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REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *Renegade Lawyer: The Life of J.L. Cohen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

JACOB LAWRENCE COHEN was one of Canada's first labour lawyers, a key architect of the post-World War II industrial-relations system, a proponent of unionization and collective bargaining for workers, and a defender of the right to free speech for radicals and communists at a time when they were openly discriminated against. *Renegade Lawyer* is an exploration of the life of the leading civil liberties and labour lawyer of the mid-20th century.

Laurel Sefton MacDowell casts J.L. Cohen as a virtual Jekyll and Hyde character, with a public face disguising a disturbing private life. Born in Manchester, England to Jewish immigrant working-class parents, Cohen emerged as a Toronto labour lawyer in the 1920s and practised until the 1940s. He advocated Marxism, yet never joined the Communist Party. There was scarcely a single major labour dispute in Canada from 1936 to 1945 in which Cohen was not involved. Cohen was recognized as the country's leading labour lawyer, defended the right to free speech for unpopular groups including Communists, trade unionists, and Jehovah's Witnesses, and was active at the provincial and federal levels in drafting collective bargaining legislation and sitting on conciliation boards. He was an

arrogant litigator who made enemies in the legal profession and among non-Marxists in the labour movement. As a sole practitioner he was a loner, workaholic, womanizer, and, by the 1940s, a drug addict with severe health and mental problems who assaulted his secretary on a business trip. The nation's leading civil liberties lawyer in the 1940s went on trial in 1945 for assaulting his mistress and was subsequently disbarred. The decision to reinstate Cohen in 1950 was but a sad prelude to his death four months later.

The author applies her considerable knowledge of labour history to place Cohen within the context of the emerging collective bargaining system and examines the labour and civil liberties movements from the perspective of the legal profession. One of the book's central themes is Cohen's struggle between his views as a lawyer and as a Marxist. His early work defending Communists' free speech rights as counsel for the Canadian Labour Defence League became a battle between his own desire to win cases and free his clients, while the Communists were looking for martyrs and show trials. MacDowell's central focus, however, is less on the civil libertarian than it is on the labour lawyer. She argues that as a negotiator during key labour disputes such as the 1937 Oshawa strike and 1941 Kirkland Lake strike, as well as public policy maker in his drafts for an Ontario Unemployment Insurance Act and Collective Bargaining Act, and briefly as a member of the National War Labour Board, Cohen was a key figure in shaping

public policy. The biographical approach offers a unique individualized perspective into the ideological divisions between Communists and Social Democrats during this period in organized labour and politics, culminating in Cohen's refusal in 1944 to run for the CCF as Member of Parliament as a result of the conflicts arising from his nomination. MacDowell also uses the life of this leading labour lawyer in the 1930s and 1940s to trace the shift in labour-capital relations from mass-based collective action towards closed-door bargaining sessions over contracts.

It is unfortunate that the author has chosen to avoid exploring the emergence of a small but organized civil liberties movement in the 1940s, given that Cohen was arguably the most important civil liberties lawyer in the 1930s and 1940s. References to the Civil Liberties Association of Toronto (CLAT) (166) are confused when the author later refers to a Canadian Civil Liberties Association (170) and the Civil Liberties Association (172). These references can be misleading since Canada did not possess a truly national civil liberties organization until the 1960s, and there were several different groups calling themselves civil liberties associations across the country at the time. It is surprising, given that the conflicts between Social Democrats and Communists are a central theme of this book, that the same battles within the civil liberties movement are not discussed.

Cohen's main contact with the organized civil liberties movement in the 1940s was the CLAT, which barely managed to fight off an attempt in 1942 by Communists to take control of its executive board. In 1946, Toronto became the centre of these ideological divisions when Communist members of CLAT formed a separate organization in response to the Gouzenko Affair. Cohen's decision to act as counsel for the accused spies in 1946 reflected similar divisions in the legal profession. Frank Scott and J.L. Cartwright consistently condemned censorship during the war and the deportation of

Japanese Canadians, but neither offered a word of sympathy for the detention of accused Communist spies who were stripped of every legal protection almost a year after the war had ended (the former even became the lead Crown prosecutor for the spy trials). The author makes an error in stating that the Canadian Bar Association condemned the commission's tactics (214); in fact it voted against doing so despite the recommendations of its own civil liberties committee. It was no doubt influenced, among other things, by the fact that the Association's president at the time acted as lead counsel for the Royal Commission on Espionage. These issues need to be addressed in order to fully appreciate the political and ideological context in which this civil liberties lawyer lived and worked in the 1940s.

Renegade Lawyer's most notable contribution is in the form of a commentary on the post-war industrial relations settlement. Recent literature on social movements and labour history has lamented the undermining of mass mobilization in favour of back-room collective bargaining. MacDowell challenges this position and, from the perspective of the 1940s leading labour lawyer, argues that the protections established under the collective bargaining system constituted a substantial gain in a period when unions struggled for simple recognition of their right to exist. It is a significant historiographical debate and will likely stimulate some valuable discussion, but the author's decision to go so far as to completely dismiss critics of the postwar settlement for lacking "an understanding of the labour-relations system as it developed in Cohen's time or as it functions now" is excessive. (298) The past ten years have seen a flurry of literature on social movements dealing with, among others, the women's, gay rights/liberation, and student movements, and a biography of J.L. Cohen can only scratch the surface of such a vast debate. The author does, however, provide detailed footnotes and a bibliography for readers to consult further on these issues.

Renegade Lawyer is an essential contribution to the historiography on the labour and civil liberties movements in Canada, and the individual contribution of J.L. Cohen to these developments has too long been overlooked.

Dominique Clément,
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Cy Gonick, *A Very Red Life: the Story of Bill Walsh* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 2001)

FOR 20TH CENTURY Canadian socialists, the crucial political question was how to organize the working class for collective action to both meet its immediate needs and reform or supersede the capitalist state. For Montréal-born Bill Walsh, the answer was a 34 year commitment to the Communist Party and a lifelong commitment to the union movement. A political activist and union militant, from his conversion to Marxism-Leninism while a factory worker in the Soviet Union in the early 1930's to his final career as an independent union consultant and labour arbitrator, Walsh submerged his life in organizations devoted to defending working-class interests and achieving socialism.

Cy Gonick's political biography of Bill Walsh provides a revealing account of an activist's life: his day-to-day engagement in many of the formative political and union struggles and events that took place in Ontario from the 1930s to the 1970s and the personal rewards as well as the frustrations involved in reconciling principles and beliefs with the constraints and demands of working within the Communist Party and unions. Returning to Canada in 1932, Walsh was convinced the lines were clearly drawn. The working class faced a deepening economic crisis with devastating rates of unemployment and state repression. Only the Communist Party appeared to be resolutely committed to organizing the

working class, both unemployed and employed, militantly defending working-class interests, challenging state repression in the streets, and joining in the world-wide struggle for socialism, the promise of the future.

As a Communist Party organizer in the 1930s, he participated in activities to mobilize the working class to demand immediate reforms such as improved relief and non-contributory unemployment insurance, protest government inaction, elect Communist candidates, and combat both the rise of fascism in Europe and its Canadian exponents. Through the party he also became a union organizer, playing a leading role in organizing drives in the 1930's to form unions in the garment industry in Fenelon Falls and Hamilton, the rubber industry in Kitchener, and the auto industry in Windsor. For Bill Walsh each party activity, whether resisting evictions, organizing demonstrations, or forming unions, was a step towards the inevitable triumph of socialism. Success depended upon unity and loyalty to the working-class movement and the Party: they were one and the same. Confident that he and his comrades "had their 'hands on the throttle of history'," Walsh "lived and breathed" the Party. (82) He accepted its leadership's role in defining party policy and party discipline. Disagreements with the party leadership over political strategies or the terms of a collective agreement to end a strike and moderating his political views to form alliances in union organizing drives were the inevitable price of participation in a worker's movement.

The 1939 Soviet-German non-aggression pact and the party leadership's reversal of its support for a war against fascism with the declaration that Canada was engaged in an imperialist war confounded Walsh. Characteristically, however, his first priority was to continue his union work and he did not openly question the party leadership. Similarly, when after internment and battlefield service in the Canadian Army he was unsuccessful in his attempts

to raise concerns about party policy with Tim Buck and other party leaders, he chose to throw himself into union activities in Hamilton, where he helped organize the 1946 strikes that laid the foundation for post-war collective bargaining in Canada. For the next twenty years he served as a United Electrical Workers representative in Hamilton, again subordinating his espousal of socialism to building the union and achieving gains through collective bargaining while resisting raids and purges of Communists from the labour movement.

When the 1956 Khrushchev revelations rocked and divided the Communist Party, leading to a mass exodus of members from the Party, Walsh could not envisage a viable political alternative; he advocated reform rather than dissolution of the Party. Once again he devoted his energy to union activities, including preservation of the independence of Local 598 of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of Sudbury, the target of a Steelworkers raid in 1962. But, by the mid 1960's long-standing conflicts with C.S. Jackson, president of the United Electrical Workers (UE), culminated in a dispute over an organizing drive. Walsh resigned in 1965 and embarked on a new career as a union consultant specializing in contract negotiations. In 1967 a strike in Hamilton involving both the Draftsmen Association, which had hired Walsh as its negotiator, and UE precipitated a public attack on him by C.S. Jackson and a charge by the local party committee that his conduct was "detrimental to the Communist Party and the best interests of the working class." (235) Walsh could not accept this personal betrayal and with a spirited refutation of the charges resigned from the Party. Continuing his work as a union consultant, he worked for Mine-Mill, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, and the Letter Carriers of Canada, ending his lifetime of work as an advocate for labour as a union nominee on arbitration boards. In 1969 he joined the NDP, attracted by the Waffle Movement's

attempt to revive socialist principles, serving on the Ontario Waffle steering committee and working in its Labour Caucus.

Cy Gonick's political biography of Bill Walsh is a revealing chronicle of a lifetime of unswerving devotion to the working-class movement and socialism. Together with recent scholarly work on the diversity and scope of the day-to-day political activities of Communist Party members, it contributes to a more balanced understanding of the party's relationship to the working class, its role in political mobilization, and the formation of unions. The history of the party is richer and more complex than the machinations of a party leadership following the twists and turns of Comintern doctrine or the Soviet Union's foreign policy. It also provides an on-the-ground participant's perspective on the formation of the Canadian union movement, the challenges of organizing drives and negotiating first collective agreements, and the CCF's role in purging Communists from leadership positions in unions and the Canadian Labour Congress, whatever the cost to the union movement. Above all, it is a testament to a socialist's enduring commitment to improve workers' lives.

Arthur Ross
Ryerson University

Meg Luxton and June Corman, *Getting By in Hard Times: Gendered Labour at Home and on the Job* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)

HOW HAVE THE DRAMATIC political and economic changes of the 1980s and 1990s — globalization, economic restructuring, cutbacks, and layoffs — transformed the lives of White working-class Canadian families? To answer this question, in 1984, 1994, and 1996, Meg Luxton and June Corman conducted in-depth interviews with hundreds of families in Hamilton, Ontario who had at

least one member employed at Hilton Works, a steel manufacturing plant owned by Stelco (the Steel Company of Canada). Stelco and its workers provide an ideal case study since the company's recent restructuring reflects typical North American patterns: after a period of post-war growth, Stelco's markets declined significantly in the 1980s due to the increased availability of low-cost European and Third World steel and a decrease in the domestic demand for steel. Stelco's management responded to these new circumstances with capital investment and labour restructuring; at the heart of their reorganization of production was massive job reduction. Between 1980 and 1996, Stelco "successfully" restructured its production at the expense of its workers, reducing its labour force by 50 per cent. Moreover, by 1996, the jobs available at Stelco were far less likely to offer the high wages, benefits, regular schedules, and protections that unions had won for workers in the postwar period.

For the White working-class families who had structured their lives based on the reliable family wage previously earned by men at Stelco, these changes have brought significant disruptions and financial insecurities into their lives. Although the job reductions have mostly affected men, in many respects, Luxton and Corman argue, working-class women have borne the brunt of economic restructuring. Many working-class wives entered the workforce when their husbands lost their jobs or when their husbands' jobs became increasingly insecure. They faced a sex-segregated job market with profound pay inequalities and continued to shoulder disproportionate responsibility for household labour. As working-class men and women worked longer hours at less secure jobs, their jobs increasingly restricted their private lives. Workers failed to develop community ties (and class consciousness), and their struggles to defend their standard of living made them "more hostile to equity

struggles by women, people of colour, immigrants, and other minorities." (6)

The first chapters of Luxton and Corman's study examine working-class women and men's paid labour. After establishing the importance of women's unpaid domestic labour to the maintenance of a male workforce, they shift the focus to the shop floor, and explore daily life at Hilton Works. The authors emphasize the demanding nature of shift work, workers' alienation from their jobs, and the masculine work culture. During the economic restructuring and massive layoffs of the 1980s and 1990s, workers and unions experienced a profound loss of power. Those who kept their jobs did so only by forfeiting job security and a guaranteed decent pay cheque. Although Luxton and Corman also examine the experiences of women who gained jobs at Hilton Works after the successful 1979-1980 "Women Back Into Stelco" campaign, their discussions of female steel workers (which are scattered throughout the book) are not well integrated into the analysis. The often-fascinating findings might have been more successfully explored in a separate chapter or article. The labour force experiences of Stelco wives are more thoroughly documented and they also differed significantly from their husbands. Employed women tended to earn less than men, lacked reliable child care, and bore the brunt of the double-day. Women also faced constraints on their participation in paid labour that men did not: marital, child care, and economic considerations all significantly shaped women's employment decisions.

Luxton and Corman hit their stride in their two core chapters on domestic labour and caregiving, which contain the book's most original material. These richly detailed chapters effectively put to rest any suggestion that household labour, nurturance, and caregiving are not true forms of "work." The authors provide a detailed and engaging portrait of how working-class women and men negotiate the daily demands of domestic la-

bour and money management, in an age when working-class women are increasingly likely to engage in paid labour and men attempt to participate more actively in the running of households. Even in households where women were employed, women were usually still economically dependent on marriage. Moreover, although men often increased their participation in household labour, women remained responsible for its overall management — they co-ordinated the interaction of different labour processes and ensured that myriad tasks got done. In short, even with increased gender equity, in most families “women do it [domestic labour] and men ‘help out’.” (160) As such, economic restructuring has been particularly burdensome for working-class women, who have acted as a “reserve army of unpaid workers” and have disproportionately increased their workload in an attempt to modify their households’ declining standard of living. (184) The fact that so much of what women do at home involves caregiving and the cultivation of familial and personal relationships obscures both the economic value of women’s labour and the way that this work of social reproduction sustains the labour power necessary for capitalist economies. (216)

Provocative, but less developed, is Luxton and Corman’s argument that White working-class men and women have not developed a class consciousness or strategies to enact social change because economic restructuring has forced them to work harder and to channel their energies into their nuclear families instead of community relationships. The authors effectively demonstrate how paid labour is increasingly impinging upon and restricting workers’ private lives and leisure time, a phenomenon that is occurring across class lines, and they argue that these employment constraints prevent men and women from participating in their communities. For example, shift work and irregular schedules often prevent men from joining baseball leagues or

coaching their children’s sports teams. With little predictable time to spare, workers’ leisure time tends to revolve around nuclear family relationships. Luxton and Corman identify different leisure patterns for women: women’s employment tends to undermine the “anti-social character of family life” (238) as employed women often spend more time with friends than homemakers, whereas homemakers develop stronger ties with neighbours. Yet it is not clear if these gendered leisure patterns are unique to recent decades or how they relate to the development of class consciousness and protest movements. Similarly, Luxton and Corman assert that White working-class men and women view their lives mainly on an individual level, and in increasingly racist and sexist terms, blaming their problems on minority and women workers who perform low-paid, insecure jobs. This argument is also not fully explored or placed in a historical context. Is contemporary White working-class racism and sexism substantially different from that of the earlier periods which have been well-documented by historians of working-class “whiteness?”

Ultimately, Luxton and Corman did not convince me of their claim that working-class families lack class consciousness, for the book contains abundant evidence of men and women’s understanding of the ravages of capitalism and class inequalities. That many workers interviewed felt powerless in face of economic restructuring and failed to organize effective protests does not mean that they did not understand the exploitative nature of recent transformations. Many academics who have studied and critiqued these processes undoubtedly feel similarly powerless to change them. Rather, workers’ sense of powerlessness and their lack of effective protest strategies may have more to do with the fact that their previously highly effective strategies — labour unions — no longer work. As Luxton and Corman show, Hilton Works’ unions have lost tremendous power (and mem-

bership) in recent decades as they have been forced to co-operate with management's labour reductions or risk extinction.

Getting By in Hard Times makes a solid case for gender, domestic labour, and working-class people's experiences to be taken seriously by scholars wishing to understand the effects of global capitalism and possibilities for social change. Luxton and Corman's insistence that class, race, and gender inequality and conflict are at the heart of capitalist economics opens fruitful avenues of inquiry that should help to guide future scholarship on these questions.

Lisa Levenstein
University of Wisconsin - Madison

Miriam Wright, *A Fishery for Modern Times: The State and the Industrialization of the Newfoundland Fishery, 1934-1968* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001).

A FISHERY FOR Modern Times is the end product of a project that began for Miriam Wright with her Masters' degree at Queen's University followed by her PhD at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The book covers the entry of Newfoundland into confederation with Canada under Joey Smallwood and traces his involvement in the provincial fisheries during his five terms in office.

As most people are profoundly aware, the fisheries have been central to the economy of Newfoundland. Wright begins her historical account with the transition from self-government (granted in 1855 as a British Dominion) to 1934 when it "voluntarily suspended its democratic political institutions in favour of a British-appointed Commission of Government. From 1934 to 1949, a team of six appointed administrators managed all aspects of Newfoundland's civil and political life, from health and education to justice and economic development." (10)

Wright argues that state involvement in the fishery began "in earnest" with the arrival of the Commission of Government in 1934. The problems experienced by the fishing economy, however, can be traced back much earlier, at least to the beginning of the 19th century when fishing was basically a family enterprise supported by a system of mercantile credit. The major processing of fish involved salting. While Newfoundland was once the "world's largest exporter of salted fish," by the end of the 19th century its predominant position had eroded.

Under the Commission of Government there was a concerted attempt by those holding political power to "modernize" the Newfoundland economy, a project taken up with vigour by Joey Smallwood when he became premier of the new province.

At an ideological level, frozen fish offered the path to the creation of a modern, industrial society in Newfoundland. At the practical level, providing loans to the frozen-fish companies, which offered employment and cash to fishers for fish, seemed an easier way to develop the economy and reduce dependence on merchant credit. In the process, a new partnership arose between the government and a small number of companies willing to enter the new frozen-fish sector. This alliance laid the foundation for a long-term relationship between private enterprise and the state in fisheries development in Newfoundland. Indeed, it became an enduring characteristic of post-war fisheries policy. (35-36)

Much of the book traces the struggles of provincial politicians and businessmen to transform the fisheries from what they considered to be an antiquated processing method (and part of a "feudal" economy) and bring the economy and society into the "modern" industrial era. In particular the modernization project involved technological developments in frozen-fish processing. With the widespread adoption of the refrigerator able to hold frozen-fish sticks, many in the fishing in-

dustry on both sides of the border felt that American consumption of fish would escalate significantly, a trend that did not emerge in the long run. While some, like William J. Keough (Newfoundland's first Minister of Fisheries), became proponents of the co-operative movement, Smallwood developed an industrial vision, modelled on modernization theory, for the people of Newfoundland. In particular, he pushed for the transformation of fishing communities from family-based salt fishing enterprises to homes of the personnel for international corporate competitors in the frozen fish sector. In the process, women's roles changed from drying and curing fish on shore to working as waged labour within capitalist-owned processing plants. As well, the small boat inshore fishery was affected when loans were given to encourage fishers and private companies to purchase trawlers and longliners that could fish further out from shore.

Joey Smallwood was an instrumental figure in promoting the newer processing technologies and there is much here in the way of detailed archival information of his dealings with individual entrepreneurs, especially Arthur Monroe. Monroe's Fishery Products Limited became the beneficiary of millions of dollars in provincial government loans granted to build freezing plants in targeted communities and acquire trawlers and other working capital. "Arthur Monroe's Fishery Products Limited became Smallwood's unofficial 'instrument' of fisheries development." (86) Wright also chronicles many of Smallwood's negotiations with Canadian federal government officials to contribute loans to the private businesses earmarked by Smallwood, an initiative federal state bureaucrats were reluctant to endorse.

As this very brief synopsis indicates, the book identifies many of the key political and entrepreneurial figures involved in negotiating the direction of fisheries development in Newfoundland. As we have seen, the decisions adopted contrib-

uted to the near extinction of ground fish species, especially the cod, in the 1990s. Internal decisions and plans were exacerbated in this respect by the same technological developments allowing huge factory trawlers to capture enormous quantities of cod off shore and to process it on board. Newfoundlanders referred to the "city of trawlers" that could be seen from shore, trawlers owned by foreign countries intercepting cod catches and contributing nothing to the local economy. In the 1950s, annual landings for the Newfoundland fishery ranged from 100,000 to 300,000 tonnes. With the arrival of the international factory-freezer trawlers, a historic high of 810,000 tonnes was registered in 1968, with the majority of the catch made by foreign fleets. "Without fishing quotas of any kind until the early 1970s, the European vessels were legally entitled to catch as much fish as they wished." (106)

When it became apparent that a crisis was in the making due to overfishing, particularly by foreign trawlers intercepting cod that had historically migrated inshore, the federal government was reluctantly forced to play a key role in international negotiations. Fishing nations lobbied for the adoption of a twelve-mile fishing limit and for baselines using straight lines drawn across coastlines rather than from the points of land that would necessarily include the many small bays and inlets marking Atlantic and Pacific coasts. This was occurring during the Cold War, and the American military objected to the proposed maritime laws, because of their defence implications. The "freedom of the sea" ideology, so much a feature of 19th-century Western thinking, was giving way to haggling over which countries controlled and had access to the world's oceans; in particular, to the rich resources contained within and under its waters.

