on the representation of the working class, particularly conceived as the industrial proletariat in specific national cinemas, or in the work of class-conscious filmmakers, such as Ken Loach or Aki Kaurismäki. The contributions here have a broader ambition.

Mazierska provides an introductory foundation for the contributions with a succinct and thoughtful canvas of key concepts in Marx and Engels that relate to the centrality of labour in human history – value, alienation, consumption, class, globalization, perhaps the open-ended imagination of a post-capitalist future. All have been developed by subsequent Marxists and post-Marxists, such as Harvey, Hardt and Negri, Foucault, and Badiou, and these thinkers inspire many of the essays. Not surprisingly, the key analytical frame for the book is the rise and triumph of neoliberalism as the dominant political and social regime for contemporary global capitalism, and its rollback of gains of the Left and the labour movement everywhere.

The first section covers work in this neoliberal world. Highlights include two astute readings of recent Hollywood films that focus on neoliberal ways of

organizing work and leisure. Each questions our comprehension of contemporary social life. The recently popular concept of affective labour seems to describe the cruel, soulless corporate world of *Up in the Air* and finally shows us the normalization of its corruption and ruthlessness. *The Social Network* seems to offer, in the characteristic digital technologies of recent work and leisure, a possibility of collective labour and liberation, even utopian in the oft-repeated Internet rhetoric. It too founders in a grim reproduction of much the same old alienation and exploitation, with the disturbing extension and proliferation of willingly exploited masses. If this is labour in the higher reaches of class hierarchy, Alice Bardan takes us through grim accounts of neoliberalism's most predominant impact on work locally and globally with a survey of a powerful European cinema of precarity. This covers numerous fiction films highlighting the painful impact of casualizing, downsizing work for a generation of Europeans, including especially exploited immigrants, in all kinds of work from white collar to blue to informal. The discussion concludes with a series of activist documentaries that are hopefully part of the fightback.

The second section looks at particular national cinemas and several transnational developments. The intention to consider cinema's representation of different kinds of work, particularly crime and prostitution, is notable here. Czech films, including classics from the 1960s and more recent post-communist comedies, dramatize sex and prostitution as a different kind of work, but finally offering much the same kind of exploitation and alienation. It is much the same under state socialism as in the supposedly liberalized order of capitalist freedom. The world of Russian organized crime is analysed as a particularly brutal product of global neoliberalism with all its dehumanization

and grisly violence in a striking transnational comparison of Cronenberg's *Eastern Promises* and Balabanov's *Stoker*. In each case, migration, internal and international, represents a false hope and finally an indentured fate for workers in this world. Christina Stojanova's discussion of the films of Béla Tarr – famed for their demands on the audience's labour – proposes an original interpretation of a foundational tension in Tarr's dark films between dissident Marxist humanism and Neitschean nihilism.

The final section covers Genre, that most expansive and accessible cinematic categorization. Glyn White surveys a selection of American and British comedies of the 1930s Depression years and finds both irreverence and ambiguous enjoyment in the picture of work, and the comic work, of favourites like the Marx Brothers, Chaplin, and W.C. Fields. Eastern European science fiction films of the 1960s share much with Western generic conventions but also provide an unexpected location for tensions and problems in the ideologically imagined futures of Soviet-style socialism.

A number of themes recur in several essays. Harvey's bitter summary of neoliberalism as the epoch of feral capitalism illuminates a powerful account of radical traditions in Brazilian cinema, from *cinema novo* to recent films showing Brazilian capitalism as brutally predatory from its very beginnings. The same ruthlessness is dramatized in films about Russian mobsters, Chinese bike couriers and the hard, physical labour globalization distributes around the world. Several discussions explore the rich conceptualization of filmmaking and acting as cultural labour that illuminates neoliberalism's heartless reconfiguration of work and workers themselves in films by such formally challenging artists as Haneke, Warhol, Ackerman, and Weerasethakul. Not necessarily radical, some of these

films may at least pose a ludic alternative to neoliberal labour.

In the final essay, Ib Bondebjerg provides a sweeping and illuminating account of documentaries on work and class, from classics of the 1930s documentary movement to later post-war developments in the USA, Canada, the UK and Scandinavia. Attention to important work since 2000 that is responding to immediate historical confrontations is welcome. The aesthetic innovations and global perspective of filmmakers like Josh Oppenheimer and Michael Glowogger are particularly encouraging for those interested in the continuation of radical traditions in documentary.