Alongside the rich archival and historical data relating to the political and economic transactions that transformed and eventually almost killed the New-

foundland fishing economy, there is also a theoretical theme. Wright draws on Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony to demonstrate that there was nothing predetermined in how the fisheries were transformed through the decisions, negotiations, and actions of politicians, state bureaucrats, and capitalists. The sad note here is that there is nothing that guarantees the same mistakes will not be made all over again should the cod recover. The theoretical analysis is not very well developed. While she briefly discusses hegemonic concepts at the beginning and conclusion of various chapters, Wright fails to develop an alternative, counter-hegemonic discourse of her own that could weave together the whole of the book. It is clear that her skill lies in her archival and historical training rather than in her theoretical analysis. This is a shame because for all of its careful historical detail, maybe precisely due to this focus, the book comes across as a very dry read. If Wright were to pay more attention to integrating and developing a truly counter-hegemonic discourse in her own writing, she could elevate her project that extra notch and demonstrate how this piece of history holds lessons for all of us. In particular, such a discourse would require the inclusion of the fishers and their communities as key players. Currently, despite some mention of the role of women in processing, the people most directly involved in the fisheries occupy a marginal place in the study.

Alicja Muszynski
University of Waterloo

Ken Coates, *The Marshall Decision and Native Rights* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000)

IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet peoples of the Atlantic region have engaged in some of the most high profile legal and political battles in Canada concerning Native rights.

In *The Marshall Decision and Native Rights* Ken Coates combines a history of Native — non-Native relations in the Atlantic region with both an analysis of the impact of recent court decisions and suggestions for ameliorating the tensions surrounding the division of rights to forest, fish, and game resources. While the historical component of the book is incomplete, the analysis of recent events and public policy recommendations is worthy of serious consideration.

The first three chapters of *The Marshall Decision* provide the historical context for understanding the central issues surrounding Native rights in the region from the pre-contact period to the Marshall decision. Chapter Four is a brief outline of the major federal court decisions involving Native peoples and land resource issues in Canada. In Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, the meat of the book, Coates examines in detail the logging dispute in New Brunswick that emanated from the Peter Paul case; the confrontations in the fishery that followed in the wake of the Marshall decision; and subsequent legal and political developments up to the summer of 2000. The final chapter, "What Does it Mean?", is an attempt to unravel the meaning of the recent events and to suggest strategies for compromise and reconciliation.

As a work of history *The Marshall Decision and Native Rights* is inadequate. This may be due to the fact that the primary objective of the work is to educate the informed public about the details and the significance of recent developments in the Atlantic region. It would also appear that *The Marshall Decision* was written to a tight deadline, making extensive primary research difficult. The extraordinary number of misspellings, typographical errors, and grammatical curiosities further suggest that there was a premium on timely publication. However, Coates misses even some of the more visible secondary works on the history of First Nations in the region, which might have strengthened and even altered his under-

standing of the historical context to the Peter Paul and Marshall cases.

Most importantly, there is very little in this book in the way of historical context concerning the central issue of the Native struggles to defend their rights to the forest, fish, and game resources of the region. From the very beginning of modern federal and provincial fish and game administration in the late 19th century, Native peoples in Atlantic Canada both asserted their treaty rights and resisted new resource management regimes that favoured recreational over subsistence and commercial hunting and fishing. This resistance was a constant feature of federal and provincial fish and game administration into the post World War II era, when the First Nations of Atlantic Canada began to mount legal challenges. The first of these post-war challenges came in the late 1950s after a period of considerable tension and violent incidents between federal fisheries officers and residents of the Big Cove Reserve. In the well known Willie John Simon case (1958), the defendant, a constable on the reserve, was arrested for illegally setting nets for salmon. Simon defended himself on the basis of his treaty rights, a position which he openly conveyed to federal officials on several occasions. The Simon case was followed by as many as two dozen other fish and game cases involving the assertion of treaty rights in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in subsequent decades. The region was also not without its high-profile confrontations. The most notable was the 1978 "raid" on the Kingsclear Reserve by a SWAT team and approximately 90 officers from the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, New Brunswick Department of Natural Resources, and the RCMP. After two hours of rioting, the officers left with several salmon nets.

Coates missed an opportunity when he neglected to explore the long-term continuity in the both the treaty arguments made by the region's First Nations and the low-level tension between Native peoples and fish and game administrators.

He recognizes that the Atlantic region is "generally known for the absence of conflict of First Nations issues,"⁽⁹⁾ but, aside from pointing out that Native people have been unhappy for a long time, he does not really make an effort to debunk this myth. It is an important myth, because it contributes significantly to the prevailing notion that Aboriginal rights in the region is an industry, not a social movement. There is a public perception that the Peter Paul and Marshall cases emerged out of thin air and were a product of clever lawyers whispering in the ears of First Nations leaders. These treaties were not "discovered" in recent years, and the First Nations of the region are not responding to an opportunity presented to them from people outside of their own communities. Stressing these two points as forcefully as possible should be the starting point for any examination of recent events.

Nevertheless, *The Marshall Decision and Native Rights* is a valuable contribution to the literature on First Nations issues in the Atlantic region and the nation. Coates has achieved his primary goal of providing a comprehensive and coherent overview of the legal, political, and social implications of the recent court decisions at the time when fuller public understanding is of vital importance. Moreover, the Peter Paul and Marshall decisions are nicely cast in the broader context of the First Nations successes and defeats in federal court over the past century. To his credit, Coates openly discusses his own intellectual biases, which adds weight to the overall attempt to provide a balanced account of these very contentious issues.

The most intriguing and, ultimately, the most valuable part of *The Marshall Decision* is the final chapter in which Coates suggests avenues for future negotiation and reconciliation. Coates is very persuasive in arguing that relying on legal solutions to what are fundamentally social and political issues is slow and expensive and only heightens the divisions between Native peoples and other Canadians. Supreme Court decisions such as

Marshall, Coates argues, have not been a panacea for the difficult economic and social problems faced by First Nations communities, nor have these decisions done much to clearly delineate the parameters of Native rights to land and resources. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of major federal court decisions has been to create further uncertainties and legal challenges. Coates sees greater possibilities in the efforts that the New Brunswick government has made to accommodate the desire of the First Nations to gain access to Crown forest resources in the wake of the Peter Paul case, and he even sees potential in preparing new treaties in the Atlantic region. The people of Atlantic Canada, particularly those with an ability to influence public policy, would benefit by careful reading of these suggestions.

Bill Parenteau
University of New Brunswick

Richard Somerset Mackie, *Island Timber: A Social History of the Comox Logging Company, Vancouver Island* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 2000)

THIS IS A POPULAR HISTORY written by an academic historian. Mackie, who has produced a monograph on the 19th century fur trade in the Pacific region, here presents the story of people associated with the Comox Logging and Railway Company. The firm ran extensive logging operations in the Comox Valley, about halfway up the eastern side of Vancouver Island, in British Columbia. It was one of the largest operations in the coastal region, turning out logs for its owner, the Canadian Western Lumber Company. The logs were converted into lumber at the company's massive sawmill on the mainland at Fraser Mills, near Vancouver. The book considers the years from the late 19th century to 1938, the year a great fire destroyed much of the area's forest. In a region where the lumber industry continues to be very important,

historical books on the topic are welcome indeed.

Mackie begins by chronicling the first rural settlement of the Comox Valley and the business history of the early lumber companies. After this background the focus is on loggers and their families. Much of the book is about work in the woods. This was the era of highlead logging, in which steam-powered skidders and aerial cables yarded huge logs by lifting one end of the logs and then dragging them to a central location. Trees were felled manually using axes and saws, and railways transported the logs to sawmills or to the seashore, where they were boomed and transported on the ocean to mills. This logging system was introduced into the coastal region just before World War I. Prior to this, steam-powered, ground logging had been used to yard logs. In the late 1930s trucks began replacing railways in the larger coastal operations, and power chainsaws were being introduced for fallers. In *Island Timber* individual chapters describe all aspects of the logging process in the highlead era, from cruising the timber and building logging railways, to falling and bucking the timber, yarding the logs to seashore, and finally transporting log booms across the Strait of Georgia to the mill on the mainland. Fine maps and drawings show how logging operations were laid out and how log booms were constructed. The book supplements Ken Drushka's *Working in the Woods: A History of Logging on the West Coast*, which covers the coastal region from early days to recent times.

Life in the towns and camps where the workers lived, places such as Courtenay, Comox, Headquarters, and Camp 3, is also described in much detail in *Island Timber*. There are anecdotes about schooling, snowstorms, and kindly butchers, as well as observations on the social composition of the area and accounts of leisure activities. Here, too, there are finely-drawn maps: the residents in all the married men's houses in Camp 3 in 1936,

for example, are noted on one full-page map. (125) Throughout, the book pays close attention to the local social and physical geography.

While many sources are used, *Island Timber* relies extensively on oral interviews. Mackie spoke with an amazing number of people — some 150 — in the preparation of the book, and the testimony of these residents provides much of the content. These voices describe the operation of cold decking, the job of a whistle punk, and the fun of loggers' sports days and deer hunting. As with most histories based on oral interviews, the story told is from the perspective of the persisters, the people whose families remained in the area and are willing to talk to an interested historian. Mackie recognizes this focus, acknowledging that this is primarily the story of the Comox Homeguard. These were loggers who lived permanently in the valley, were largely married, and engaged in farming as well as logging. After retiring, they remained in the area. It is not clear how extensive the Homeguard was, but one informant estimated that by the 1930s, half of the Comox Logging Company's employees came from farms in the valley. (81) The account, then, does not capture the experience of the loggers who moved away, or the many others who were hired out of Vancouver, traveling to the camps and then returning to the city during shut-downs or when they were laid off.

This celebratory, well-written book has sold many copies and was on the provincial bestseller list for months. It is a handsome presentation, offering more than mere text. Beyond the narrative, there are photographs and sidebars on every page. I found myself going through each chapter twice: first reading the narrative text and then examining the pictures and sidebars, which usually contain an anecdote or a brief biography of a member of the Homeguard. The pictures are wonderful and evoke much about coastal logging and coastal life.

Unions and strikes are introduced near the end of the book, but, according to Mackie, organizational initiatives were not integral to the history of the Homeguard. When we finally learn that the area participated in the massive strike wave in the British Columbia woods after World War I, though, the significance of the logging Homeguard does become clearer: the company hired local farm people, usually family men, to work in their camps as a strategy to keep out unionism and socialism. (255) Mackie notes that the Homeguard was anti-union and satisfied with the "safety-conscious paternalism" of the company, apparently even during the big Vancouver Island loggers' strike of 1934. (255-6) In 1942 Comox Logging was the last big coastal operation to be organized by the International Woodworkers of America.

Readers of this journal would likely have preferred a little more context and political economy. *Island Timber* goes against recent trends in provincial academic history that locate communities and industries in provincial, national, and international contexts. Some attention to the changing fortunes of the lumber and log markets, as well as the fate of Canadian Western Lumber in the period under consideration, would have helped explain the lives of the people described in the book. The Depression of the 1930s shaped the lives of Comox Valley residents, but it seems that it merely happened and had to be endured. Comox Valley residents are also depoliticized, ignoring an interesting and important aspect of local society. In the 1920 provincial election the successful candidate in the riding represented the People's Party-Farmer-Labour, and in 1933 the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation candidate finished second, winning over 35 per cent of the popular vote. In 1937 the CCF took the riding. The victor in Comox riding was Colin Cameron, renowned as a strong leftist presence in the legislature and the most biting critic of

government forest policy in the early 1940s.

Mackie has produced a fine, popular history, which, though footnote free, has an extensive bibliography as well as an index and a glossary of logging terms. The book will yield rewards to anyone interested in coastal logging and the lives of the people involved.

Gordon Hak
Malaspina University-College

Thomas R. Klassen, *Precarious Values: Organizations, Politics and Labour Market Policy in Ontario* (Montréal and Kingston: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University and the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 2000)

FOR SOME TIME NOW, training has been the buzzword of politicians and business groups alike. Training, or lifelong learning as it is now more fashionably labeled, is seen as the key to strengthening economic competitiveness, overcoming unemployment, and ensuring productivity growth. Indeed, it is difficult to find a public figure, no matter what their political stripe, who has not embraced training as gospel.

Yet, despite all the bold political rhetoric about training, organizations designed to promote and implement training policies in Canada have almost always ended in failure. What explains these failures is the subject of Klassen's study.

A former Ontario civil servant, Klassen draws upon a number of interviews with senior bureaucrats and politicians as well as his own experience with the Ministry of Skills Development (MSD) and the Ontario Training Adjustment Board (OTAB) to conduct an autopsy into the cause of death of these two organizations. For Klassen, the answer lies in the premise that they were built on a shaky foundation of "precarious values." Using this conceptual starting point, Klassen argues that both the MSD and

OTAB carried the seeds of their own destruction, lacking clear goals and values and, perhaps more critically, the support of key stakeholders in society.

Here, the author situates himself within the broad sociological tradition of institutional analysis that sets out to investigate both the internal workings of organizations and the external environment in which they are embedded: "the values, norms, rules and requirements to which organizations must conform if they are to gain legitimacy and survive." (7) In this view, organizations thrive or wither based on whether their values are widely shared by social actors. Organizations that have values which have a low degree of consensus or are highly contested among key stakeholders have weak legitimacy and are vulnerable to ongoing disagreement about their proper scope and domain of activities.

Precarious values were deeply entrenched within the MSD and OTAB, Klassen asserts, because key political and economic actors fundamentally disagreed about the most effective way to meet the province's training objectives. Both organizations were charged with the overly ambitious goal of fostering an ill-defined "training culture" in Ontario that would require some behavioural change on the part of governments, business, and labour. Not surprisingly, the two agencies under study emerged into an environment rife with basic disagreements.

Klassen's analysis is strongest in providing a rare insider's glimpse into the internal factors that worked to undermine these organizations. Ontario's MSD, hastily established in 1985 in response to rising youth unemployment in the province, centralized many of the training programs that were scattered about in other ministries. As such, the MSD immediately encountered hostility from other ministries; and most notably the more powerful Ministry of Colleges and Universities (MCU). The latter lost a good share of its budget and its responsibilities for indus-

trial training to the MSD, something that precipitated an ongoing and bitter turf war between the two ministries as the MCU sought to protect its territory. This lack of "domain consensus" and subsequent weak leadership worked to spell the end of the ministry by 1990.

Similarly, Klassen provides an intricate internal account of the rise and fall of OTAB. Formed in 1991 by the NDP government of Bob Rae, OTAB had a highly participatory structure that included representation from business, labour, education, and social action groups. Cabinet documents at the time highlight some disagreements about the composition of the board, particularly in terms of gender and ethnic representation. These concerns eventually forced business and labour groups to ensure greater diversity in their representatives on the board. Curiously, Klassen claims this diluted OTAB's effectiveness because it meant the "best people were not nominated to the board of directors of OTAB." (145). It is hard to follow this conclusion given it is offered as an assertion with little supporting evidence.

More importantly, two other issues surrounding the birth of OTAB quickly soured relations among government, business, and labour. One was the demand by the Ontario Federation of Labour that the board have responsibility for training in both the private and public sectors, something that was only partially resolved with the creation of a special table within OTAB to deal with public sector training. Secondly, business groups, already furious with the provincial government's new labour legislation, demanded that non-unionized workers be included on the board. The government refused to budge on that issue, leading the Canadian Federation of Independent Business to end its participation in OTAB.

Again, Klassen's focus in detailing the birth and death of OTAB is on the internal workings of the agency and its precarious values. Of course, what Klassen terms "precarious values" others may prefer to call an ideological struggle between

competing social interests. Klassen does not ignore this broader social and economic context in which MSD and OTAB emerged, and admittedly his focus is on the internal workings of organizations, but he does give relatively short shrift to these fundamental ideological clashes.

This is important because ideological battles have paralleled and contributed to the transformation of labour market policy in Canada. Until the mid-1970s, as Klassen himself notes, some version of Keynesian economic theory held sway whereby governments intervened on the demand side to smooth the business cycle and achieve full employment. This strategy has to a large degree now been replaced by supply-side labour market policies. This includes the training of the workforce, with its seductive connotation of self-improvement, as a way to solve unemployment and for Canada to remain competitive in a global economy.

This shift in labour market policy is deeply rooted in the struggles of competing class interests. In this context, training policy is necessarily a contested concept. Labour is rightly concerned that training not be used by business as an excuse to impose greater "flexibility" on workers, a fact not lost on the Canadian Auto Workers who refused to participate in OTAB. By contrast, businesses want to ensure that training policies do not increase the power of employees and their unions. The key question then is whose interests will training policy serve?

It is true, as Klassen asserts, that the failure of MSD and OTAB was partly a result of design flaws. Even so, it is difficult to imagine that even if these organizations had been better built they would have been able to withstand the deeper ideological conflict that facilitated their demise. Klassen recognizes this and recommends that any future training agencies will have to be "imposed" by the state. He proposes the creation of an advisory committee on labour market policy composed only of government, business, and labour elites — the less inclusive and

democratic the better, Klassen implies. Business and labour representatives would offer advice only on "visionary and operational issues" and not specific policy. A completely separate agency to deliver training programs would be established.

Such an agency may have a longer life, but it is difficult to see how it would have any more legitimacy than the MSD and OTAB. In the end, the central question of who defines training policy and in whose interests remains.

David Robinson
Canadian Association of University Teachers

Morley Gunderson and Douglas Hyatt,
Workers' Compensation: Foundations for Reform (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000)

WORKERS' COMPENSATION needs reform and reform requires knowledge. That is the spirit moving *Workers' Compensation: Foundations for Reform*, a collection of studies of the practice and prospects for workers' compensation. Animated by a sense of crisis, operating from the policy insider's perspective, and premised upon the idea that reform is the reasoned, efficacious way a people respond to problems in public undertakings, the volume presents a package of expert deliberations to inform modifications. The authors offer insights that could be useful in that endeavour. Those insights hint, though, that there are further questions still more fundamental that should be asked.

Gunderson and Hyatt's clear, direct initial chapter presents a handy guide to the book. It poses the purpose of the volume, sets the bounds of inquiry concisely and revealingly in the agenda of concerns raised by recent royal commissions, and provides concise synopses of the arguments to follow. Recognizing that any overview must make choices, I think the book could be better served by complicat-

ing compensation's origins story here by providing more context on the system's important changes since 1980 — workers' rights in safety decisions, a new appeals tribunal, experience rating employers' premiums, and cuts in benefits in Ontario, for starters — to fully set the stage for current discontent. The recent developments are presented well, for example, in David Law's chapter later in the volume. The "historic compromise" origins story, on the other hand, does not get further consideration though it recurs throughout the chapters. It is a loaded narrative that, among other problems, submerges the contestation that frequented the policy's past and elides the asymmetry of power that has weighed heavily in it. If this seems niggling, it is not: that story effectively heightens the novelty and magnitude of current discontent as it minimizes its political essence and constricts "reasonable" alternatives, no small thing. The editors' other tasks are done well; they summarize, highlight, and connect contributors' arguments to the advantage of each piece and the collective enterprise.

Gunderson and Hyatt have enlisted contributors from the policy's key expertise constituencies — economists, administrators, and lawyers — to join their inquiry. Their studies explore the same ground by two sorts of approaches. Some take the philosophical path, ruminating in a hypothetical-deductive way about how abstracted workers, business, compensation systems, and reforms might act, according to conventional suppositions. Their chapters will be of most interest to readers of similar profession interested in arguing or extending prevailing assumptions. They might debate, for example, Peter Dungan's prediction of the effects of payroll taxation (like workers' compensation levies) on the encompassing economy. Dungan imagines four scenarios of tax increases, concludes that such increases could prompt businesses to put workers out of jobs and reduce production for years, and proposes therefore that

policies shifting the tax directly to workers are economically preferable. Others might argue Donald Dewees' projections of the effects of interposing the insurance business where there is currently unified public provision of workers' compensation, especially in light of Jerry Thomason and John Burton's report elsewhere in the book. Though he cites evidence that seems to suggest otherwise, Dewees deduces from economics beliefs that such business intervention could reduce costs. Debate might also follow John Frank's look at limiting the costs of the "slow-moving epidemic" of lower back pain injury, suggesting that the "economic-oriented strategies of US managed care" could be helpful.

Other authors draw upon analysis of actual workings and effects of workers' compensation in particular provinces and US states for their arguments. Most include Ontario's case, reflecting their proximity to and knowledge of it, the intrinsic interest of its diverse economy and unified public system, and, one suspects, the frequency of recent reform and intensity of current debate there. These experience-based pieces offer the book's keenest insights. Perhaps most striking is the report of Thomason and Burton that contrary to industry charges and economists' beliefs, the unified public provision of compensation in Ontario and British Columbia is more efficient (or conservatively, "at least no more costly") than comparable places' insurance-industry-based systems. By controlling for who is covered, to what extent, and with what provision of medical service and income replacement, they show Ontario's citizenry paying less overhead and distributing more compensation from their tax dollar. In a similar vein, Douglas Hyatt and David Law offer evidence that even after recent cuts to the adequacy of benefit levels, the alternative that some propose of a return to tort litigation would most likely not value injuries any higher than workers' compensation benefit levels in Canada. In a separate article, Law shows that

the rise in litigation in Ontario has been in large part due to a deliberate opening of a previously insulated compensation decision process. Business concern about longer benefit terms and other slight changes in liability have also increased litigation, but to Law it is "most striking how *low*" the rate of appeals remains. Workplace safety and health have also been improved, Boris Kralj concludes, through worker rights to participate in safety decisions and employer experience rating as in Ontario. Kralj regards experience-rating as especially promising, mostly for its consistency with economic theory's beliefs about the power of cost incentives, though the evidence seems ambiguous and he notes that some reduction in injury claims under experience-rating might be the product of re-naming away claims to keep premium rates low. If those studies might question the cries for reform in Ontario, others conclude that workers' compensation will indeed "have to change," as Schainblum and co-authors argue. They present significant changes afoot in work (Morley Gunderson) and injury (Esther Schainblum, Terrence Sullivan, and John Frank), and amplifying the challenges posed by those trends, identify the prospect of extended obligations to current workers "unfunded" by current payments. (Gunderson and Hyatt)

Reform is not inevitable, the authors recognize, and less foregone still, change through reflective reform. This book moves commendably to promote that end. Yet it could do more. Much of the best research here gives cause to probe further, to critically examine the construction of crisis and its sources, as it does to examine the premises, sources, and limits of reform, and of workers' compensation itself. Missing almost entirely from discussion are workers' concerns for sustenance and justice in work that were the genesis of — and critical scholars would argue, were blunted by — workers' compensation. The current focus is instead the cost to employers of that sustenance, justice,

and safety. It has not always been so in Ontario, as the injury-reducing 1980s workers' rights innovations attest. Attention to workers' concerns must be reincorporated, as more recent compensation cutting in Ontario and elsewhere demonstrate. To recover and serve those concerns, what other alternatives within and beyond workers' compensation should Canadians and fellow North Americans explore? Schainblum and colleagues, and Law and Hyatt raise the issue, considering (and rejecting in the first instance) tort liability, strict liability of employers, and comprehensive public health and compensation policy as alternatives. Studies from a critical perspective and from a fuller historical perspective would prod further broadening, suggest further alternatives (and critically, their premises and problems), and enable better and undoubtedly tougher debate. Gunderson and Hyatt have launched a valuable project in *Workers' Compensation* that ought to be carried forward.

Randolph E. Bergstrom
University of California, Santa Barbara

Jean Swanson, *Poor-Bashing: The Politics of Exclusion* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2001)

I MUST ADMIT my bias upfront. Jean Swanson is my hero. There is no one I respect more in the Canadian anti-poverty movement. She has decades of experience spearheading the End Legislated Poverty (ELP) group in British Columbia, which produces the publication *The Long Haul*, to which everyone interested in anti-poverty issues should subscribe. In my opinion ELP is the most strategic anti-poverty organization in the country. When I lived in Vancouver, I was able to see first-hand how effective ELP was at getting its message across to politicians and the public. At demonstrations ELP members would unravel varied lengths of string that clearly illustrated the disparity

between Canada's rich and poor. ELP's office has always been a lively place to visit with many, many enthusiastic volunteers who know intimately the experiences of poverty.

Swanson's work within ELP gained her a national reputation and she was elected president of the National Anti-Poverty Organization. Following her term as NAPO president, she volunteered to continue to work part-time for the organization. NAPO suggested that she write a book that drew upon her experiences at NAPO and this is the result.

If there is but one book about poverty on your shelf to lend to students and family members so they will understand the inequity and injustice of our country — this is the book! This book includes: first-hand accounts of poor-bashing, a historical look at how our treatment of the poor has changed over time, a discourse analysis of how we write about the poor, a keen comparison of how Canada's poor and rich are treated differently, a sound critique of charities (including a checklist for how to give responsibly), proposals for much-needed wealth studies, and an analysis of media accounts of poverty. All of this is written in a very clear manner that provokes the reader to rethink his/her attitudes about Canada's poor. Academically, this book will be extremely useful for undergraduate courses in political science, sociology, history, women's studies, and media studies. And socially, this is a book you can share with your children, parents, neighbours, and friends. You will be well equipped to handle all the liberal and conservative-minded folks in your life.

The personal experiences of poor-bashing are chilling. Swanson talks to people who have been beaten, bruised, and even murdered — simply because they were poor. She recalls how NAPO moved its office after finding graffiti that read "Kill the poor." She tells poignant stories of low-income citizens who are vulnerable and afraid to leave their dwellings because of their experiences of poor

bashing. She reminds us of how the poor internalize this blatant poor-bashing and blame themselves when they can not make ends meet.

Swanson is keenly aware of how discourse about the poor has changed over time. In the 1970s we asked how to end poverty and now we ask how to change the behaviour of the poor, she argues. She cautions us about our use of the words "dependency," "chronic users," "welfare fraud," and she turns these words on their head by associating them with the rich. What about our rich who are "dependent" upon family inheritances? Where are the studies of tax loophole fraud? What should we do about the "wealth trap," which discourages the rich from finding productive employment?

This book also provides a critique of media portrayals of poverty. Swanson is concerned about the rise of "poornography," in which the poor are portrayed as long-term sufferers in order to evoke sympathy. Why cannot the poor be treated as equals, with equal rights to fair treatment? Why cannot the media talk about injustice rather than provide us with more sob stories, asks Swanson.

Swanson also critiques charities. This is a bold move. Few people, even on the left, venture to actively criticize our charitable organizations. Yet these organizations are notoriously undemocratic and rarely accountable to the poor. The majority on their Boards are not low-income citizens. They produce few surveys for their clients to ensure that they are meeting their clients' needs. Instead, charities maintain a power imbalance between the giver and the receiver that is not easily erased. Swanson provides us with a careful checklist of how we can give responsibly to charities.

Finally, Swanson encourages us to look at our own positions of privilege as she casts the same hard lens upon herself. Although she has been poor and poor-bashed, she is very conscious of her middle-class roots. "As a result, I do not think I'm an inherently good person. I

have talked way too much at meetings, thinking that what I had to say was pretty important.... Even I, working in the anti-poverty movement for years, never stopped to think that years of poor-bashing had silenced some people, made them think their thoughts were unworthy," Swanson recalls. (162) It is this insight that altered Swanson's own ways of doing everyday politics. She tries to listen more, assume less leadership. She provides us with a checklist of how we all, too, can attempt to equalize power.

Swanson lives what she writes. When I contacted her a year ago, hoping to give her an honorary university degree, she adamantly declined. "I am only one person — this organization works because of so many people," she said. Even when I tried to convince her that this would help make university students more aware of poverty issues, she refused. Instead, by the end of the conversation, she had me promise to write a piece for *The Long Haul*. This is indicative of Swanson's commitment to abolishing poverty. Through this book and all her everyday actions Swanson makes it clear that we are all guilty by our complacency — we are all part of the problem if we do not actively choose to be part of the solution. One active choice you can make is to buy the book, read it, and pass it along to everyone you know.

Margaret Little
Queen's University

Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)

AS THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK in the University of Toronto Press' very successful gender history series, Adele Perry's attractively presented monograph provides us with a glimpse into the lives of some of the odd "assortment" of individuals who "made" British Columbia during the

years from 1849 to 1871. Drawing on a wide array of primary sources from newspapers and letters to diaries and government reports, and informed by an international post-colonial, feminist, gendered, and Marxist analysis, Perry ably demonstrates how British Columbia as a "colonial project" failed to live up to imperial expectations. The author's efforts are enhanced by her use of poetry and excellent photographic evidence. Placing race, gender, and class at the centre of her discussion, Perry shows just how the dream of a White, orderly, and respectable imperial outpost was shattered by the reality of the colony's rough and ready nature. At the heart of this imagined community was Whiteness. Taking her lead from scholars who have probed the fluidity of racialized boundaries, Perry demonstrates how colonization and immigration worked in tandem in an attempt to create a White colony, while at the same time deliberately marginalizing the majority of the population, the Aboriginal peoples.

There was more than met the eye in colonial British Columbia, and there was certainly more than tea and crumpets. Perry has turned up some remarkable characters who defied the orderly establishment of Victorian propriety. John Butts, the town crier and bell ringer who was charged with participating in same-sex relationships and later deemed a rogue and vagabond, comes to mind, as does the notorious cross-dresser Fanny Clarke, and the once respectable Mills sisters who ran into the streets of Victoria *sans* clothing. Each one of these individuals is carefully scrutinized from the perspectives of gender, class, and race, Perry's organizing tools.

Starting with a detailed description of the homosocial culture of White bachelors in the backwoods, Perry then moves on to consider mixed-race marriages and official attempts to regulate them, and ends with immigration schemes to transport White women from England to the colony. The bachelors' behaviour was

shaped by the rough hard work of gold mining, and the concomitant desire to enjoy their leisure time by drinking, dancing, and occasionally brawling. Forced to run households and do the chores, and sometimes dance together and have intimate relations, manhood took on new dimensions in the backwoods. According to Perry, some men yearned to meet women and start families, while others were on the lam, and still others were comfortable, confirmed bachelors. As one miner of the latter ilk noted, "generally gold diggers are not marrying men. They work, spend their money in drink, and work again." (30) This persistent working-class bachelor culture gave rise to White middle-class angst. So too, especially after 1860, did relationships between settler men and Aboriginal women.

The solutions to both of these "problems" — as some politicians, missionaries and journalists would have described them — varied. Perry notes that for White men the efforts were aimed at the promotion of "a model of bourgeois, metropolitan, manhood." (79) Men were encouraged to join temperance societies and mechanics institutes. Religious missions to White men were established. And, through marriage laws, the pass system, and urban spatial segregation, especially in Victoria, reformers harnessed the full strength of the legal system to divide Aboriginal people from White British Columbians. But, as Perry makes very clear, these efforts failed miserably. British Columbia was most certainly not destined to become a White middle-class man's province. Efforts to remake working-class men into bourgeois gentlemen, or to end mixed-race relations belied a brutal ignorance of the true meaning of colonization, that is cultural hybridity. Influenced by the work of Anne Laura Stoler, Perry argues that because "white and Aboriginal people shared ties, homes, children, and labour," they "challenged colonialism's foundational fiction," that there was a clear boundary between each. (123) There was not. And

that, according to Perry, was precisely what reformers refused to come to terms with.

All else having failed there was still one last hope for the redemption of this wayward colony: White women could save its reputation. They, claims Perry, were the "imperial panacea." (4) White women could tidy up the bachelors and place them on the matrimonial path, relieve the problem of "redundant women" in England while supplying much needed labour in the colony and disrupt mixed-race relations. Great expectations, indeed. Emigration schemes were set afoot and excited crowds greeted upon arrival the women who were willing to leave their countries for promising opportunities abroad. Like the other plans, however, this too, claims Perry, was fraught with disappointment. First off, it became quite clear, based on the popular reaction to middle-class female immigration, that as one writer put it, "bluestockings" were not wanted. More desirable were working-class women who could "rough it." Another argued that domestic servants were needed. The immigration societies were sometimes forced to respond to these criticisms and alter their plans. The Female Middle-Class Emigration Society sent pauper children instead. And, while the movement of women and children provided a moment when, as Antoinette Burton has conceptualized it, "Home" and "Away" were temporarily transcended in a unified cause, the outcome was not anticipated. Instead of middle-class women redeemers, many of the newcomers were independent working-class women who were not concerned with sorting out the unruly bachelors, or disrupting the racially pluralized tradition.

The "Home" and "Away" relationship is undoubtedly an important dimension in understanding how the colony was shaped by newcomers, one that could be further probed. What else did those in England who were interested in the "outer edge of empire" have to say about it? Did

they care to learn of the day-to-day goings-on in Victoria? Were they concerned about mixed-race marriages in London?

That small quibble aside, it strikes me that the strength of this monograph, which started as a dissertation at York University's History Department, is Perry's ability to weave together the popular discourse on racial categorization. Whiteness itself became contested. Were White men who partnered Aboriginal women White or Aboriginal themselves? And, how could middle-class men be placed within the same racial category as the working-class roughnecks in the bush? It is at these junctures, where class and race were conflated, that Perry rigorously highlights the tenuous and fleeting racial categories of late 19th-century British Columbia.

Myra Rutherdale
University of British Columbia

Catherine A. Cavanagh and Randi R. Warne, eds., *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000)

BUILDING ON THE SUCCESS of their interdisciplinary collection of articles on women in Alberta, *Standing on New Ground* (1993), editors Cavanaugh and Warne's most recent publication extends the geographical boundaries of their purview to all of Western Canada. *Telling Tales* brings together eleven contributors, each furnishing a single article; only three of the articles had previously been published. The temporal band of this compilation encompasses the 1880s to roughly the 1940s. The editors' claim to focus on women of both minority and dominant cultures promises a welcome addition to the history of the Canadian West.

The first three articles study the "imperial gaze": colonials' perceptions of Natives. Myra Rutherdale examines the

interplay between approved gendered scripts of masculinity and femininity against the daily demands of the mission field in the Canadian North-West. Using missionary correspondence, letters and memoirs, she convincingly reveals the fluidity of masculine and feminine stereotypes. Missionary wives were to act as role models to Native women, teaching them to adopt imperial women's ways; single missionary women had greater freedom in renegotiating gender roles as necessity required them to do more "men's work" for basic survival. They legitimated their transcendence from prescribed roles through their higher calling — service to Christ. In this way, though they challenged gender expectations, both missionary wives and single female missionaries remained true to their role as agents of the Empire. Sarah Carter's previously published article analyzes shifting representations of Native peoples in Fort McLeod, Alberta, during the early settlement period. Using an eclectic range of sources, Carter demonstrates that racialized and gendered representations of Native women as dissolute and dangerous served to solidify social boundaries and hierarchies and also justified the use of force against indigenous peoples. Nancy Pagh approaches non-Native perceptions of Natives through the accounts of British female tourists. Using two travel diaries from the 1880s and 1890s, and two more from the 1920s and 1930s, she traces the shifts in feminine travel discourse about Native women from condescension to a more ambiguous mix of connection and distance. Once Native women were no longer a threat to the imperial project, she argues, they could be romanticized as a dwindling culture, allowing for a sympathetic portrait, one in which gender connections sometimes overrode race differences. A striking feature of this article is the interesting source material and one hopes for more analyses of such travel diaries.

Although the editors purport to offer a "cross-cultural/multicultural" approach,

these three articles are not about First Nations women; all three consider non-Natives' perceptions of Natives. Native women do not have a voice. We do not learn about Natives' understandings of missionary women, European settlers, or female travellers. Their stories remain untold. This is especially problematic as the editors speak to the multicultural theme as a highlight in this edited collection, even stating in their introduction: "women's history in western Canada predates the arrival of Europeans." Readers who are led to believe from this statement that Aboriginal women will be highlighted in this collection will be disappointed. Indeed, few articles study non-White women.

Three chapters consider change and continuity in the lives of non-White and immigrant women. Sherry Edmunds-Flett contributes a short article on 19th-century African Canadian women on Vancouver Island. The racism this community sought to leave behind in California followed them, and they remained an isolated and vulnerable working-class community, albeit one that was able to build a strong solidarity. This piece deals with an important subject in Canadian history that has remained largely unexplored, but the article is little more than a somewhat haphazard litany of activities and events in the lives of a handful of African Canadians on Vancouver Island. One looks forward to a more comprehensive and cogent analysis on this subject. Frieda Esau Klippenstein's article on Mennonite domestic servants in Winnipeg between the 1920s and 1950s uncovers the complexity of gender, ethnicity, and class relations. Responding to the need of Winnipeg's elite families for domestic servants, immigrant Mennonite farm girls fashioned themselves into domestic workers so as to support their families. Female domestic work was accepted by Mennonites as "mission" work, and thus rendered respectable. Mennonite Girl's Homes were developed in response to the difficulties and abuse some of these

young women experienced. Although these homes were established and run by female Mennonite leaders, male church leaders seized the reins of the refuge homes. In this way, the mission work of Mennonite girls was configured so as to reinforce rather than weaken gender roles. While Klippenstein relies on oral history, Frances Swyripa turns to criminal court records in her study of sex and gender in Alberta's Ukrainian Bloc Settlement between the wars. Previously published in 1995, this is a fascinating study of the complexity of immigrant women's responses to domestic violence and sexual assault, wherein they sometimes invoked the informal traditions of their community, other times welcomed outside intervention, and frequently attempted to manipulate the law to their own ends.

Two articles study well-known elite women. Catherine Cavanaugh presents Irene Parlby as a middle-class British woman who immigrated to Western Canada because it afforded her the opportunity to negotiate the disabilities imposed on her by her sex. Although Parlby came to see herself as a Western Canadian, her public persona of Alberta legislator remained that of "imperial daughter," a civilizing influence in the untamed West. Through her study of Parlby, an atypical woman to be sure, Cavanagh both challenges the construction of British immigrant women as unrelenting advocates of British imperialism and scrutinizes notions of the West as inherently liberating. Cavanagh concludes that British women were both "bound and free as they adapted to their new circumstances in Canada." Gertrude Telford, an Ontarian who migrated to Saskatchewan, was an educated woman of privilege who also confronted both resistance and acceptance in her attempts to locate a position of power for herself in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Ann Leger-Anderson's exploration of Telford's marriage and family life reveals that Gertrude Telford's public ambitions

were thwarted by her own internalized notions of acceptable womanhood, her marriage, and the political culture of the CCF. This study successfully illustrates that even those with relative social privilege, working within an ideologically progressive community, were bound by prevailing gendered and classed scripts.

Two articles contribute to our understanding of women's daily lives. Utilizing women's diaries and memoirs, Sheila McManus considers women's descriptions of their work against the public representation of that work in the women's pages of farm newspapers and the records of the United Farm Women of Alberta in the early 20th century. The conditions of rural life demanded that women expand their labour beyond the private sphere, but this participation was downplayed by the press or altogether ignored. Many women might have entered the masculine space of the fields regularly, but the appropriate division of labour and gender hierarchy was maintained for public perception and record. Using similar sources, Nanci Langford also analyzes the daily lives of women on settlement frontiers in both Alberta and Saskatchewan, sharpening her focus on the experiences of childbirth. Homesteading women faced an isolated, lonely, and rough existence, and birthing was a risky business. In this previously published article, Langford demonstrates that studying pregnancy and childbirth focuses our attention on the social costs of settlement, challenging western myths of heroic individualism and manly triumph over nature.

Despite the editors' commitment to studying "the West" as a singular entity, all ten of the aforementioned articles situate themselves within various locales of Western Canada, and none cross provincial boundaries. A singular Western sensibility fails to materialize. The exception is Beverley Boutilier's political analysis of the role and image of western women in the founding of the Victorian Order of Nurses by the National Council of

Women of Canada. Boutilier demonstrates that national concerns took precedence over regional issues, thus politicizing the attempt to spread medical aid to western women. Boutilier's study suggests the ways in which regional identities divided women and weakened them politically.

There are many positive features to this collection: most of the articles tease out the tensions between the rhetoric and the realities of women's lives; interesting and innovative sources are employed; women's layered and sometimes contradictory identities are unveiled; and women's resistance to oppressive conditions is explored. Yet, as mentioned, the editors disappoint in their attempt to develop a "Western" collection, and their claim to multiculturalism is lean. However, the most serious drawback to this collection is its datedness. A check of the endnotes in the articles reveals that, in all but one article, the most recent reference is to 1994, and several have nothing beyond 1991. Both the editors' introduction and Leger-Anderson's indicate an inclusion of more recent work. Yet the freshness of the introduction is revealed in the endnotes only, as the body of the introduction suggests a limited understanding of some of the current and rich literature in western women's history. One is left with a collection of articles lacking vitality and inspiration. The collection feels stalled, as though the editors searched unsuccessfully for several years for a publisher and, when UBC Press thankfully came on board, the introduction was updated in the most painless, superficial manner, a current article was tacked on, and the original pieces retained. One is left with an earnest, but stale, collection.

Diane Purvey
University College of the Cariboo

Warren M. Elofson, *Cowboys, Gentlemen and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier* (Montréal and

Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000)

FOLLOWING L.G. THOMAS, David Breen, Simon Evans, and others, Warren Elofson continues the strain of Western Canadian historiography on cattle ranching. Unlike most of his predecessors, Elofson stresses the overriding importance of the frontier environment and the American influence on the industry. It is part of an old, old question — how much of what happened is indigenous, how much imported?

Elofson draws a close connection between Montana and Alberta, and he notes that British and Eastern concerns often hired American managers for their herds. Yankee wranglers in Alberta had a savvy bred in their homeland. The thesis is carefully delineated, and the author's gaze is very focused, resulting in an interesting study of just 158 pages of text. The book covers the period from the 1870s to 1914.

By 1884 the cattle industry in Southwestern Alberta was greatly concentrated in the hands of the Big Four companies, and within twenty years all these conglomerates had sold out. The era of the big ranches was short and troubled. As Elofson says, "Ranching in its pure form was uneconomical, and it disappeared almost as suddenly as it started." (157)

Elofson is particularly strong in narrating the horror of bad winters, prairie fires, and cattle stampedes, and his background as a rancher adds a considerable authenticity. His chapter on the evolution of technique, involving the need for planting, stooking, stacking green feed, upgrading herds, grain feeding, fencing, etc., is valuable. His examination of crime is engaging.

Something may be lost, however, in the rigorous focus on just cattle ranching. In the vast promotional literature directed at immigrants in this period, for example, American propaganda claimed that a certain kind of humanity was created in the Midwest and that the developing composite in Canada would be a close kin. There

were too many similarities in usages, traditions, and experience. This pervasive mood — and scene-setting would richly strengthen Elofson's two central claims — of the frontier and Americans greatly influencing ranching. Likewise, just a little more concentration on the farm settlement story would also enhance Elofson's claims for American influence. The truth is that by 1914 Southern Alberta was literally filled with American settlers from Nebraska, Kansas, Idaho, Colorado, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and particularly North and South Dakota. This land settlement phenomenon was very much a part of the Americanization context. It is not just ranching that had a strong American flavor; the entire influx had it.