Overall, this is an impressive, timely, and challenging collection. As promised, it builds on comprehending older films and responds forcefully to more recent work. It considers a fascinating range of work in films, including film/cultural labour itself, beyond older industrial conceptualizations and technologies. Neoliberalism is changing work and labour relations and the collection responds to this momentous historical change and develops new ways to think about it – theoretically, historically, and aesthetically. The collection achieves a laudatory range of coverage – from Hollywood to art cinema through to various popular genres, including the persistence of politically conscious documentaries – and from the USA to Scandinavia, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Russia, France, Thailand and more. It is particularly exciting to see North American scholars introduced to less-known film work from Russia and Eastern Europe, including films in the period that the writers call state socialism and more recently in post-communist capitalism, even if several essays highlight the failures of socialism and the similarities in ongoing alienation and exploitation in the neoliberal present.

Mazierska notes that many of the contributions are by scholars affected by precarity in academic labour, products of the very neoliberal labour processes explored. That may contribute to the passion, hopefulness, and engagement that distinguish the essays, including the introduction. Indeed, it is encouraging to see this scholarly work marked by the emotion that such miserable social material should demand. She hopes that the collection has political potential outside an academic audience. That may be true, though a number of the essays have weighty philosophical and theoretical introductions that could be more concise. It is exploration of films that is the strongest attraction of the collection. Film criticism has a rich lineage of writing that reaches popular and engaged audiences. This collection is a rich resource of ideas, cinematic worlds and filmmaking practices for both scholars of film, culture, and labour and for politically minded filmmakers and spectators.

SCOTT FORSYTH
York University

Mark Blyth, *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press 2013)

AN ACCESSIBLE, BRISK read, Mark Blyth's *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea* is a valuable aid to understanding the implacable siren song of austerity, even as it progressively decimates the capitalist-core working class, the institutions they fought for, and ultimately the global economy and liberatory liberal trajectory that may, after all, be dependent upon working-class leadership and welfare. Blyth anchors *Austerity's* analysis in an orderly historical and theoretical counterpoint, documenting scissor-happy austerity's corroding trajectory, opposition to democracy, and impotency – its

relentless incapacity to “right” sinking growth – presented in explicit contrast with conservative economists’ fantastical promotions and defenses.

The irrational, haunting fear of state debt that animates austerity, Blyth warns, is hardwired into liberalism. Early liberal defenders of capitalist ascension, including Locke, Hume, and Smith, laid the foundation when they railed against monarchies borrowing money from merchants for wars, and defaulting. Liberalism was larded with the tendentious assumptions that states are profligate opponents of markets, and that capitalists are naturally disciplined and productive. From the late 19th century onward, as wealth accumulation, reproductive problems, and democratic social movements spurred state institutions to support not only capital accumulation, but also working-class consumption and citizenship capacity in the capitalist core, liberals fought back with austerity – though, under auspicious conditions, they helped articulate its Keynesian and social democratic alternatives as well. From liberalism’s founding phobia spills our societies’ interminable “The state: can’t live with it, can’t live without it, don’t want to pay for it” neurosis, exemplified in David Ricardo and J.S. Mill’s contrasting positions on the naturalism of poverty and inequality, and the proper role of the state in using debt to manage the economy or in disciplining the poor.

While the Great Depression’s Herbert Hoover followed the austerity credo, forbidding the US to “squander itself to prosperity on the ruin of its taxpayers,” and Andrew Mellon commanded the state to “liquidate labor,” (119) the 20th century generals of austerity diffused from the smoldering ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hayek, Mises, and Schumpeter fed austerity logic and strategies to generations of voracious American and European financializing funders, and

their economists, political scientists, and policymakers. They deployed and elaborated strategies and rationales to overcome democracy with “independent” central banks like the European Central Bank, and to siphon wealth to financial capital’s enclaves and to Germany’s high-value exports trade-surplus economic niche. German ordoliberalism – deregulate capital, pin the state down with rules – reinforced technocratic Italian and American (*inter alia*) economists’ Nobel-wreathed austerity modeling and marketing. Hyper-publicized work by, among others, Alberto Alesina and the Italian Bocconi School, Virginia Public Choice theory political scientists, and American economists such as Carmen M. Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff (*This Time Is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*, [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010]) justified institutionalizing austerity. Embraced by the banking community, the liberal-conservative theories echoed Hobbes and Burke, promoting a vision of omniscient-rational (in contrast to Keynes’ “animal spirits”) business or investor “confidence” (or even, as it came to it, consumer “expectations”) as our delicate sovereign and guardian of virtue.