Perhaps also even a short discussion about sheep ranching as it related to cattle ranching would broaden the study. The animal most adapted to drought, snow cover, and harsh winters was a sheep, not a steer. Across the period Elofson discusses, there were hundreds of thousands of sheep in Southern Alberta. What role did the sheep rancher play in the cattle story? We know that sheep largely displaced cattle in large sectors of the Southeast in the years just after Elofson's 1914 termination, but the process had already begun by then. And it adds considerable strength to Elofson's claim about environmental factors. In fact, the environment was the *key* to the transition.

Elofson's contention that the Canadian frontier was more lawless than we have been led to believe is at least partly made. As he notes, this is not a comparative study of crime on both sides of the border, but that makes drawing conclusions difficult. Much has been made by Breen and others of the fact that there were no range wars in Canada like the ones to the south, a fact that Elofson acknowledges. But one of the strongest reasons for that absence relates to the process of settlement in Alberta that favoured the cattlemen in the beginning, at the same time that settlement was delayed until the American midwest filled along with the

better lands of present-day Saskatchewan. So in Alberta, one did not have as many opportunities for range wars, because one of the antagonists was largely missing — the settler.

Then, just as the cattle industry was hammered in the winter of 1906-07, fell to its weakest, and began a retrenchment, the arid Southeast was opened for settlement, and land rushes there began in 1908. What cattleman would want a range war after winter had killed half or more of his stock? The High River Trading Company, for instance, had pastured 1,200 head on the Red Deer River in autumn 1906, and had only 75 left by spring. (90)

Perhaps the settlement propaganda was right after all — in the struggle between 10,000 steers and a single seed of grain, the seed had won — and all without a fight! Thus the bloodied and bludgeoned cowman probably saw it. And likely the thousands of new sodbusters agreed. So the timing of events and the timing of settlement had a great deal to do with the absence of range wars here.

Cowboys sports a superb cover which is in keeping with the high quality graphic designs now emerging from university presses. At the same time, when time itself seems shorter, the brief, concentrated length of this volume is much appreciated.

David C. Jones
University of Calgary

J.E. Hodgetts, *The Sound of One Voice: Eugene Forsey and His Letters to the Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000)

I HAVE OFTEN WONDERED if Eugene Forsey ever slept. I picture him, late into the night, typing yet one more letter to a friend, a colleague, a prime minister, or an editor. As vast as it is rich, his personal and public correspondence covers a remarkable variety of topics with an even more remarkable intelligence. He once

opened a letter to Donald Creighton with an apology for not having more time to write a proper note but then proceeded to write a four-page treatise. When a publisher suggested that he compile his letters to the press, Forsey responded that he would rather be sentenced to penal servitude. "I couldn't do this job if I lived to be two hundred." (vii) This cautionary tale did not reach J.E. Hodgetts until he was well into precisely that project; if it had, he confesses, he might never have attempted to collect and edit Forsey's letters to the press. Fortunately he did, and the end result is a fun-to-read collection of letters, missives, and epistles.

In his memoirs, *A Life on the Fringe*, Forsey recalls that when he first began to write letters to the newspapers as a McGill undergraduate in the 1930s, both his family and his friends were mortified: "Everybody knows that people who write letters to the papers are crazy!" they told him, "but I persisted." And over the course of the next 6 decades, he would publish something like 800 letters to the editor. But even this, Hodgetts reckons, is a conservative estimate. No one really knows how many letters he wrote. Nor does anyone really know what drove him to fire off letter after letter. Hodgetts speculates that a deep and abiding commitment to participatory democracy and a profound sense of obligation and service compelled Forsey to enter the fray on matters both trivial (the misuse of the apostrophe, for example) and weighty (the Meech Lake Accord consumed Forsey "even as it threatened to overwhelm his frail physique." [16]) Of course, none of this explains Forsey's success: it is one thing to write a letter and quite another to have it printed almost as a matter of course. But Forsey had a unique mind that combined a steel trap — his encyclopedic ability to recall facts and details and quotations was uncanny — with a lively and never mean-spirited sense of humour. Anticipating a correction, journalists opened his letters with caution. "I received your letter yesterday," con-

fessed John Fraser in 1985, "and you will appreciate that I had to wait a full 15 minutes before I could summon up the courage to open it." (34)

Although Forsey wrote letters to nearly every major newspaper in the country, his preferred target was the *Globe and Mail*. According to Hodgetts's best count, it received 375 letters. And although Forsey's interest ranged widely and changed over time, his constitutional expertise inevitably brought him back to the prerogatives of the governor general, the future of the Senate, the role of the judiciary, and the place of Québec in Canada. Hodgetts's decision to arrange Forsey's letters thematically is defensible but ultimately disappointing. If you want Forsey's opinion on the past tense of the verb "to fit," then it is easily enough found in the chapter dealing with his ongoing defence of the English language. But at the end of the day, after reading letters arranged by theme, you do not get a sense of change over time. And that's too bad. Because an understanding of change over time is necessary to a deeper and fuller understanding of Forsey and of the country. For example, Forsey started out a socialist and ended up a Liberal senator. For his part, Frank Underhill founded the League for Social Reconstruction in the 1930s and went on to become Curator of Laurier House in the 1950s. Reading Forsey's letters chronologically might have cast light on what was really part of a larger pattern among members of the Canadian left: their tendency to migrate to the centre over time. Moreover, Hodgetts's running commentary throughout the letters provides useful context but it also distracts. At times I wanted less Hodgetts and more Forsey.

Still, the letters themselves are wonderful. In them Forsey comes alive, ready to do battle with those who would harm the things he loved. At times he is a genial crank, defending in 1976 the British imperial system against the introduction of the much superior metric system.

The foreigners have taken over!
 They've leapt across the Straits of Dover
 And robbed us of our simple pleasures,
 Our good old English weights and measures.
 (102)

At other times he is deadly serious, fully prepared to "vanquish and overcome all his enemies." For example, he consistently and relentlessly attacked the two-nation thesis and its various incarnations, including sovereignty-association, special status, associate state, and distinct society. In one 1967 letter to the *Globe*, Forsey unleashed his pen:

Unless we can get into our fat "English" heads an understanding of the fatal ambiguity of the unqualified phrase "deux nations," and the ease with which a skilled performer can use it to mean, at his convenience, either cultural or sociological "nations" like Scotland, Wales, England, French Canada (and perhaps Brittany?); or political nations like the United Kingdom, France and Canada, we shall be sitting ducks for every separatist, or hemi-demi-semi separatist, in the country. (185)

He was right.

But he was not perfect. As a CCF candidate in the 1940s, Forsey supported the abolition of the Senate. He later changed his mind and accepted an appointment from Trudeau. As he told the *Globe* in 1977, the Senate is essential to provincial representation in Ottawa. "It took me a disgracefully long time to realize this." (135) He should have stuck to his CCF guns. As honest and hard-working as he may have been, the institution itself is the longest running joke in Canadian history and every Senator the punch line. Home to rejects, retreads, and has-beens, it is a house of ill-repute and, when all is said and done, an embarrassment to the very democracy that Forsey valued.

The Sound of One Voice marks only the beginning. There will be more collections of Forseyana because, as I said earlier, I do not think the man ever slept.

Donald Wright
 Brock University

Albert Moritz and Theresa Moritz, *The World's Most Dangerous Woman: A New Biography of Emma Goldman* (Vancouver: Subway Books, 2001)

PERHAPS THE MOST NOTORIOUS anarchist in North America, a mere echo of the name Emma Goldman (1869-1940) was at one time enough to provoke fear and condemnation from sectors of the capitalist and élite establishment. It was also the cause of acute consternation and vigorous denunciation from various socialist and communist organizations. "Red Emma," as she was sometimes known, was thought to be "the most dangerous woman in America." She was schooled in the anarchist-communist philosophy of the Russian-born Peter Kropotkin and in the street-corner labour-hall agitation of the late 19th century. She was a free-love advocate, champion of birth control, supporter of libertarian education, defender of political prisoners, and "enemy of all government."

Biographically, Goldman is commonly portrayed as possessing a militant self-assurance, indefatigable endurance, unfaltering enthusiasm, and boundless dedication to her cause: nothing less than "total human emancipation." By many accounts she possessed these traits in abundance, but in a letter dated 5 January 1935 she wrote from her residence in Toronto to her comrade Alexander Berkman: "Fact is dearest, we are fools. We cling to an ideal nobody wants or cares about. And I am the greater fool of the two of us. I go eating my heart out and poisoning every moment of my life in the attempt to rouse people's sensibilities. At least if I could do it with closed eyes. The irony is I see the futility of my efforts and yet I can't let go."

If previous biographies have generally downplayed such moments of

self-doubt and disillusionment, they have also paid scant attention to Goldman's activities and three extended periods of residence in Canada. According to Moritz and Moritz, this neglect can be partially explained by previous biographers' Americentric emphasis and reliance on her 1931 autobiography. The later years of her life were thereby neglected. This new portrait is in part an attempt to correct these deficiencies. It treats her experience in Canada as constituting a central and unique period of her career deserving greater elucidation. It also situates these later years within the context of her entire life. Previously ignored private papers both in Europe and the US, as well as a wealth of unknown or undervalued Canadian resources, were utilized in the research prepared for this book. The result is an illuminating and well-documented new study that clearly focuses on the multiple concerns and activities of an aging Emma Goldman against the backdrop of the small Canadian anarchist milieu.

There are two distinct phases of Emma Goldman's activities in Canada. The first spans the years 1906-1908 when she made several incursions into the "northern monarchy" on lecture and fund-raising tours for her journal *Mother Earth*. Destinations over the three years included Toronto, Montréal, Winnipeg, Calgary, London, and Vancouver. Upon the invitation of various radical clubs and labour associations she spoke largely to working people on such topics as: misconceptions of anarchism, the revolutionary influence of modern drama, women's emancipation, direct action vs. legislation, crimes of parents and educators, the position of Jews in Russia, and trade unionism's relation to anarchism. She found willing audiences deeply concerned with the Social Question. The Canadian authorities seemed to be more tolerant than their American counterparts and the press coverage of her engagements seemed relatively balanced.

The second phase includes the three periods that Emma Goldman resided in

Canada: from 15 October 1926 to 20 February 1928, from 10 December 1933 to 3 May 1935, and from 19 April 1939 to 14 May 1940, when she died after experiencing a paralyzing stroke. Moritz and Moritz demonstrate that wherever in the world Emma Goldman lived and worked she attempted to involve herself in local affairs and local organization. Canada was no exception. She was intimate with anarchists and radicals in Montréal and especially Toronto where she lived. She worked on local and international campaigns, lectured extensively, and wrote. But her Canadian years also saw Goldman confronting many deeply personal and political issues attendant with aging. In this period more than any other the maturing Goldman was dealing with such personal issues as growing older and being past her peak of influence. She was feeling the need for personal and monetary security. Her idealism was sometimes diminishing and the incremental gains that might be made through compromise with authority were becoming more palatable. She was increasingly inclined to work within, or at least use, the system for her and her comrades' advantage. She was also witness to the waning influence and importance of anarchism in the labour and radical movements that occurred after the Russian Revolution. Most difficult was that defections from anarchism included some of her closest associates. Her anti-authoritarian opposition to state communism was unpopular and contentious in labour/radical circles. Despite these difficulties, however, she struggled in the name of her cause until her death. This period of Goldman's life is portrayed in a particularly human way that is at times both joyful and tragic.

As well as further developing the biographical account of Emma Goldman, this new volume is also an important contribution to the history of anarchism in Canada. There is very little scholarly historical work on anarchism and anarchists in this country and no full-length historical studies yet exist. Although it never at-

tained the important position it had elsewhere, anarchism did exert some influence on Canadian labour and cultural organizations before World War II. The history of anarchism deserves greater attention from Canadian working-class and radical historians. This new biography makes a significant contribution to this nascent project and opens up intriguing possibilities for further elaboration.

Marc Bernhard
University of Guelph

Bruce Nelson, *Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001)

BRUCE NELSON'S LATEST BOOK examines labour relations among longshoremen in New York, Los Angeles, and New Orleans, and steelworkers in upstate New York and Ohio between 1850 and 1980. On these waterfronts and shop floors, Nelson finds intransigent employment hierarchies based on race and ethnicity. Struggles against discrimination have put cracks in the foundations of this inequality: work stoppages, emancipation from slavery, constitutional amendments, community building, legal challenges, and protest. Yet, by 1980, White industrial workers continued to enjoy greater access to skilled jobs that brought higher wages, benefits, and increased job stability, while Black workers were most often relegated to low-paying, unskilled occupations. In *Divided We Stand* Nelson asks: How did such labour relations develop among longshoremen and steelworkers? And, more importantly, why did they persist despite the New Deal, the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and the Civil Rights Movement?

Joining many of the New Labour historians, Nelson explores the role of both race and class in establishing worker identities and in perpetuating occupa-

tional hierarchies. Drawing on the scholarship of historians such as David Roediger and Robin Kelley, Nelson contends that the Irish "became white" by distinguishing themselves from those who were not White. As longshoremen and steelworkers, they cemented their White status by excluding Black and new immigrants from skilled occupations or positions in management. As a result, racial and ethnic employment hierarchies formed in which Mexicans and new immigrants occupied positions of liminality, gaining and losing material benefits in particular contexts. Black labourers did not enjoy occupational mobility. They were either excluded or relegated to subordinate positions in the workplace. Unions whitened the Irish as well. On the waterfront and shop floor, locals of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the United Steel Workers of America wrote Whites-only clauses into their constitutions, levied inflated membership fees, or relegated Blacks to separate and subordinate organizations. By emphasizing the active role of the White working class in this process Nelson distinguishes himself from those labour historians whom he claims overemphasize the role of capital in undermining cross-class alliances and perpetuating racial and ethnic hierarchies.

Particularly significant is Nelson's ability to uncover the machinations of racially and ethnically stratified workplaces. Using oral histories, newspapers, correspondence, and union records, Nelson provides substantial empirical research to support his claims about the centrality of working-class agency. First, Nelson recreates life on the docks. For longshoremen, the hardships of the waterfront barely outweighed the benefits. Long hours, low wages, and limited job security ensured that considerable power rested in the hands of the employer. Early in the 1800s, The Longshoremen's United Benevolent Society, operating much like a trade union, encouraged cross-ethnic solidarity among

dockworkers. Strikes in 1825 and 1828, involving all longshoremen, Black and White, challenged the control of management. Despite this early solidarity, by the 1870s the Irish enjoyed control of both the Benevolent Society and the most lucrative docks.

The competition between the ILA and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) for control of America's waterfronts reveals how working-class agency shaped union viability. The American Federation of Labour (AFL)-affiliated ILA emerged in the late 19th century. It advocated "separate but equal unionism." (48) The communist-led ILWU arose in 1937 and challenged the ILA with its policy of racial egalitarianism. When the unions vied for control over certain waterfronts their policy on race often determined their success. In New Orleans in 1938, the inability of the ILWU to appeal to both Black workers and the White rank-and-file ensured the victory of a more conservative ILA. For Blacks in New Orleans, community cohesion offered greater solidarity than the class alliances promoted by the ILWU. Moreover, White longshoremen were not interested in the progressive policies of the ILWU. Until mechanization reduced the size of the labour force in the 1960s, unions like the ILWU proved ineffective in challenging White dominance.

In the highly stratified steel industry of upstate New York and Ohio, Nelson finds further evidence of the role of White working-class agency in perpetuating racial inequality. Archie Nelson, a steelworker from the Mahoning Valley, perhaps sums it up best when he states: "Every job I saw that was a decent job, it was held by whites. And all the greasy, nasty, cheap jobs was held by blacks." (xix) In a fascinating discussion of the open hearth at Brier Hill and Youngstown, Nelson underscores the "intractability of a shop-floor culture that was hostile to racial equality." (259) Work on the open hearth required training in blacksmithing and metallurgy. Proud of their physical

prowess and skill, White workers vehemently protected the racial homogeneity of their workplace. The promotion of a Black steelworker often resulted in White workers loading the furnaces with enough dolomite to make the temperature unbearable.

Certainly, the emergence of the CIO in the mid-1930s with its integrationist policies offered great promise for racial equality in steel. Indeed, there were moments of solidarity that destabilized racial hierarchies: the Pittsburgh steel strike of 1937, the leadership of Theo Wallace, and the activism of Jim Davis and Oliver Montgomery. But, as Nelson demonstrates, White working-class agency prevailed in both the CIO and AFL-CIO eras. Irreconcilable tensions emerged between the objectives of union leadership and the White rank-and-file membership. Much like the ILWU, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, a CIO affiliate, advocated "absolute racial equality in Union membership." (185) Unfortunately, even if Black steelworkers could "take the heat" (261) of the open hearth, the racial hierarchy of the steel industry ensured that White rank-and-file intransigence in the form of violence or wildcat strikes stalled the implementation of this laudable policy. Management had no interest in losing their skilled workers and, thus, would meet the demands of the strikers.

It is ironic that within Nelson's impressive analysis of the waterfront and the open hearth also lie my primary concerns with the book. Unfortunately, given the oral histories Nelson begins his book by describing, *Divided We Stand* does not consider the Black community. As Kim Phillip's *Alabama North* demonstrates, homes, churches, and neighborhoods provided essential networks for support and activism among Black workers. As unprecedented numbers of Black voters turned to the Democratic Party during the 1930s many also became staunch supporters of the CIO. The scholarship of Rick Halpern and Mike Honey empha-

sizes how Black industrial workers have successfully used the infrastructure of unions to challenge workplace inequality. Greater attention to the Black community might have explained uneven support for the CIO among Black industrial workers. Moreover, it might have underscored the sources of solidarity available to Blacks as they struggled to overcome White working-class agency.

Despite these criticisms, *Divided We Stand* is an important contribution to American working-class history. Complementing the scholarship of Eric Arnesen and Judith Stein, it advances our understanding of the role of White working-class agency in perpetuating occupational hierarchies. By shedding light on the tension between management and workers, union leadership and membership, Nelson demonstrates that meaningful change must happen through both union policy and the activities of workers on the shop floor.

Katrina Srigley
University of Toronto

Brian Kelly, *Race, Class, and Power in the Alabama Coalfields, 1908-1921* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001)

ALTERNATIVELY ATTACKING and defending Herbert Gutman's 1968 article, "The Negro in the United Mine Workers of America," a seemingly endless flow of scholars continue to debate the relative importance of White workers' support for and Black workers' resistance to the Jim Crow system. As Brian Kelly points out in this important intervention, opposing sides of the "Gutman-Hill Debate" are both compatible and true. Neither position pays significant attention, however, to the extent to which "the terms upon which Black and White workers came together in the early 20th-century South were set by White élites." (205) Whereas previous scholars have examined the dy-

namics that built or limited interracial cooperation during periods of union strength, Kelly directs our attention to a much more typical period of defeat. He reminds readers that even when unionists challenged the social order established by employers they did so sporadically and always from a defensive position.

This intervention relies on a well-researched investigation of the labor policies employed by Alabama's leading mining firms between the interracial UMW strikes of 1908 and 1920. After devastating the UMW in 1908, employers struggled to attract reliable workers without conceding wage standards and working conditions that may have attracted miners on their own initiative. They addressed this "Operator's Dilemma" by offering modest welfare programs such as housing and healthcare to skilled White workers and through a system of "Racial Paternalism," which combined minimal incentives to attract Black migrants from plantation regions, forced labour through convict leasing, and the cultivation of what NAACP officials described in 1914 as an "utterly Booker T. Washingtonized" Black professional class. (99) While employers convinced themselves that their social policies satisfied both Black and White workers, Kelly argues that their success depended upon a plantation system that provided a steady supply of impoverished Black workers and upon the Alabama Coal Operators Association and the Democratic Party that successfully excluded both White and Black workers from unions or meaningful political participation.

The chimerical quality of employers' paternalism became clear during World War I, Kelly argues, when labor shortage, economic growth, and increased federal labour regulation conspired to tip the "balance of power" in the coalfields toward a small, typically insignificant, tradition of anti-élite militancy that had survived in northern Alabama since before the Civil War. (133) Yeoman farmers had turned the region into a hotbed of dissent

against the Confederacy, and their descendents in the Greenback-Labor Party, the Knights of Labor, and eventually the UMW continued to poke holes in Redeemer and New South advocates' argument that White supremacy benefited all Whites equally: "It is all bosh when it comes to employing labor," one union official remarked after the Redeemers helped crush the 1908 strike. (120) In response to Herbert Hill's charge that Gutman ignored White working-class racism, Kelly points out that in the context of such limited options, "what seems remarkable is not so much the level of animosity between Black and White miners as their ability, through the experience of interracial cooperation, to begin to question certain fundamental aspects of southern racial protocol." (121) To those who would romanticize either Black or White workers' ability to sustain such a challenge, he reminds readers how quickly managers removed their twin masks of White supremacy and racial paternalism, providing miners once again with a choice between interracial cooperation and submission to an employer-dominated society. Using the combination of legal force and mob rule perfected during Redemption, the mining firms sealed off the possibility of the former. "You are between the devil and the deep blue sea," UMW organizer Van Bittner observed with only a touch of hyperbole in 1921, "if you don't keep the union here you are going to starve to death." (199)

Like much of the literature on interracial unionism, Kelly's study focuses narrowly on workplace politics. The emphasis on working-class impotence may excuse him from providing more social history of the miners, but his argument raises unanswered questions about the process through which White and Black élites forged their class relationships outside of the point of production. He claims that the "main fault line among" Birmingham-area mining firms ran between "Progressives" who invested in welfare capi-

talism and those who one employers' journal described as being "without ideals and apparently without shame." (61) The rest of the chapter demonstrates, however, that this distinction grew primarily from lack of resources and was in fact a thin veneer over the quest for profit that united all employers. What, then, is the significance of employers' ideology? Was the Progressives' ability to set the tone in Birmingham simply a factor of economic might, or did they win a battle for hegemony? Answers to these questions would have required a much wider reading of Birmingham's élite press and perhaps an examination of social and political institutions that might have forged class consciousness and served as battlegrounds for competing sections of the city's ruling class.

These questions become even more compelling at the state level. Governor Braxton Bragg Comer plays a central role in this story, but Kelly implies that mine owners enjoyed his support automatically and unconditionally. Were there no instances in which Comer, who owned a textile mill and a cotton plantation, perceived a conflict of interest with those involved in coal? How was the history of the UMW shaped by classic questions of New South historiography concerning the relationship between industrialists and the Black Belt élite? Like southern textile and lumber firms, coal companies were typically family-owned and under-capitalized. Did competition among them and with other industries not shape the development of labour relations in the region? Kelly's vague comparison between mining and other New South industries points toward the need for more expansive social and political studies in the tradition of C. Vann Woodward, Jon Wiener, and Barrington Moore.

Kelly is similarly dismissive of ideological or social divisions within Birmingham's Black middle class. We read that racial paternalism "enjoyed a unique advantage in the unmatched hegemony of Booker T. Washington's accommodationist

outlook among the district's most prominent 'race leaders.'" (98) In the same chapter however we see firm evidence that Black institutions such as churches and fraternal lodges often bridged class divisions within Birmingham's Black communities and were therefore "ambiguous" in their allegiance to employers as opposed to the UMW. Kelly makes a sound argument that Black professionals and shop owners found some benefits in segregation, and he points out that leaders of Birmingham's Republican Club and Alabama's state weekly maintained close ties to Washington's Tuskegee Institute. That does not explain, however, how these individuals overcame the ideological tensions that wracked the National Association of Colored Women, the Black Baptist Convention, and other élite-led institutions during the same period. The wartime labour conflicts that destroyed racial paternalism in 1919 also produced Birmingham's chapter of the NAACP, an organization that Kelly describes throughout his study as a more radical road-not-taken by Birmingham's Black élite. Why did this alternative emerge when it did, and why did the NAACP become the voice of accommodation in Robin D.G. Kelley's study of Birmingham in the 1920s and 1930s? Such ambiguities underlie the analytical problems produced by what Kelly describes as the "blurring [of] class distinctions in the black community." His biographical note promises a forthcoming study of "black elites and the labor question in the Jim Crow South." I imagine that he will arrive at more nuanced, and perhaps revised, conclusions.

William P. Jones
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Robert J. Steinfeld, *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

ROBERT J. STEINFELD's earlier book, *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350-1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) compared British and American labour law up to the late 19th century. Steinfeld argued that free labour (where employers could not compel performance or imprison workers for leaving their labour contracts) only achieved preeminence in the 1800s. In his new book, *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor*, Steinfeld returns to the comparative history of the enforcement of wage labour contracts in Britain and the United States of America in the 19th century. Instead of studying the emergence of free labour, Steinfeld turns to the persistence of unfree labour. He concludes that free and unfree labour are but part of a continuum. Free labour is not inherent to the free market; on the contrary, employers and lawmakers have been quite willing, even eager, to perpetuate unfreedom in labour contracts. The development and definition of free labour was contingent on regional and national politics, ideas, and economies.

It is hardly surprising to historians to learn that free and unfree labour are not absolutes, or that the development of labour law is contingent. Nonetheless, Steinfeld does offer useful insight into labour law history and contemporary rhetoric. He draws attention to the conflicts between legislatures and courts in the development of labour law regimes on both sides of the Anglo-Atlantic. Steinfeld shows more concern for master and servant law, and takes his story later for both sides of the Atlantic than he did in the earlier book. He also shows that contemporary economic and legal thought that assumes a congruence between free labour and free markets is misguided both in theory and in historical experience.

The volume opens with a theoretical introduction, laying out the core propositions that free and unfree labour exist on a

continuum, and the move from one to the other is not necessarily tied to the rise of the market economy. The essential difference between free and unfree labour, as the traditional narrative has it, is that unfree labour is labour that can be compelled with the force of law. Thus, where workers can be imprisoned for not completing a contract or compelled by court order to complete a contract they are unfree. Here and throughout the book, Steinfeld questions this definition. At what point do workers have a choice to leave employment? Posed first as a question of definition here, Steinfeld returns to the question frequently to critique the ways in which judges, legislators, and lawyers conceptualized free choice.

The substantive part of the book opens with a brief discussion of the law of contract labour from abroad in the US after 1830. He argues that contract labour in the mid- to late-19th century US was free labour, despite the long terms and the ability of employers to sell outstanding contracts to other employers. The “freedom” here was the absence of non-pecuniary remedies for breach of contract. Employers could not ask the courts to compel performance of a contract or to imprison an employee for breach.

The largest portion of the book (more than two thirds) is dedicated to a discussion of master and servant law in Britain in the mid-19th century. According to Steinfeld, in the standard narrative of labour law Britain should be the paradigmatic example of free labour as free-market capitalism developed there first. To the contrary, he argues, the persistence or even reinvigoration of master and servant laws in the 19th century meant that for much of the time labour was unfree. Labourers could be, and were, routinely imprisoned for contract breaches or compelled to perform their contracts. Steinfeld discusses the common law extension of the Master and Servant Act over different forms of contract, changes in the form of employment con-

tracts that came to limit the application of the act, and finally the struggle over changing the act itself in the third quarter of the 19th century. The section concludes with a brief comparison of the British master and servant rules to similar rules in Europe and Canada.

In the third section, Steinfeld returns to look at the US. Now he focuses on Antebellum and Gilded Age contract enforcement mechanisms. A variety of different methods were attempted throughout the US. Steinfeld tracks the restrictions on non-pecuniary enforcement in the North and West beginning in the early 19th century, and throughout the whole of the US in the decades following the Civil War. At the same time he traces the rise and demise of various pecuniary mechanisms, such as wage forfeiture, that were used in the place of the pecuniary sanctions found in Great Britain.

Employers in both England and the US used the laws available to them to enforce contracts when they needed labour and to end contracts when labour was in less demand. Thus, he undermines any assertion that nominally “free” labour is essential for capitalist production. On the contrary, he argues that often even “free” labour systems such as existed in the US could compel workers so long as they could not afford the costs of the pecuniary remedies available to employers.

The research for the book is composed of reported cases, government printed papers, and secondary materials, a standard method for legal historians. This does open up vistas into the public reasoning of legislators, judges, and at times workers and employers. It also limits how much can be understood about what is going on on the ground, as workers and employers confront one another, and use, or threaten to use, the law. Greater research into who brought cases forward, the decisions made by lawyers to frame cases in particular ways, and the local impact of decisions could offer greater depth to the analysis. Steinfeld cautions against assuming day-to-day

practice from his study, a caution with which I agree. Christopher Frank's York University dissertation on mid-19th century British labour law shows how frequently workers' law suits turned not on the substantive law that Steinfeld discusses, but on questions of procedure.

Focusing on the persistence of unfree labour in employment law undermines a great deal of economic and legal theory about labour. Readers interested in grasping the development of labour law and the ideas and economies in which it was entwined will find this volume of great use. However difficult it is for historians to read out practice from the law Steinfeld discusses, his work offers an important analysis of 19th century labour law.

James Muir
York University

David Bernstein, *Only One Place of Redress: African Americans, Labor Regulations, and the Courts From Reconstruction to the New Deal* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001)

ONLY ONE PLACE of Redress represents a largely futile effort to breathe life into the pre-New Deal *laissez-faire* jurisprudence that at one time threw the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment around liberty of contract. Thrown into disrepute by liberal legal scholars, and embodied in the infamous *Lochner v. New York* (1905) US Supreme Court decision invalidating a shorter hours law for bakers, absolutist free market constitutional interpretation at one time thwarted much government regulation of the economic sphere. Combining legal history of workplace regulation with civil rights history, Bernstein argues that "facially neutral occupational regulations passed between the 1870s and the 1930s harmed African American workers."⁽⁵⁾ In an effort to rehabilitate what he calls the "Lochnerian jurisprudence"⁽²⁾ that posed an alternative to the expansion of the regulatory state between

1905 and 1937, Bernstein suggests that when applied by some courts, the free market principles embedded in Lochnerism "protected African Americans" ⁽⁷⁾ against discriminatory treatment.

In five succinct chapters derived from his law review articles, Bernstein examines several legal restrictions on the US labour market, not all of them comparable in origins or impact. These include southern emigrant agent laws restricting intra-state labour recruitment, occupational licensing, a 1931 prevailing-wage law in public works construction projects (the Davis-Bacon Act), the Railway Labor Act (RLA) of 1926 and 1934, and subsequent New Deal labour legislation, both of which conferred sole collective bargaining rights on unions and minimum-wage laws.

None of this quite adds up to a defense of the philosophy embodied in *Lochner*. Bernstein treats the emigrant agent laws, designed to inhibit labour recruitment and out-migration from the South by rural Black workers, as "an excellent example of how Lochnerian jurisprudence, when applied, aided African Americans," ⁽²⁷⁾ even though these laws usually survived judicial scrutiny. This is confusing, since Bernstein does nothing to demonstrate his counterfactual view that if the Supreme Court had, in fact, actually rejected the "government regulation" ⁽²⁷⁾ embodied in these laws, that Blacks would have benefitted from the ensuing free market in labour. Racism and coerced labour would hardly have vanished from the Southern labour market in the absence of emigrant agent laws. These laws derived from a coercive system of labour linked to White supremacy, not Progressive-era efforts to reform the American workplace, like the hours and wages laws Bernstein also decries.

Another example of discriminatory labour market regulation is occupational licensing laws that "allowed racist white unions and professional organizations" ⁽³¹⁾ to exclude Blacks from such fields as

plumbing, barbering, and medicine. Unlike emigrant agent laws, licensing laws were not designed to restrict Black labour, Bernstein claims, but eventually became part of the arsenal of weapons used by skilled craftsmen to exclude Blacks from certain trades. Presumably, however, Bernstein would oppose current legal remedies to this history of discrimination, such as set-aside minority contracts or affirmative action in medical school admissions, as an equally unjust regulation of the marketplace.

As for discrimination against Black railroad workers, perhaps his most compelling example, Bernstein is quite correct to insist that the 1934 Amendment to the RLA, granting exclusive bargaining rights to racially exclusive railroad craft unions, had "disastrous results for African Americans" (64) in the railroad industry. Yet again, by shoehorning his analysis of this policy into "the abandonment of Lochnerian jurisprudence," (65) Bernstein conveniently disregards the fact that the legal challenge to the RLA mounted by noted civil rights attorney Charles Hamilton Houston rested on *extending* government power to protect Blacks, not a restoration of liberty of contract jurisprudence. Houston found some success in the 1940s because the post-New Deal Supreme Court to which he appealed proved sympathetic to his civil rights argument, as Eric Arnesen has shown in his fine *Brotherhoods of Color*.

Most puzzling of all is Bernstein's argument that Lochnerian jurisprudence used liberty-of-contract interpretations to protect the rights of Black workers prior to the New Deal. After all, even between 1905 and 1937, as he shows, federal courts usually *upheld* economic regulations that had a negative impact on Blacks, the precedent of *Lochner* notwithstanding. Clearly, the right of contract proved a weak barrier to White supremacy — making the courts a peculiar place of redress for Blacks. It was only *after* the New Deal revolution in constitutional law vastly enhanced the

reach of federal regulatory power, through an expansive reading of the Constitution's commerce clause (allowing Congress to regulate interstate commerce), that Blacks found much protection from the courts. If anything, the sanctity of contract worked against Black workers, as the long struggle to enforce the peonage statutes and the Thirteenth Amendment's bar on involuntary servitude might have suggested, had Bernstein bothered to consider it. Not until 1942, in *Taylor v. Georgia*, did the Supreme Court once and for all declare criminal sanctions for employer violations of labour contracts illegitimate.

In his haste to declare all economic regulation of the employment relation the fruit of special interest legislation, Bernstein even declares a state law restricting women's laundry work to 10 hours, upheld in *Muller v. Oregon*, "legislation that was intended to protect male workers from female competitors." (120) Of course, few if any men were employed in laundry work at the time, and women themselves sought the law. The book is shot through with just this sort of distorted special pleading. Bernstein complains that New Deal labour legislation harmed Black workers (hardly a novel insight), but relegates to a footnote the fact that the Southern congressmen most adamantly opposed to economic regulation were the ones who insisted that agricultural and domestic workers remain uncovered by these laws. And in condemning court rulings upholding the right to organize and the minimum wage, Bernstein rejects the notion that post-Lochnerian jurisprudence set the stage for the legal revolution in civil rights, by enhancing federal power at the expense of the states and the market. Instead, he attributes post-World War II civil rights rulings to "the dramatic turn from racism among the legal and intellectual elite," (108) ignoring their constitutional basis in the narrowing of states' rights and the expansion of the commerce clause.

Fundamentally, *Only One Place of Redress* demonstrates one thing while arguing quite another. To show that regulatory labour law had a negative impact on Blacks, and even had racist underpinnings, hardly validates the counterproposition that Black workers would have benefited from a *laissez-faire* regime. Bernstein concludes that “Lochnerian jurisprudence, had it survived the New Deal, could have been a potent weapon against segregation laws.” (108) This is pure speculation. The shocking thing about Bernstein’s book is its pervasive, and offensive, disingenuousness. In the guise of writing a piece of legal scholarship sympathetic to the just claims of Black workers to equal footing in the labour market, he has produced little more than a legal brief, sponsored by the right-wing Olin Foundation (as he acknowledges), for a radical dismantling of the regulatory state. Clarence Thomas might approve of this approach to legal history, but the architects of the Civil Rights revolution in constitutional law in whose name Bernstein presumes to speak — Charles Hamilton Houston and Thurgood Marshall among them — advocates as they were of the expansion of an interventionist federal state to protect Black rights, would roll over in their graves.

Alex Lichtenstein
Rice University, Houston

Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

GARY GERSTLE’s *American Crucible* is a fine and accessibly written study of race and nationalism in the United States after 1890. I hope readers will not begin by reading its back cover, however, where endorsers could raise their expectations to unrealistically high levels. Gerstle’s intention was to write a work of synthesis,

and he fully acknowledges his many debts to those whose ideas he has borrowed and, in some important ways, transformed. His book can be recommended to students and to specialists alike and can be read with considerable pleasure for its many insights. But can a work of synthesis ever provide the bold, original, imaginative, provocative, and rare interpretations that Gerstle’s endorsers promise readers?

Civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism are well-worn terms in the US; we teach them every semester to beginning students in our western civilization and world history courses. They are terms familiar to most Americanists, too, and have become the foundation for extensive, if sometimes specialized, literatures on nationalism, race, and ethnicity. That Americans in the US have long prided themselves on their “American Creed” of inclusion and equality — civic nationalism — is no new insight. For twenty years and more, specialists on African Americans have also argued that the White Americans extolling civic nationalism — whether in the 1790s or the 1890s — were also simultaneously, and consciously, excluding from the American nation those with darker skins.

Rather than confirm the historical predominance of ethnic or civic nationalism, Gerstle’s main contribution to this literature — and it is a major one — is his examination of the ever-shifting tensions and connections between civic nationalism and a variant of ethnic nationalism that he calls racial nationalism. Gerstle most effectively explores racial nationalism, and its tension with civic nationalism, in the lives of the great men and the great thinkers who provided political and intellectual leadership for the US in the 20th century. Thus, rather than bring the history of politics and the state into social and cultural historical analysis, Gerstle instead imports the insights of social and cultural historians into analysis of the state and the history of the country’s governing élite. Especially in the first four

chapters of the book, we watch the interplay of conflicting national ideals in the lives of Theodore Roosevelt, American legislators, leaders of political movements, and Franklin Roosevelt. In these chapters, readers will gain a much clearer understanding of the apparent anomaly of advocates of the American creed tolerating, and in some cases, extending, exclusion based on skin color in a wide variety of policies regulating immigration, schooling, labour, and military service.

As a synthesizer, Gerstle also draws on the scholarship of cultural and social historians of labour, immigration, and African Americans. And he adds some original analysis of national themes in selected Hollywood films, mainly dealing with combat, as well. In his account, the US labour movement appears as an active participant in linking race and nation through the 1930s and 1940s. As one would expect from a scholar who has focused on working-class Americanism in the middle years of the century, Gerstle's account of the emergence of what he rather inelegantly calls the "Rooseveltian nation" is a useful analysis of the interaction of class, racial, and national concerns. Thereafter, however, the labour movement slips from view in his account, perhaps because it no longer represents the excluded as it had in earlier decades. It is largely replaced in Gerstle's portrait of the postwar era by the Civil Rights Movement. It was activists in this movement who focused the nation's attention on those contradictions of racial exclusion and civic nationalism that had survived in New Deal liberalism.

Finally, Gerstle's most original contribution to the existing literatures on race and nationalism is undoubtedly the importance he attributes to wars — hot and cold — and to international conflicts in sustaining, transforming, and finally reversing the racially exclusive trajectory of American nation-building. Most historians of the 20th century already understand the significance of the integration of the US military in the years just after World War II, but Gerstle succeeds in

placing that important policy change in broader perspective by beginning his book with careful attention to the racial dynamics of Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders and by extending his analysis of race and nation to the Cold War Army of volunteers and of draftees later sent to Vietnam. Ironically, according to Gerstle, the Vietnam War left many Americans unwilling to embrace civic nationalism wholeheartedly even as the country abandoned racial discrimination after 1965. His analysis of this controversial war, that pitted White Americans against Asian combatants, is key to both his critique of multiculturalism and his pessimism about reviving civic nationalism by freeing it from its long association with racial exclusion. Gerstle's final chapter and epilogue, where he discusses these issues, will surely provoke debate among specialists and students alike.

Having joined many others in offering high praise to *American Crucible*, let me also, however, note several reservations about it. A scholar as intent as Gerstle on tracing the evolving linkages of racial and civic nationalism certainly should have alerted his readers to the significance of the periodization he chose for his book. Why does his history of the 20th century begin in 1890? As important as it was to the beginning of the US ascent to international power in that decade, ideas about and policies toward racial exclusion had arguably gone through earlier, and potentially more wrenching, transformations with the emancipation of slaves, the reconstruction of the nation, and the publications of Charles Darwin a few decades earlier. Sometimes, too, Gerstle's common-sense usage of terms proves confusing. He assumes too readily that readers grasp his own vision of the complex relationships among nation, nation-building, nationalism, and national identity. Yet theoreticians have often differed sharply among themselves in analyzing those linkages and most readers would benefit from more guidance. Observers have long disagreed over whether

Americans even constitute a nation — let alone a “Rooseveltian” one. And what Gerstle calls “racial nationalism” seems sometimes an attribute of the nation or a dimension of national individual identity rather than an evolving political ideology comparable to liberalism or civic nationalism.

Finally Gerstle himself acknowledges in a footnote that his decision to explore racial nationalism rather than Rogers M. Smith’s “ascriptive Americanism” (fn 8, 377) limited his ability to treat nationalism as a gendered concept. His attention to warfare, combat, and international conflicts as important forgers of nations is welcome, for it portrays men as gendered beings. Still, it also leaves readers with few clues as to how women found (or failed to find) inclusion in the nation. I would note further that by substituting “racial nationalism” for the more commonly used “ethnic nationalism” Gerstle foreclosed fruitful avenues of cultural analysis that would have reinforced his critique of multiculturalism. Civic nationalism is only one of a number of cultural values that are broadly enough shared by Americans, of all races, to distinguish them as a nation from Canadians, Mexicans, or Europeans. Among these other values are an intense commitment to individualism, an attachment to the English language, and expectations of religious faith (and expressions of religious fervor) that makes atheists — not Blacks, Jews, or women — the least attractive national leaders most Americans can imagine. As an unapologetic advocate of civic nationalism, Gerstle’s limited treatment of these elements of ethnic, American nationalism forces him to cede unnecessary ground to the multiculturalist vision of an American nation that too often denies the existence of shared values such as these.

Donna R. Gabaccia
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Lowell Turner, Harry Katz, and Richard Hurd, eds., *Rekindling the Movement: Labor’s Quest for Relevance in the 21st Century* (Ithaca and London: ILR Press, 2001)

ANYONE CONCERNED about the state of the American labour movement is likely to find reason for both hope and despair in this volume. Hope may be found in the evidence that union revitalization efforts have in some cases produced expansive notions of solidarity, and innovative new structures to express them. But the continuing willingness of too many unionists to defend inertia, privilege, and bureaucracy — even in the most desperate circumstances — can produce little but despair. The editors of *Rekindling the Movement* have captured both tendencies in a comprehensive selection of articles, and consequently they present a mixed but probably fair reading of US labour’s current prospects.

The book contains thirteen chapters, framed by an editorial introduction and afterword. Most of these have been cleared of acronyms and jargon, so they should be accessible to a wide audience. All of them deal with union revitalization — pitched here as some combination of structural reform, cultural change, and organizing.