Historical austerity failure notables include the capitalist class’ dependables, the US, UK, Germany and Japan in the 1920s and 1930s. By the 1980s and 1990s, the International Monetary Fund adopted the Washington Consensus, “road testing” austerity again with democracy-curing Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) inflicted upon Latin America, among other developing regions. Neoliberal SAPs cut back growth in these regions, gouged their state capacities, and impoverished working families. Today, the shame-tagged PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy and Greece) have had their democratically elected leaders supplanted by austerity technocrats, and have mined their infrastructure to, in the case of

Greece, pay off loans originally oversold to them by mercenary US banks, or more typically, to restuff their undisciplined and imploding national private banks. These countries have suffered soaring unemployment and plummeting growth.

What of the poster children for austerity apologetics, Denmark and the romantically-tagged REBL (Romania, Estonia, Bulgaria, Latvia and Lithuania) Alliance? Can they confirm that if everyone cuts, the economy grows? Blyth shows these countries are beacons of failure as well. Austerians abuse frame-cropping to present some countries, like Denmark, Sweden and Ireland, as pro-austerity cases. But as with these other countries, Denmark's economy sank after the four-year Austerian story-telling window, and in any case, Denmark cannot affirm austerity because it did not cut welfare state spending in an economic slump. The so-called REBL Alliance austerity programs resulted in, and depended on, mass unemployment and a mass population exodus, a capitalism "year zero" condition the Austerians would approve. These countries also make better cons than pros since, with austerity, they attracted cheap foreign credit used for real estate and financial speculation, and as a result, the tragic REBLs are now more in debt than ever.

In his prosecution of austerity, Blyth takes the Austerians' motivation claims at face value: they say their cause is ours, and it is growth. Blyth suggests then that they are failing because the engine of capitalism, profit, requires appropriate incentives to productive investment. In our era in the West that means no more illogical fairytales about magical, universal trade surpluses, nor yet another round of fist pumps, Wall Street wolfishness, and moral hazard for the hedge-fund Kappa Beta Phi pride of brothers in New York City and London. Appropriate incentives to productive investment in

our time could require re-establishing the full range of monetary adjustments, including new, broader surplus recycling mechanisms. At astronomical human cost, fascism poses to many an attractive end intervention, as it controls populations and temporarily, capital, while preserving monopoly capitalist rule (that capital may survive to lose its productive drive and impose austerity again). Disciplining post-competitive capitalism without resorting to destructive fascism would require a socialist-oriented, conflict-steered working-class left leadership to arise across countries and fight for the alternative policies, such as the successful early 20th century Swedish social democratic innovations, that neoliberals have been combatting. Blyth recommends a course of financial repression, including a top marginal tax rate and top capital gains taxes, and coordinated targeting of offshore tax havens by states.

Blyth's strong and justified European focus has the side effect that less attention is paid to the ways in which the austerity consensus can be reinforced by globalization and primitive accumulation. Perhaps a high-flying global (BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China – as well as oil states) capitalist-rentier class, manically aloft on primitive accumulation, high rents, and the backs of low-wage labour may be contributing to results-proof overconfidence in austerity. Trade-agreement protected, subsidized, energy-slave fueled globalization can be a shot in the arm to the liberal-conservative belief that driving societies back to Capitalism T_0 conditions – freeing capitalists from accountability to original-sin-stained states and workers – cannot help but hone virile, aesthetic performance – "excellence" as they say, but a funny sort of excellence, dumping out other logics and rationalities, predicated upon and sowing economic and social failures far and wide. Fixing a sober, gimlet eye on such shibboleths, Blyth

helps us to pull aside the thickly painted stage curtains, and confront: What is it about capitalist rule that must keep not

shared prosperity, but immiserating austerity the last idea standing?

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