In an opening section, two of the editors (Turner and Hurd) provide a broad reading of social movement unionism that underlines labour’s historic reliance on the vitality of other social forces. Labour grew as it connected to the surge of popular unrest in the 1930s, but missed the next wave in the 1960s, when “social movement energy” penetrated only public sector unions. (12) Elsewhere unions “stagnated and decayed.” (21) Labour is again reaching out — to the anti-globalization movement, and through organizing, for example — but its prospects remain uncertain. Ferocious employer resistance, active “deunionization,” and outflanking investment in non-union areas have con-

financed American unions (despite membership gains) to only 13.5% of the total workforce. The figures are worse for the private sector — only 9.5% in 1999. (24)

Numbers like these make a compelling case for a radical reorientation and redesign of US labour. Two chapters by Charles Heckscher and Dorothy Sue Cobble suggest that some unions may have to reconfigure themselves as hiring halls and/or employment agencies to meet the needs of a mobile workforce. In a later chapter, Eric Parker and Joel Rogers highlight the “new demand for worker support systems that operate on at least a multi-employer basis, clarify the terms of labor-market demand, assist workers in gaining job access and advancement, and set higher standards for firm conduct.” (270)

It is noteworthy that these authors come to similar conclusions from three very different perspectives. For Heckscher they are part of an effort to connect labour to associations like “Working Today,” which he says aims to be the “‘one big union’ for a mobile workforce.” (76) He also believes strikes are obsolete, and urges labour to pressure employers with publicity, lawsuits, and financial (pension fund) leverage instead. (70-71) Parker and Rogers argue that labour should help “build the high road” (i.e., a skilled, cutting edge workforce) in urban centres. (271-72) Theirs is what Greg Albo calls a “progressive competitiveness” strategy that tries to rebuild labour’s old strongholds while hoping to set an example elsewhere. For Cobble, ironically, the labour movement can be made more inclusive by returning to the “lost ways” of unions long criticized for their exclusivity. Union-run hiring halls organized by occupation and geography are more likely to engage the growing contingent workforce of subcontracted “non-employees,” she suggests. (85, 89)

Reaching out to new groups in new ways challenges the institutions and practices of collective bargaining. Many of these authors embrace that challenge.

Cobble notes that early labour movements (even the AFL) did not represent only those the law defined as employees. Collective power often emerged from “self-constituted communities” that transcended boundaries imposed by employers and the courts. (88) Heckscher’s case is founded on the need to recognize “natural associations” like those springing up to represent workers by identity, profession, and geography. (74) Paul Johnston is encouraged by a new approach that “mobilizes and represents working people beyond the boundaries of the bargaining unit, in dealings not limited to employers and on issues not limited to the scope of recognition.” (50) And Cobble urges unions to emulate teachers and other professionals by challenging management rights, and restoring “craft prerogatives” or “peer management” on the shop floor. (85-86)

All of these are expansive impulses, but they are not without their problems and contradictions. Can organizing from above really respect natural associations? An excessive respect for self-organizing is likely to leave the weakest and most marginal workers unorganized. Are craft prerogatives really a good model for self-management? In Canada, teachers, nurses, and other female-dominated professions have found it relatively easy to secure control over matters related to disciplining their own members, but much harder to gain any input into “higher” management functions that shape their relations with clients. And, finally, if the gates are to be opened, who is to be let in? Cobble gives a succinct answer: “any organization doing the work of the labor movement should be part of the labor movement.” (90)

Johnston’s chapter frames the problem slightly differently, and gets to the heart of the matter. His title asks “organize for what?” and his answer is explicitly political. The central purpose of labour, as a diverse *group* of movements, and of many other social movements, is to “defend, exercise, and extend the bound-

aries of citizenship.” (35) His is a deep reading of citizenship that includes at least six varieties — civil, political, social, educational, economic, and cultural. (41) Struggles in all these fields, he says, have begun to converge around efforts to “defend and rebuild local communities in an increasingly globalized public order.” (35) Johnson recognizes that union revitalization must be part of a larger struggle to extend and deepen democratic politics. A return to self-constituted communities requires rethinking both terms. What does community mean? How can communities govern themselves?

These insights are not shared by some of the contributors to this volume. Bill Fletcher and Richard Hurd for example, discuss attempts to change the “organizational culture” of unions as if this challenge was indistinguishable from that faced by corporate managers. James Shoch lauds political victories by labour that seem to rely crucially on astute purchases of corrupt politicians.

An undercurrent of pessimism becomes evident after the first four chapters. Later ones stress bureaucratic struggles and obstacles, grassroots opposition to central organizing, and organizing motives based more on the real prospect of extinction than on brave new visions. This trend culminates at the end of the book in a troubling contribution by Harry Katz. His afterword attacks social movement unionism as a description of, or a prescription for, American labour. It lauds the “practical and pragmatic political activities” of business unionism, citing the slimy vote buying mentioned above. And it argues that “radical policies” will not sell on or off the shop floor because workers remain profoundly conservative. (329-31) Katz concludes that union revitalization “will be an extremely difficult uphill struggle,” but he compliments labour for suppressing internal warfare and keeping its debates civil. (349, 345)

Katz’s position is remarkably similar to one taken by George Meany in 1972

(and cited in this volume): “Why should we worry about organizing groups of people who do not want to be organized? If they prefer to have others speak for them and make the decisions which affect their lives, without effective participation on their part, that is their right” (157) This argument begs many questions that have been answered in this volume and elsewhere. The fact that it is still being advanced is discouraging, to say the least.

Yet this tone is not typical of *Rekindling the Movement*. Readers will find fresh new thinking here, and organizing stories drawn from many corners of the workforce. Kate Bronfenbrenner and Tom Juravich describe the Steelworkers’ experience, which cautions that there is no “one best way” to win organizing campaigns. (225-27) Gary Chaison argues that, contrary to expectations, mergers can sometimes energize unions. (254) Fletcher and Hurd note that some unions have forced *employers* to pay for organizing through release time for union duties, while others have offered their members cash bounties for new recruits. (201, 203) The international dimensions of organizing are also given serious consideration, especially in chapters by Ruth Milkman and Kent Wong (on immigrant workers in California), and Lance Compa (on international labour standards).

Rekindling the Movement will undoubtedly be an important and useful tool for organizers and those who study them. It should help rekindle the imagination as well.

Greg McElligott
McMaster University

Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000)

MARRIAGE is an institution in which every American has a personal connection. Whether the experience has been as participant or observer, traditional or uncon-

ventional, positive or negative, this personal connection informs one's understanding of the institution. Meaning appears to be largely created through these private experiences; but as Nancy Cott's research illustrates, marriage is not just private, it is a public institution with important implications for American society. In *Public Vows: A History and the Nation*, Cott carefully mines the familiar sources of some of the greatest events in American history to unearth fresh information about the role of marriage as a public institution.

Public Vows is roughly organized along a chronological framework, with Cott methodically analyzing public policy, law, and political rhetoric throughout the eras to understand the role that marriage played in the public realm. This analysis ambitiously works through the history of the American nation highlighting events and trends such as the War of Independence, the building of the nation, the Civil War, immigration, technological advances, the Great Depression, World War II, and various social changes over the last half of the 20th century. The author skillfully weaves the historical narrative together with the issues such as race, gender, and religion to reveal the complex relationship between marriage and public order. The findings reveal that marriage is inextricably intertwined with American citizenship. Cott argues that the marital contract was structured to define who belonged to the nation and to lend legitimacy to the ruling order. The contract, which included consensual life-long monogamy, was culturally rooted in Christian influence and English common law. Cott argues that marriage could be used as a tool to keep those who did not conform to the model such as Native Americans, slaves (later ex-slaves), and Mormons on the periphery of American society until they "chose" to conform to the dominant model.

Cott argues that the public importance of marriage shifted from citizenship issues to economic issues around the turn

of the 20th century. The reasons for this shift were that as the 20th century wore on, the state became increasingly involved with the everyday lives of citizens through schooling, taxation, and employment. According to Cott, this meant that the state no longer needed marriage to control the populace. Instead, the dominant marital issue became economic. Marriage was one way "to stabilize the essential activities of sex and labor and their consequence, children and property" so that they did not become a drain on state resources. (6)

Great ambition and intellectual rigour were required to intertwine the broad historical scope, the wide-ranging research, and the complex and divergent themes of this project. The results of this mammoth study have been an important contribution to our understanding of marriage, as well as to the study of the family, citizenship, the state, public policy, and political history. *Public Vows* also makes a significant contribution to these areas by raising new questions for study. As an overview study, it lays the ground for more specific studies on marriage as a public institution.

The issue of how much the public role of marriage was political rhetoric and how much it was a reflection of realistic circumstances is one of the first questions that is raised when reading this work. For example, there were couples who did not conform to the marital model, such as those who lived in "common-law" or participated in extra-marital affairs, yet they were still citizens. This suggests that conformity to the state's ideals of marriage was not *de facto*, so how powerful was the role of marriage in defining citizenship? More specific studies that explore the intersection of marriage and citizenship with factors such as race, class, and gender would help to place the role of marriage and citizenship into a broader context.

Another area in need of fleshing out is the interaction of the public and private realms of marriage. These cannot be sepa-

rated, as there is a constant interplay between the two, which results in an evolving synthesis that defines the institution. If we are to understand marriage, we must look at its whole. Cott is aware of this, although it is not the object of her study, and she suggests some starting points in the introduction.

With future research projects it would be worthwhile to reexamine the emphasis on change over time and explore the continuity of the public institution of marriage. A very distinct break occurs in the book when the 20th century is discussed. It is then that Cott argues that the political and moral usefulness of marriage gave way to a public emphasis on the economic significance of the institution. The study is then brought to the present by declaring that an emphasis on individual rights and freedoms has toppled marriage as "the preeminent pillar of the state." (199) These changes do appear in the law and the political rhetoric, but to what extent did the public role of marriage really change? Certainly the economic role of marriage in the earlier period was significant to its public role, and as Cott recognizes in the final chapter, marriage still appears in the present day as having political and moral significance. Marriage was appealed to as nationally significant in the political rhetoric as recently as 2001. On 11 October 2001, in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, President Bush claimed that "Many people are reassessing what's important in life. Moms and dads are not only reassessing their marriage and the importance of their marriage, but of the necessity of loving their children like never before." This connection among marriage, parenting, and children takes on a citizenship element when the same address claims that the attacks on Americans have gone a long way towards helping "parents develop good character in their children and to strengthen the spirit of citizenship and service to our communities." Although the emphasis in political rhetoric and law may shift, there is much conti-

nunity in the public role of marriage in the US. Marriage is explained as an institution that "prescribes duties and dispenses privileges," (2) and although the emphasis on these duties and privileges does change, significantly there is still much that is consistent.

Marriage is a multi-faceted topic, with extensive implications for the political, economic, religious, and social realities of the society in which it is practiced. Nancy Cott has courageously undertaken an exploration of these diverse implications and has been successful in illustrating the important public role that marriage has played in American society. *Public Vows* is sure to inspire many other studies that explore marriage as a public institution. Incorporating this perspective is critical for an understanding of how marriage has come to be understood and practiced. Anyone interested in marriage will greatly benefit from reading this study.

Janay Nugent
University of Guelph

Kathryn Mills with Pamela Mills, eds., *C. Wright Mills — Letters and Autobiographical Writings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000)

THIS IS AN INSIGHTFUL book, well suited to reading in this post-11 September era. C.W. Mills was "an intellectual hero of the New Left, a model of the engaged academic," and a "passionate public citizen" who "wrote to be read beyond the academy." In the post-World War II years, Mills' lucid writings appealed to Americans who were trying to make sense of events in the 1950s: the Cold War, McCarthyism, the threat of nuclear war, and anxieties over Cuba. I found it very readable and personal. I recommend it for two types of readers: those who are not familiar with C.W. Mills, but who are interested in a review of his work, and those who know his works but who want

to know more about his innermost thoughts as he wrote.

This book, compiled by Mills' two daughters, sketches his private thoughts through correspondence with friends, family, colleagues, and publishers. We read Mills' reflections as he writes his many books and articles, including his famous trilogy *New Men of Power* (1951, on labour), *White Collar* (1956, on the middle class), and *The Power Elite* (1959, on the upper class of decision makers).

In his letters Mills details his grueling daily schedules, his reactions to reviews of his works, his disagreements with researchers such as Lazarsfeld and Daniel Bell, and his hobbies (building and renovating houses, riding and repairing his motorcycle). We follow Mills through his short life, his three marriages, his various academic postings, and his writing. We come to know his candid thoughts on a variety of topics, his hopes and his frustrations.

Mills gradually honed his writing skills to appeal to a broader non-academic audience in order to try and help people make connections between their private lives and what was happening in the world. With *The Causes of World War Three* (a plea for the end of the nuclear arms race) and *Listen Yankee* (a report on the Cuban Revolution firsthand) Mills developed a large readership. Many sought Mills' writings for insight on issues of war and peace, foreign policy, and their lives.

Mills was continually trying to improve his analysis and writing, and seeking a critique of his work by close friends, including Robert Merton and Hans Gerth. He collaborated with Gerth in the translation of some of Weber's works and was highly critical of Parsons' translation of Weber. "(T)he son of a bitch translated it so as to take all the guts, the radical guts, out of it, whereas our translation doesn't do that!" (53)

Unhappy teaching at the University of Maryland, Mills moved on to Columbia University, doing quantitative re-

search for Paul Lazarsfeld in the Bureau of Applied Social Research on the famous Decatur study of influence and mass communications. It seems strange given Mills' later works that he would work for Lazarsfeld, who was the epitome of a "captive academic." Lazarsfeld, as Todd Gitlin has argued, had a knack at gathering research funds, creating "uneasy but mutually indispensable partnerships" between universities, corporations, and foundations. The Decatur study created an awakening in Mills. Lazarsfeld, Gitlin wrote in 1978, became "alarmed at the reach and populist edge of Mills' rhetoric." When he tried to make Mills rewrite his analysis, Mills quit. "Thank God, I feel secure enough to resist this silly domination and manipulation of his.... I've worked on that crap more than on any other book with which I have been associated.... I'd rather not be associated with it. To hell with professional acclaim I lose. Nothing is worth the continual feeling that you're not your own man." (172)

In *The Power Elite* (1956), Mills described the interlocking power relationships between the economic, political, and military elites in the US, a concept which was "far from accepted knowledge." (189) Eisenhower did not express his concerns about "the growing military-industrial complex" until he left office in 1961. (189) While *The Saturday Review* referred to Mills as a successor to Thorstein Veblen, in general Mills was disappointed with the reviews of *The Power Elite*. "NOBODY REALLY TAKES IT SERIOUSLY ... they trivialize my stuff horribly ... I worked pretty hard on this and then it goes into this vacuum. I can only hope that somehow enough people get it into their hands to read it ... (It does seem to sell)" (201-2)

Mills' 1954 lecture for the CBC and University of Toronto could have been written for the times we now live in:

(We are trying to be) rational in an epoch of enormous irrationality. The more we understand what is happening in the world,

the more frustrated we often become, for our knowledge leads to feelings of powerlessness.... We feel that we are living in a world in which the citizen has become a mere spectator or a forced actor, and that our personal experience is politically useless and our political will a minor illusion. Very often the fear of total, permanent war paralyzes the kinds of morally oriented politics which might engage our interests and our passions ... ours is a time when ... atrocity on a mass scale has become impersonal and official; moral indignation as a public fact has become extinct.... We see that the people at the top often identify rational dissent with political mutiny, loyalty with blind conformity and freedom of judgment with treason.

We feel that irresponsibility has become organized in high places and that clearly those in charge of the historic decisions of our time are not up to them. But what is more damaging to us is that we feel that those on the bottom ... make no real demands upon those in power. (185)

Mills called on his audience to reject "the official myths and unofficial distractions." (186) He argued "we can only truly belong to organizations which we have a real part in building and maintaining, directly and openly and all of the time." (187)

Mills became close friends with Ralph Miliband, a Marxist scholar who introduced him to members of the "New Left" in Britain and Europe in the late 1950s. He met with dissenting socialist intellectuals in Poland in a "time of growing ferment against the repressive Soviet-style government." (241) Mills' visit to Poland and Yugoslavia "deepened" his own socialism and "hardened" his attitude "towards the triviality and formalism of much 'social science' in the US." (241) Amidst growing tensions between the US and the Soviet Union, he began to write letters to an imaginary friend (Tovarich) in the Soviet Union.

Mills cast himself as a "spiritual Wobbly ... the opposite of a bureaucrat,

one who doesn't like bosses — capitalistic or communistic ... he wants everyone else to be, his own boss at all times under all conditions and for any purposes they may want to follow up." (252) He argued that you "can use your mind and your sensibilities to try and make fate less unjust ... this is the choice I have made." (253) He saw this as the "moral root of socialism," and defined a "radical" as "one who refuses to accept injustice as fate and whose refusal takes active political and cultural forms ... politics and culture of a radical kind have to do with modifications of a society and so with the control of fate, as history and as biography." (254)

In the late 1950s in the midst of the Cold War, Mills was daring and forthright. In "Program for Peace" (1957) he called for the abandonment of the production of nuclear weapons, the recognition of China and all other "Communist-type states" and the development of worldwide educational and cultural-exchange programs. In "A Pagan Sermon to the Christian Clergy" he criticized Christian leaders for failing to effectively oppose the arms race.

Mills had continual money problems throughout his working life. In 1959 he was turned down for funding by every foundation to which he applied to. "I'm just off the list. So to hell with them." (274) Mills saw his writing as political action, and he was angry that intellectuals became easily intimidated, instead of exercising their freedom. He argued that "we must not underestimate what even a small circulation of ideas can do, especially ... comical and inane ideas ... our chief weapons ... are audacity and laughter." (280). Perhaps the Raging Grannies take their cue from Mills.

With McCarthyism, Mills argued that academics should have come together to form a common front, a plan of attack, and forced local news editors to pay attention. They should have laughed at McCarthy. "Laugh to reveal what he (McCarthy) truly was: a ridiculous and silly little

man, an opportunist without principles or brains.” (299)

After 11 September 2001, the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) created a list that is being compared to McCarthy-era blacklisting. The list includes the names of people who have made what are perceived to be anti-American statements on US college campuses. Professors are being called “the weak link in America’s response to the attack.”

Mills’ “Letter to the New Left” (1960) was one of his most well known essays. He provided notes on direct non-violent action in Poland, Hungary, and Russia. In *Listen Yankee* (1960) he wrote about a Cuban revolutionary trying to communicate with his US neighbours about Cuban life under Batista, the negative impact of US policies toward Cuba’s and the accomplishments of Castro’s revolution, especially in education and healthcare. Mills saw the Cuban revolutionary as a socialist, not a communist. He felt that if the Cubans were properly helped they would have a good chance. The FBI were concerned that his book would disarm and confuse public opinion, and it tried to get writers to refute Mills’ arguments. Book sales boomed but a death threat followed, and a lawsuit by former Cuban businesses.

Stressed and exhausted, Mills suffered a heart attack just before a scheduled TV debate on his book. In April 1961, Cuban exiles, who had been recruited and trained in the US, invaded the Bay of Pigs. Mills was dismayed by the silence of academics on the US violation of neutrality laws. “(T)he one thing I have learned from the entire experience is a terrible thing: that the moral cowardice of the American intelligentsia is virtually complete. I don’t of course mean that they should agree with me, but I do demand that they face the moral ambiguity; indeed agony is not too strong a word, which any violence involves.” (328) Mills died the following year, only 45 years old. In his eulogy, Hans Gerth com-

mented on Mills’ trilogy that it “was the first attempt of an American sociologist to answer the question, whence did we come, where are we going, who are we?” (340) Miliband noted “he was on the Left, but not of the Left ... he occupied a unique position in American radicalism.” (341)

Although I had studied and knew the works that Mills criticized (i.e. Bell, Lazarsfeld, and Parsons) I had never been formally introduced to Mills except in “The Promise” (from *Sociological Imagination*). Like Mills, I have been disillusioned by sociologists’ often obtuse way of writing, the reverence given to number crunching, and the failure of many (including other academics besides sociologists) to be engaged in studying issues relevant to the here and now. Dorothy Smith’s writing complements Mills’ work, in her analysis of how the “relations of ruling” control and coordinate our everyday/everynight lives, and how we get caught up in letting this happen. Chomsky’s writing in general also complements Mills’ work. However, Mills is by far the most lucid writer, and he wrote in a vivid way to appeal to a broader group of readers.

Ella Haley
Athabasca University

John E. Archer, *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England, 1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

THIS BOOK is published in the Economic History Society series entitled “New Studies in Economic and Social History,” and like other works in that series it is intended as a concise and authoritative guide to current interpretations of key themes. The subject of popular protest is a major area for teaching and research, and Archer’s book is an extremely welcome and engaging addition to the literature. The historiography has for some time needed bringing together and synthesis-

ing, and the book is all the more worthwhile for achieving that. It covers all the main subjects one would expect: with chapters on the historiography, sources and methods, agricultural protest, food riots, industrial protest, political protest, policing, a chapter assessing the "revolutionary" potential of the unrest, and a conclusion that considers how research could further develop these themes.

As one would expect from Archer's book, *By a Flash or a Scare: Arson, Animal Maiming and Poaching in East Anglia, 1815-1870* (Oxford 1990), this work is very well-informed on rural protest, giving an excellent outline of the state of research on that topic, assessing for example the regional dimensions both of the historiographical coverage and of the agrarian unrest itself. The quality of writing is sustained thereafter, as the text extends to other matters. The subject of unrest has become quite compartmentalized among historians, and it can be difficult to reintegrate it. Archer stresses at a number of points the need to do this, arguing that "Food rioting, machine breaking and political radicalism might well have been present in the same dispute." (43) He notes "the dangers of separating trade union organisation and direct action and treating them as distinct activities in which the latter occurred where the former was weak or absent." (46) Historians, as he says, should avoid putting types of unrest into pigeon-holes and treating them in isolation from each other or indeed seeing them as evolving from one form into another. There may be some analytical purpose in that approach, but frequently such protests were concurrent with each other. This is a lesson that he extends to a number of episodes or contexts of unrest, and the book makes a convincing case for such lateral connectivity.

None of the revolutionary situations or episodes are thought to have threatened to convulse society, for they were mainly limited in time, place, and objectives. There is stress on the self-control of the English working classes. Such emphasis

on moral action includes a good retrospective survey of E.P. Thompson's idea of the "moral economy," for example assessing differences of views between Thompson and Roger Wells, pointing to some explanatory limitations of the moral economy with regard to food rioting, and broaching wider areas of explanation, like geography or community size, that also need to be taken into account.

Here, as elsewhere, a considerable range of the historiography is referred to. The interpretative positions emerge well, and the assessment of disparate views is even-handed and fair throughout. A clear sense is conveyed of how the subject has developed as a field of historical research, and of how publications by Hobsbawm, Rudé, and Thompson in particular, have influenced the field. As was intended in this publication series, the bibliography is a valuable part of the book (although Ian Dyck's name is incorrectly spelled, an error which must be amended in the next edition). The book concludes with suggestions for future research, and this section includes some very worthwhile ideas. Among them are the need for more micro-village or community studies, like the finely contextualized work by Barry Reay on Kentish villages and "Sir William Courtenay," study of popular symbolism and the languages of protest, fresh approaches to factory reform (which is indeed now neglected), and women's history and patterns of unrest — a subject that Archer has some interesting passages on. I might have been tempted to cover in more depth faction fighting, local xenophobia, antipathy towards the Irish, and further aspects of religious conflict, like anti-Methodist disorder. But the coverage is well balanced and inclusive, taking one up to Chartism. In short, this is a valuable, highly readable book that very ably assembles current knowledge, containing original pointers to the way the subject should now develop. I recommend it warmly for all levels of study.

K.D.M. Snell
University of Leicester

Martyn Lyons, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants* (Houndsmill: Palgrave, 2001)

THIS SHORT but stimulating book is an extension of Martyn Lyons's earlier essay, "New Readers in the Nineteenth Century; Women, Children, Workers," in *A History of Reading in the West*, edited by G. Cavallo and R. Chatier (1999). Aside from switching from an international to a French focus and elaborating upon the reading practices of French women and workers, Lyons has chosen to omit children and include peasants in the book. Each of the three groups is treated separately, in relation to issues particular to that social group. There are, however, common themes.

One theme is the prevalence of fears about losing control of the reading, and hence the moral and political beliefs, of most of the French population on the part of the Catholic Church and of political leaders from monarchists to radical republicans, and ultimately on the part of the patriarchal, property-owning bourgeoisie, in 19th century France. The final chapter not unreasonably compares the book to Louis Chevalier's monograph on bourgeois fears of the new working class in Paris in the first half of the 19th century (*Laboring Classes, Dangerous Classes*). Along these lines, Lyons notes that bourgeois and clerical anxieties about new readers peaked in post-revolutionary periods such as 1817 to 1830, when the Church campaigned against "*mauvais livres*," launched "*Bibliothèques des bon Livres*," and dispatched missionaries who organized *autodafés* (ritual book burnings). They peaked again after the introduction of universal manhood suffrage during the Second Republic, when the Second Empire severely restricted *colportage*, the system whereby itinerant

peddlers sold cheap chapbooks in rural areas. Although the section on women readers does not refer to conventional reactionary periods, it does discuss Catholic responses to Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and "*bovaryisme*" or apprehensions about women's receptivity to romantic fiction. These responses were Monsignor Dupanloup's reading model for women and subsequent Catholic lists of approved and forbidden works of literature. Partly in reaction to these lists, feminists put out a periodical with their reading advice for girls and women.

Another theme is the relatively modest role of formal education in the acquisition of literacy. Lyons excuses his inattention to the educational system by referring to the existence of numerous studies of the French system of education and, in particular, to Raymond Grew and Parick Harrigan's study of enrolments showing that elementary education was well developed before the Ferry laws of the 1880s introduced free, secular, and universal primary schooling (*School, State and Society: The Growth of Elementary Schooling in 19th Century France*). Yet Lyons is not just "filling a gap." *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France* documents alternative means of accessing literacy and literature through "social reading" or reading aloud in family or group settings such as bourgeois homes, farmhouses, workers' cafés, in *cabinets de lecture* (on-site lending libraries), and study circles. Lyons infers considerable growth in size of the reading public from data on the falling prices and rising supply of popular literature and the burgeoning number and wider distribution of workers' newspapers and women's magazines. He cites early sociological studies of book ownership among workers and peasants showing that, as early as the 1850s, many workers and peasants owned at least a few books other than ubiquitous almanacs. Although Lyons recognizes that the decade of the 1880s was a turning point for the peasantry, he does not attribute in-

creasing peasant familiarity with print culture solely to the introduction of public school teachers but also credits commercial dissemination of cheaper books and newspapers through railway book-stalls and local retail stores. Countering Eugen Weber's thesis about modernization of passive peasantry, he contends that peasants remained independent of cultural mediators. His main sources for this contention are letters written by soldiers during World War I. More evidence, from more peasants, would be more persuasive.

The third theme in *Readers and Society* is the resistance of new readers to the literary canon. The argument rests upon Bourdieu's theory about the influence of the habitus or everyday patterns of behaviour on, in this case, new readers' receptivity to reading material, or, in Bourdieu's jargon, the acquisition of cultural capital. Unfortunately, relationships between the habitus and receptivity to literature and the acquisition of cultural capital are hard to establish. Perhaps most innovatively, Lyons attempts to "interrogate the audience" by analyzing autobiographies by workers and women and official questionnaires about rural readers. Lyons analyzes 22 autobiographies and workers, most of whom, he acknowledges, were autodidacts whose reading lists showed considerable deference to the literary canon. He notes that this kind of autobiography has been used by right-wing ideologues to claim *embourgeoisement*, but he contends that these autobiographers were active readers who appropriated what was useful to fashion a reading culture of their own. Here Lyons draws upon Stanley Fish's concept of an "interpretive community of readers." Unfortunately, Lyons, or perhaps his documentation, does not offer much information about this interpretive community beyond some resistance to fiction and preference to nonfiction. Lyons himself divides the workers' autobiographical genre into three sub-genres: stories of self-made men, militant mem-

oirs, and the literature of *compagnonnage*. One is left wondering if there were not several interpretive communities of work-readers.

The chapter on "Reading Women," which analyzes autobiographical records of reading by several women from different social classes over the course of the century, does not make a case that women's romance reading was a mild form of resistance — a temporary refusal to devote themselves to domestic duties, an escape into a space of their own, as Janice Radway has argued about romance readers in mid-west America. Happily, Lyons also notes that reading introduced some women to a political and revolutionary life. Of equal interest are his findings about how women accessed fiction: they happened upon a relative's library, or they cut out and sewed together installments of *feuilletons* (serial novels) from popular newspapers and magazines; these findings constitute proof that some workers, peasants, and women sought to read, and through reading, to establish some degree of autonomy.

Mary Lynn Stewart
Simon Fraser University

Marilyn Silverman, *An Irish Working Class: Explorations in Political Economy and Hegemony, 1800-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY of the Irish working class, as Marilyn Silverman points out in the introduction to this fascinating book, in general remains narrowly focused on formal labour and radical organizations, biographies, and on particular moments and events that impact on political history. Silverman, an anthropologist at York University, rightly believes that the voices of ordinary workers in Ireland are rarely heard and that the histories or "trajectories" of working-class awareness, experience, and consciousness have not been adequately explored.

Silverman seeks to probe these topics by using a localized study "to build general interpretations of both the past and the present," (9) and she is at pains to stress that while her book is a locality history, it is primarily concerned with political-economic processes that have general and theoretical implications. In other words, detailed local research is important in terms of constructing a coherent macro-historical view. The locality chosen is Thomastown, County Kilkenny, a town in Southeastern Ireland with 1,300 residents with a further 1,400 in its immediate hinterland. Silverman has already written extensively about the area and has carried on anthropological field-work there since 1980. The analysis in the book is informed by Gramscian concepts of hegemony, anthropological approaches to local history, and ideas of class awareness and experience as elaborated by some social historians, such as William H. Sewell and Keith McClelland. In that sense, the book is inter-disciplinary. Her methodological approach, as she admits herself, is eclectic and she meshes the "thick description" favoured by anthropologists with practises employed by historians such as analyses of interviews, newspapers, parliamentary reports, and a wide range of archival material.

The result is an intricately constructed picture of workers and the working class in a small Irish town between 1800 and 1950 containing many insights into political life and its interaction with material conditions. Silverman sees hegemony as essential to apprehending society and to understand hegemony one must understand political economy. Her approach to political economy, in turn, privileges analytical categories of class and class identities, locating these inside "the structures of domination perpetrated by the state, capitalism and colonialism." (502-3) According to this book, class awareness was central to life in Thomastown but was often felt in terms of what she describes as a "status-class hierarchy" in which "shopkeepers" were better

than "labourers" and so on. In short, she argues that class differentiation was complex and apparently competing models could co-exist. At all times the labourers or unskilled workers were left in no doubt regarding their lowly status and Silverman is very good at illuminating the resentments bred by discrimination and social oppression; for instance, she recounts how a widespread and bitterly held perception existed among labourers in the 1980s that "no working man ever got an IRA pension" for service during the war of independence. (278-9) This was blamed on the machinations of farmers and shopkeepers. In general, the image shaped by Silverman is a convincing one but there is at least one significant omission. The local impact of emigration receives no sustained treatment even though it is admitted, almost in passing, that the effect of the massive emigration after 1845 "on living standards, on class formation and boundaries, and on common sense was profound." (62) Emigration was an important factor of Irish life right up to the 1980s and the impact on those left behind was substantial and enduring.

The influence of postmodernism, and its hostility to "grand narratives," is discernable to a degree in the book, perhaps even in the rather curious absence of the definite article from the title. The "Irish working class" identified in the book's title is in fact that of Thomastown and the implication would appear to be that discrete working classes are found within localities, though elsewhere Silverman seems opposed to such a reading. Such an idea would be novel to Irish labour history, which in its aversion to theoretical models drawn from sociology has managed, whether for better or worse, to evade the embrace of postmodernist thinking and the unitary working class as a concept remains intact. This regrettable suspicion of theory among Irish labour historians is unlikely to be dispelled by Silverman's critique of the concepts of "collective action" and "labour movement," which she dismisses because

"these notions assume an evolutionary trajectory and impute a homogeneous coherence to the political actions of workers." (503) This dismissal, which occurs on the final page, jars somewhat when one considers how often both (as realities) pop up in the preceding text. Moreover, how these concepts embody evolutionist notions of socio-political history is unclear and not properly explained. The author's assertion a few lines on that the "so-called collective is complex and the so-called movement is heterogeneous" is something of a commonplace and would seem to increase rather than diminish the import of collective activity and social movements. Also, Silverman's contentious conclusion that "political-economic processes have no outcomes, only ongoing trajectories that can be observed and analytically constructed for particular periods of time" (504) will draw hostile fire from some historians.

Nonetheless, this handsomely produced book is an important and welcome addition to the historiography of the Irish working class, and should encourage further localized research on issues of consciousness, ideology, experience, and political economy. A macrohistory of Irish workers cannot be written without such layered microhistories and Marilyn Silverman deserves praise for indicating new and productive ways in which to explore our past. All those interested in Irish working-class history should read this book.

Fintan Lane
National University of Ireland, Cork

Laura Kalliomaa-Puha, ed., *Perspectives of Equality: Work, Women, and Family in the Nordic Countries and EU* (Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers, 2000)

THIS IS A COLLECTION of conference papers focused on women, work, and equality in the Nordic countries and in the evolving European Union (EU). The qual-

ity of the chapters is very uneven. There is little evidence of an editorial hand beyond an introductory essay by Kevät Nousiainen, which provides a summary overview of women's changing position within the Nordic area and outlines some of the issues taken up in subsequent chapters. Although the title leads one to expect a discussion of women's equality in the Nordic countries — Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden — there is no systematic discussion of women's place in all five countries nor is any effort made to compare policies and performance in particular areas. The chapters that follow focus on particular countries and particular issues. Thus Elisabeth Vigerust's two chapters discuss employment legislation and the care allowance in Norway. Susanne Fransson focuses on pay equity in Sweden. There are several chapters on Finland — Anja Nummijärvi's on pay equity, Hannele Kajastie's on limited-term employment and two (by Johanna Korpinen and Minna Salmi) on the Finnish care allowance scheme. One section deals with women and the EU. The section includes chapters by Ruth Nielsen on sex discrimination, Jo Shaw on equality, citizenship, and the EU, Catherine Barnard and Tamara Hervey on affirmative action, and Essi Rentola on social security. There is no serious attempt to explore the question of the impact of EU directives and regulations on the Nordic countries, nor is the impact of a stronger Nordic presence on equality policy within the EU explored.

In these respects, the book compares unfavourably with another recent collection published in cooperation with the Nordic Council of Ministers, *Equal Democracies? Gender and Politics in the Nordic Countries* (1999). It would be a mistake, however, simply to dismiss this collection, which contains material of interest to scholars concerned with gender equality politics in the EU as well as to those interested in efforts at the national level to move beyond the male breadwinner model.

In terms of the EU, Nielsen's essay begins with an enticing thesis: that while Europe's policy-oriented institutions adopted a "mainstreaming" approach in the 1990s, the European Court (EC) has not. Unfortunately, the rest of the chapter reads like a draft version. Shaw's chapter puts the EC into a dynamic "contested" context. Hers is clearly the strongest contribution: a theoretically innovative and lucid chapter on "The Problem of Membership in European Union Citizenship." Read in conjunction with this, the chapters by Rentola, and Barnard and Hervey can be seen as providing more detailed case studies.

The Nordic countries are of broader interest in that it is there, albeit unevenly, that governments and labour market parties have gone the furthest in exploring alternatives to the male breadwinner model. Only one chapter — Vigerust's on Norwegian employment policy — explores efforts to institutionalize the solution Nancy Fraser (*Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the "Postsocialist" Condition*, 1997, chapter 2) feels would do the most to maximize gender equality: universalizing the caregiver model. Rather, the dominant trend has been toward the "universal breadwinner" model. These essays suggest that even here, the institutionalization is far from complete. The two chapters on pay equity highlight the persistence of a gender wage gap. Of particular interest however is Kajastie's contribution. Not only does she show that women are most affected by the growth of limited term employment, but the information she has secured on attitudes to women workers in Finland puts paid to any notion that employers there have absorbed the lessons of gender equality on the labour market.

Norway and Finland have also experimented with the "care giver parity" model to the extent that they have introduced "care allowances" that support parents (mainly mothers) who stay home until the child has reached the age of three. The "choice" to stay home in Norway has to be

seen against the backdrop of a lower labour force participation rate — and lower levels of child care provision than in countries like Sweden and Denmark. The impact in Finland, where the male breadwinner model never really took hold and a strong public child care system had been established, is of particular interest. The Korpinen and Salmi chapters are thus really useful for the data they provide on the (gendered) use of the care allowance scheme introduced in the 1980s. As Korpinen shows, the expansion of the care allowance has clearly coincided with a fall in women's labour market participation.

It should, however, be noted that during the period of deepest unemployment in the 1990s, a significant number of men also opted for the care allowance — until unemployment insurance (UI) legislation was changed to require the deduction of the allowance from UI benefits. Does this suggest, as Korpinen hopes, that a care allowance system explicitly designed to promote gender equality might work? Such a vision is likely to remain but a dream until the "political will" exists to substantially mitigate the push and pull of increasingly globalized market forces. This is where the EU may come in. To the extent that the struggles to develop an ever more encompassing notion of citizenship, discussed by Shaw, succeed, real progress toward equality can be made.

Rianne Mahon
Carleton University

Susan Weissman, *Victor Serge: The Course is Set on Hope* (London and New York: Verso, 2001)

THE WORLD of the European working class left before World War II seems today like ancient history to most people. Weak though social democracy, communism, and dissident radical currents may have been in Canada and the US in comparison to Europe, during the Cold War

they contributed to a world view in which the Russian Revolution and its aftermath remained meaningful reference points. This much is evident in many of the contributions to the history of the labour movement and the working class made by scholars who belonged to, or were influenced by, the New Left. In contrast, contemporary activists and academics generally consider the Russian Revolution, Stalinism, the rise of Fascism, the Spanish Civil War, and the rest to be unworthy of attention. What, then, will be the fate in Canada and the US of the history of the internationally-influential European working-class left prior to 1939? Will it become the exclusive property of a few academic specialists and tiny groups of socialists?

It is this problem that confronts contemporary studies such as Susan Weissman's book on Victor Serge (1890-1947). Born in Belgium to Russian parents, Victor Kibalchich was known from 1917 as Victor Serge. During his lifetime this remarkable writer and political militant passed from social democracy through anarchism, syndicalism, to Bolshevism and its Left Opposition to libertarian socialism. Since the centenary of his birth, studies of Serge have begun to appear. William J. Marshall's *Victor Serge: The Uses of Dissent* (1992) has examined Serge's contribution to literature. Weissman has edited a useful collection, *The Ideas of Victor Serge: A Life as a Work of Art* (1997) (also issued as a double issue of the journal *Critique* [Glasgow]). Her *Victor Serge: The Course is Set on Hope* is not intended to be a comprehensive biographical study but a political and intellectual biography that examines Serge "mainly through the prism of his Soviet experience and his wrestling with the vexing questions raised by Soviet development." (7)

Weissman shows how Serge's independent thinking, and his principled and critical stance often set him apart throughout a life marked by poverty, isolation, and lengthy periods of imprison-

ment in several countries. After the bureaucratic dictatorship made further political activity in USSR impossible, he took to writing as a way to understand and truthfully communicate the experience of the Russian Revolution and its degeneration in the face of Stalinism's prodigious output of lies, repression, and murder. In the last two decades of his life he produced a series of memorable novels as well as historical studies, political interventions, poetry, and the notable *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, not to mention a considerable number of essays and articles. His often lyrical writing is distinguished by what Weissman calls "a literary-autobiographical-political" style "that transcends the boundaries of conventional literature and traditional social science." (10) Serge was unique as a participant-chronicler in so many movements and events who managed to evade the Stalinist terror: he was the last Left Oppositionist to depart the USSR before the mass executions began. His survival, political integrity, and independence of thought give his work a lasting significance.

This book is clearly a labour of love, the fruits of extensive research in sources including files kept on Serge by the state security services of the US and USSR. It carefully documents the political life and thought of a figure who was "always a maverick," (278) a radical whose work conveys "great insight and evocation, and ... hope based on a deep understanding of human history and social processes." (278-9) Unfashionably, but convincingly, it argues that Stalinism represented an anti-socialist social order that, in the absence of social revolution in advanced capitalist Europe, destroyed the isolated revolution in Russia from within. It places Serge in relation to this process within the USSR and the activities of the Stalinist state abroad in a manner that is corrosive of illusions about the former Soviet Union. At the same time, it challenges notions commonly held today that Stalinism was the logical outcome of the

revolution of October 1917 or Bolshevism (or even the Enlightenment!), while following Serge in not sparing the Bolsheviks or Leon Trotsky and his followers from criticism.

It is no slight to say that while Serge's thought was far in advance of most of the left, he was not in the top rank of Marxist theorists of his time. Weissman argues that in Serge's work there is often "a fundamentally correct perception which is very suggestive, without being sufficiently penetrative" (274) and that he "was often better able to evoke the atmosphere of Soviet society than to systematically and consistently define it theoretically." (203) However, her enthusiasm leads to some insufficiently critical assessments. For instance, during his final years in Mexico following his escape from fascism, Serge grasped the need for socialist renewal. At the same time, he was — like so many others in the 1940s — politically disoriented. Yet Weissman claims that the hundreds of unpublished essays Serge wrote during his Mexican exile are all worthy of publication. (270)

In my judgment, the role of disagreements about the Spanish anti-Stalinist socialist POUM in the break between Serge and Trotsky in the late 1930s needs more attention than it receives. The treatment of the history of the USSR would have been strengthened by drawing more on social-historical research and analysis; the same can be said with respect to the German crisis of 1923. Better editing would have eliminated some repetition and other minor flaws. The book includes 27 photographs, of which 12 were missing from the review copy.

Weissman's valuable book provides a sound and evocative account of Serge's life and thought and the political history that was its context. As such, it should spark greater interest in this significant and unduly neglected figure. Given the enormous influence of the European working-class left, the Russian Revolution and Stalinism, it is to be hoped that

this book will be read far beyond the ranks of specialists in these subjects.

David Camfield
York University

Michael J. Carley, *1939 : L'Alliance de la dernière chance* (Montréal : Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal 2001) ; *1939 : The Alliance That Never Was* (Chicago: Ivan J. Dee, 1999)

IT MAY SEEM out of place for a work on European diplomacy to be reviewed in a journal devoted to the study of working people. But the separation among historical fields easily disguises the importance of class struggle to diplomatic considerations. This is certainly the case in terms of the diplomatic maneuverings of the 1930s that allowed Adolf Hitler to re-arm a prostrate Germany and to go on to prepare for a war that resulted in 55 million deaths and the Holocaust of European Jewry. While left-wingers in the historical profession have largely devoted themselves to uncovering "history from the bottom up," an unfortunate result has been to largely cede the study of the causes of World War II, among other "big P" political events, to an assortment of right-wingers, many of whom cheerfully repeat the official capitalist state versions of events.

Michael Carley is an important exception. His close study of the diplomacy of the immediate period preceding the war reveals quite closely the link between the anti-worker domestic policies and the "appeasement" policies of the dominant conservative circles in British and French politics. An anti-communist fixation, Carley argues, with abundant supporting evidence, dominated Western diplomacy,

and disposed the leaders of Britain and France to go easier on Hitler and Mussolini than on Stalin. As it became clear that Hitler's imperialist plans might go beyond a tiny eastern or central European country here and there, the leaders of the Soviet Union redoubled their efforts, begun in 1934, to seek a collective security arrangement with the Western powers. They were continually rebuffed, and even after Hitler had swallowed up in March 1939 the parts of Czechoslovakia that the Munich agreement left free, the British and the French carried on negotiations with the Soviets that were farcical and intended only to fool anti-fascists at home that these governments were 'doing something' to counter Hitler.

Some of this may sound unsurprising to readers of this journal, who are aware of the Popular Front politics of the Comintern in this period, but it is continuously denied in the standard diplomatic literature. Throughout most of this literature, anti-communism, if admitted to be a factor at all, is minimized. Instead, it is said that the complexities of British and French foreign policy, rather than joy at Hitler's overthrow of domestic communists, socialists, and unions, as well as promises to smother the Soviet Union, influenced the élites of London and Paris. British needs to protect territories in its far-flung empire, France's economic weakness, and doubts about the Soviet Union as an ally in the period following Stalin's purge of the military in 1937 are all trotted out regularly to pooh-pooh notions that a softness for fascist nations' defence of profit-making and hatred for Soviet Communism propelled the Western leaders. Sometimes, to this rich brew of defences for the "appeasers," is also added the complaint that Western leaders found Stalin and company's brutality shocking, and they could not see their way to an alliance with left-wing authoritarians in an effort to unseat governments by right-wing authoritarians. And indeed, suggest such apologists for the capitalist democracies of the West, Britain and

France did try to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union for a united front against Hitler in 1939, but got nowhere because Stalin wanted territorial concessions that democracies could not think to provide and which, in the end, he could only get from Hitler himself.

These arguments seem convincing enough, on the surface, though most of the diplomatic histories actually provide rather flimsy evidence to support them. Carley knocks most of the props out from the apologists' defences, demonstrating that Neville Chamberlain in Britain, Edouard Daladier in France, their respective foreign ministers, and many other leading government figures were indeed, in their correspondence, rather obviously fixated with anti-communism. Their offers to the Soviets in 1939 were shameful, reflecting a desire to have the Soviets join in defence of various states that might be subject to German invasion but rejecting any commitment to aid the Soviets if they proved to be the target of a German attack.

Even for many left-wingers, there is much that is new in this account, particularly with regards to Soviet foreign policy in this period and reaction to it in Britain and France. While Stalin brutally ran and ruined the first experiment in Communism in the world, he left foreign-policy-making, at least in part, to career experts in diplomacy, particularly his brilliant long-time Commissar for Foreign Policy, Maksim Litvinov. In turn, Litvinov staffed diplomatic positions abroad with bright, flexible individuals such as Maiskii in London and Potemkin in Paris. The anti-Nazi factions within the ruling class in Britain and France, led by people such as Churchill, Vansittart, Mandel, and Reynauld, attempted to work closely with these Soviet representatives, whose commitment to a common front of non-fascist nations, without territorial aggrandizements, was genuine. That others in the leadership of these nations did not wish to deal with the Soviet representatives was hardly sur-

prising. They wanted to make common cause with the fascists, and had little time for the communists, whose overthrow they expected the Nazis to accomplish for them. They were not appeasing Hitler, in the sense of simply trying to give him little tidbits so that he would not mount a full-scale war, but rather egging him on to do the dirty deed of destroying the Soviet Union and placing the old Russian Empire under capitalist, if regrettably Nazi, control.

Carley sticks fairly close to the evidence and cautiously avoids suggesting that many of the leading politicians and businessmen in Britain and France before the war might be seen as Nazi collaborators rather than mere "appeasers." This caution has not won him much support from diplomatic historians generally, judging by the tone of their reviews of the book. They cling to their defences of the appeasers and regret the supposedly simplistic character of the tale that Carley weaves. For those who might nonetheless like to read a less cautious appraisal than Carley's, I would recommend my own co-written book with Clement Leibovitz (the research is mostly Leibovitz's, the writing mostly mine), *The Chamberlain-Hitler Collusion* (1997).

Reappraisals such as Carley's of European ruling-class thinking about how to deal with the Nazis in the 1930s seem particularly appropriate in light of work in recent years, much of it by social historians, that sheds light on the unseemly popularity of fascism and Nazism among both the upper classes and the petite bourgeoisie in a variety of countries. In Canada, such work includes Martin Robin's *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940*, Ester Delisle's *Myths, Memories and Lies*, and the edited collection by Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*. These books probe respectively the extent of support for fascist ideology and participation in fascist movements within English Can-

ada, French Canada, and Italian-Canadian communities. Together they demonstrate that earlier literature that tried to minimize fascist and Nazi support among various élites in Canada was more of a whitewash by current élites than an honest attempt to probe the forces behind ultra-right-wing ideology. A recent book by Jacques Pauwels, published initially in Flemish, but soon to be released in English, makes a similar case regarding the US. It is doubtful however that the European diplomatic history field will soon embrace a critical reappraisal of the inter-war period. Too many of its denizens have committed themselves to apologies for both past and present foreign policy decisions of Western élites.

Alvin Finkel
Athabasca University

Augusto Boal, *Hamlet and the Baker's Son: My Life in Theatre and Politics* (Routledge: New York, 2001)

HAVING OFFERED to help the Workers' Party (PT - Partido Trabalhadores) with a 1992 election campaign in Rio de Janeiro, Augusto Boal agreed to run as a candidate for municipal office. After all, is politics not a form of theatre? Assuming he had little chance of winning, he imagined this to be the last act of his struggling Rio-based Theatre of the Oppressed Company. Neither did the PT consider Boal a serious candidate, hoping merely for some good publicity and happy to let Boal and his company run their campaign anyway they liked. It was, of course, theatrical. But, with a heavy heart Boal made his way to a meeting with the PT executive expecting to hear the predictable and long-expected news that he was losing. But the PT executive was worried. It looked like Boal was going to win and it was time to ensure that he understood more about the party he was running for. Boal did win and so began another chap-

ter in his lifelong career of reinventing his practice of theatre — sometimes referred to as a rehearsal for the revolution.

This anecdote is one of the many that I have heard Augusto Boal relate in his flamboyant and moving style of storytelling. And, while not to be found in his charming autobiography, *Hamlet and the Baker's Son: My Life in Theatre and Politics*, you will find, lovingly detailed, the roads that Boal walked and fashioned to reach the surprising destinations to which theatre and politics leads.

Hamlet and the Baker's Son is the moving account of Boal's lifelong and ongoing love of theatre and humanity. Beginning with a romp through his childhood that, not surprisingly, is reminiscent of images of the world-famous Rio Carnival, Boal shares the loving tapestry of his early life. Born in 1931 to Portuguese immigrants, Boal spent his childhood in the historic neighbourhood of Santa Tereza. The first third of the book is devoted to Boal's boyhood, lovingly and playfully recounted in a chapter titled "A Long Time Ago, I Was a Boy." Despite the distance of time referred to, Boal's storytelling is vivid and immediate. His memory for detail and his skill with words only wet the appetite for more. The story moves too quickly for the curious, who might like to linger in this enchanted childhood of a baker's son.

Augusto Boal, director, writer, educator, and politician, is the creator of Theatre of the Oppressed, a practice of critical dialogue for social change that is now practiced around the world. Used to resist racism, violence against women, and many other forms of oppression, Theatre of the Oppressed grew out of Boal's persistent search for invention and reinvention, of a form and practice of theatre that could give voice to the powerless, the mass of humans least able to afford attending theatres. Theatre of the Oppressed, as one of many forms of theatre aimed at social change, is remarkable for its ability to deal with the complexities of oppression in a popular way, which is to

say that it requires no great ability with literacy, philosophical concepts, and political acumen to be an active and respected participant.

This autobiography fills in much of the picture of Boal's life of which he has often spoken and written. In his previous books, *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1990), *Rainbow of Desire* (1995), and *Legislative Theatre* (1998), there are accounts of pivotal experiences that lead, in a way that feels inexorable, to the invention, development, and honing of a practice that Boal has referred to as a "rehearsal for the revolution." The feeling of inexorability is hard to avoid when all one has are the anecdotes that are the turning points in the history of a practice. Now, with this autobiographical account, it is possible to see more of the landscape of a life lived in a changing and violent world out of which grew one of the most powerful forms of theatre of the 20th century.

One tale, of parable-intensity, tells of Boal's collusion in the tragic fate of a beloved pet. In both content and form, this tale telegraphs the shape of things to come that might be said to find their ultimate expression in *Rainbow of Desire*, a form of Theatre of the Oppressed Boal developed while living in exile in France and which is a method that combines political dialogue with therapy. The tale of the fate of Chibuco the goat is much too delightful to spoil by revealing more in this review. However, two points of form are worth noting. The first and most powerful tone of this tale is one of compassion — that sharing of suffering that is greater than pity and sympathy. Compassion runs through this book like a vein of gold through the rich earth and, while Boal writes with loving humour all the way through, there is a sorrow that builds steadily as you follow this tale, knowing that the horror of jail, torture, and exile will have their moment. This book will break your heart, as it should, so that you as a reader can understand how resistance to oppression can be a wonderful journey and sometimes even result in triumph.

The second aspect of the tale of the fate of Chibuco is witness. More than a viewer spectating, witness is an act by a participant who is implicated in the consequences of action. But Boal is no mere single witness. He reveals a startling complexity of personality which is perhaps a clue to his fantastic and persistent creativity. Boal writes:

I have always fought with myself — sometimes I live in a state of internal strife. Even as an adult, mature, even at this moment writing this very story, I battle with myself, I argue, dispute, agitate, provoke, contradict. I should tell that story! — no, I shouldn't — who knows?

I always watch myself doing things, hear myself speaking — and I do not always agree with what I do or say. I hold back, take stock, assess, before going ahead. When I disagree, I do so wholeheartedly, disagreeing with the disagreement. It both complicates and enriches things! (49)

This passage is also a clue perhaps to the role of the Joker in Theatre of the Oppressed work, a combination of educator, director, mediator, facilitator, and emcee. All of Boal's practice is directed with love and compassion towards giving people tools with which they can better understand and resist oppression (that happens to them and with which they collude). Whether he is writing, directing, or producing relatively conventional theatre or using Theatre of the Oppressed with a rural, peasant community in Peru, or legislative theatre in the *favelas* of Rio to create new laws, Boal is devoted equally playfully and seriously to the emancipation of people from oppression.

This autobiography, that largely avoids much repeating already-published accounts, is a deeply satisfying companion to Boal's other books. Whether to provoke interest to read more or to answer the questions of those made curious by reading, this tale of a life still in process, carries a wealth of lessons for which we should all feel an urgency.

Chris Cavanagh
Catalyst Centre, Toronto

María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, *Reyita: The Life of a Black Cuban Woman in the Twentieth Century, as told to her daughter Daisy Rubiera Castillo*, translated by Anne Mclean, (Durham: Duke University Press; London: Latin American Bureau, 2000)

MARÍA DE LOS REYES Castillo Bueno (1902-1997), familiarly known as Reyita, was an ordinary working-class Black woman who, like many thousands of Black women, struggled to survive and raise a family in Cuba. Although she was typical, she has been rescued from anonymity on account of her longevity (she was 95 years old when she died) so that her life experiences extend almost the full length of the 20th century. She was also fortunate to have a daughter who studied at university and was sufficiently curious about her mother's life-history to record these experiences and arrange for their publication in the form of a book. The book was originally published in Spanish in Cuba in 1996; three years later an English translation appeared at Duke University Press in the US and the Latin American Bureau in the UK, introduced by Elizabeth Dore, a distinguished Latin American historian currently at the University of Southampton. An obvious question to ask is, why? Why this woman? Why these publishers? Why now?

That the book should have first appeared in Cuba in 1996 requires some further explanation, as Dore points out. It was published at the height of the special period when, due to shortages, the Cuban printing presses came to a virtual standstill. Only the most urgent books (for example, text books for schools) were published in the early to mid-1990s. *Reyita*, therefore, must have been considered of great significance. Yet it seems not to have been published by the state (by

Letras Cubanas for example), but by an entity called "Prolibros" and by the World Data Research Center, Havana. The book was a finalist for a Casa de las Américas prize, yet — strangely — was not widely circulated or read on the island. It was available only in dollar shops, which were inaccessible to the majority of Cubans. All this, states Dore, "tells us something, but far from enough, about how public culture was constituted in Cuba, and whose voice counted." (14) The circumstances surrounding the publication of the book is clearly an issue that will need to be further explored.

Even more intriguing is why Duke University Press, a prestigious academic press, should have thought this book worth publishing in the first place, especially as it lacks the usual critical and theoretical apparatus to which specialist readers are accustomed. The historical introduction, brief notes, and short list of items for "further reading" clearly indicate that the book targets a wider public than the academic community. In this respect, for instance, *Reyita* might be unfavorably compared to Daniel James's *Dôna Maria's Life Story: Life, History, Memory and Political Identity* (2000), an Argentine working-class woman's account of her life, which comes with a rigorous analysis and full contextualization. It is for this reason too, no doubt, that the introduction to *Reyita* touches only briefly on some of the questions raised by the recent debates in testimonial literature, particularly with reference to the David Stoll controversy regarding Rigoberta Menchú's "testimonio."

Similarly, there is no explanation of how this particular account was obtained; the voice of Daisy Rubiera is never heard, though it is not difficult to imagine the questions asked given the answers provided, particularly near the end of the book where the story-teller seems to be running out of material. Despite these shortcomings, the publication and successful marketing of this book would seem to have more to do with the current

priorities in the US (especially Duke's) academic agenda than genuine interest among Cubans. As stated earlier, there must be thousands of Black women whose life experiences are as interesting as Reyita's. But if the book is to have lasting historical value, and if it is to be read for more than anecdotal curiosity, it needs to form part of a much larger scale research project in which the collective memories and oral histories of many Cuban-Black women are collated, contextualized, and analyzed with full regard to the problematic status of fact and fiction, memory and truth.

These considerations do not detract from the immense interest of the book, which at times is hugely entertaining. Although not told in strictly chronological order, most of the book is taken up with Reyita's memories of her childhood and with her difficult relationship with her mother, Isabel, who was keen to "whiten the race" and ashamed of her daughter's African features. In order to explain this racist attitude Reyita relates what she knows of her mother and maternal grandmother's upbringings. The grandmother was brought over to Cuba as a child slave and the story of how she was captured (in today's Angola) has been passed down through the family, so that the collective memory of the book reaches back to the second half of the 19th century, before the abolition of slavery in 1886. In fact, Reyita's mother, Isabel, was the daughter of a slave owner, which no doubt accounts for the aquiline features she so wished to see replicated in her children. Isabel had several children by different men, some of whom died in infancy, but she was always at pains to keep her lighter-skinned children separate from the others. Reyita's father was a Mambí soldier, the only Black man Isabel shared her life with.

Reyita also gives details of her father's parents. Her paternal grandfather, a free Black, was killed in the first wars of independence, and her paternal grandmother, a kindly person who provided

love and security for Reyita, later married a White farm owner. Reyita herself married the son of an Austrian (from Gijón) and a White-Cuban woman, Antonio Rubiera, with whom she happily lived for some 50 years despite his family's refusal to accept her both because she was Black and because her marriage ceremony was, apparently, not official (though this curious detail is not fully explained fully). In her view, his main flaw was to lack ambition for the advancement of his children. It is this complex family history, the story of the process of miscegenation and, more importantly, the feelings and attitudes of those involved, that stands out as one of the most intriguing aspects of the book. It would have been easier for the reader to follow the formation of family relationships if a family tree had been included. However, the sixteen pages of photographs of the family speak volumes and are a major asset.

Reyita also recounts briefly her early involvement in the Garvey movement in Oriente province, and testifies to the strong influence of the Jamaicans in that part of Cuba. Her uncle was directly involved in the Independent Party of Color (IPC) which was brutally suppressed in 1912, resulting in the massacre of the Black activists, some of whom Reyita had met. One of her most telling comments is when she asks why no one in post-revolutionary Cuba thought to interview the survivors of that massacre to collect their first-hand information not only about the organization of the IPC, but also the political manoeuvrings of the time — she herself suggests that the US was involved. (52) Reyita also knew Batista when he was a child, describing him as a cheerful boy who was known by the name of "Venus." She participated in the Popular Socialist Party's activities in the 1940, a life which she describes as "waking up from the blindness caused by my naiveté," (84) by which she means that she acquired a feminist consciousness. Further historical value is provided by Reyita's account of her involvement in

education in the 1920s. she made her living as a school mistress with her own school for poor children, subsequently closed down when the state school opened. She gives lengthy descriptions of the city of Santiago in the 1920s and 1950s, particularly of the mixed poor quarters, in order to "emphasize the fundamental problem in Cuba was not just being black but poor." (72)

Although told from the point of view of the mid-1990s, the story stops in 1960, when Reyita is 53, shortly after the death of her son, a member of the July 26th Movement. He was killed in the explosion of the ship *La Coubre* in 1960. As Dore points out, Reyita is not forthcoming about life after the Revolution, though there is clearly improvements in her living conditions. We know that she endorsed revolutionary policy (while recognizing that racism still exists), but little more. This is a pity, but no doubt might be clarified to some extent in future volumes written by her children. Just before her death she was the head of a family of 118 people; 8 children, 39 grandchildren, 64 great-grandchildren, and 7 great-great-grandchildren. Reyita was an articulate and intelligent woman whose life history, like that of many other working women across the globe, holds the key to a full understanding of our past.

Catherine Davies
University of Manchester

W. George Lovell, *A Beauty That Hurts: Life and Death in Guatemala* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000)

IN *A BEAUTY That Hurts: Life and Death in Guatemala*, W. George Lovell illustrates well the consequences for everyday life of more than four decades of state repression and the militarization of Guatemalan society, where life and death, joy and terror go hand in hand as unbelievable paradoxes. By including the voices of Mayan survivors along with archival

and other documentary data, Lovell presents a balanced portrait of the contemporary Indigenous peoples of Guatemala as active and dynamic actors of change despite the unspeakable ordeals they have been forced to live through since the European invasion and subsequent colonization. Lovell writes easily and creatively about a reality that is cruel and bitter, the reality of organized state terror, carefully acknowledging the sociopolitical agency of Mayan people and Ladino/Mestizo activists. Lovell also offers some historical background focusing on the official colonial period, 1524-1821.

The most interesting parts of this book are chapter eighteen (which focuses on the colonial experience) and the epilogue. The colonial history serves as a well documented background to today's social relations, outlining the politics of land expropriation of Indigenous lands by Spaniards and the emergent embryo of the Ladino (Spaniard-Indigenous-African people) élite and the different processes through which local Indigenous communities resisted and negotiated with hegemonic powers. This ability of Mayan peoples to resist, Lovell argues "is an important indication that Guatemala supported sizeable, well-organized populations when the Spaniards first invaded," (113) challenging a common idea in much of the Western scholarship that Indigenous peoples of the Americas were "uncivilized" and "primitive" because, among other things, they did not have social organizations. Lovell also shows that not all Mayans resisted the European invaders: some, like the *Kaqchikeles*, allied with the colonizers. This is important considering that some scholars tend to romanticize Indigenous peoples either as "perfect subhumans," essentially born to struggle for social justice, or as "barbarian savages," living in unchanging traditional communities.

In the epilogue, Lovell critically examines the pitfalls of a negotiated peace signed in 1996 by Guatemalan state representatives, the military, and the insurgent

forces of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG). His focus is on the Accord on Socioeconomic Issues and the Agrarian Situation, which does not address the structural problems that are the causes of the bloody conflict, whose victims are the majority Mayas (83.3 per cent), without forgetting the pain and suffering of Ladinos/Mestizos, who account for 16.5 per cent of the total deaths. Lovell is prudent not to dismiss the negotiated peace, an important step towards demilitarization in Guatemala, at least in theory. Nonetheless he shows how the culture of terror and silence persists. One clear example is the assassination of Catholic Bishop Juan Gerardi, responsible for the coordination of the project, the Recovery of Historical Memory (REMHI), whose results were made public on 24 April 1998 in a four-volume report entitled *Guatemala: Nunca Más* – Guatemala Never Again. Exactly two days after the presentation of the human rights report, Bishop Gerardi was brutally killed. The fact that Lovell knew Gerardi enhances the author's analysis. Lovell says that for some people it is the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, for others the car crash that killed Princess Diana that will mark their lives forever. For him it is the murder of Bishop Gerardi that he can anchor in the nexus of time, place, and memory like no other death, save his father's. (139) In the epilogue Lovell also addresses one of the key pillars of the exploitation and sociocultural exclusion of Mayas and poor Mestizos/Ladinos in Guatemala: the unjust land tenure system. Here he draws extensively on Guatemalan scholar Mario Monteforte Toledo, who pointedly notes: "There appears to be a consensus not even to raise the matter of the most flagrant deformity in our country. The only explanation I can offer for this act of concealment is the fear to sound like a 'communist' and not compromise oneself with respect to solutions should one's party afterwards become the government." (136)

With all its enticing analytical and informative points *A Beauty That Hurts* has considerable shortcomings. First, Lovell does not offer a substantial analysis of the structural causes of how Guatemala came to be governed by state terrorism after Criollos (Spaniards born in America) decided to break official ties with the Spanish Crown in a move known as the Independence. Structural and historical causes are spread out in different parts of the book but they are insufficiently examined. Especially disappointing is Lovell's minimal treatment of one of the turning points in Guatemala's history: the October Revolution (1944-1954) and the agrarian reform launched by the government of Jacobo Arbenz, one of the few democratically elected presidents in Guatemala. Even though there are disagreements about how to interpret this revolution particularly in the areas of Mayan peoples' and women's rights, no one can deny that in terms of mass murder and the imposition of the culture of terror, the CIA-local élites intervention of 1954 is a fundamental starting point in justifying state terrorism as a national security policy. This in the name of "progress, democracy, and development," but really to defend the capitalist interests of a local minority and transnational corporations especially from the US. Lovell recognizes the importance of the October Revolution and the CIA intervention but dedicates only two pages to their analysis.

Finally it is difficult to understand the author's motives in affirming that Mayan peoples from Guatemala — whom he insists on naming Indian without acknowledging how problematic this term is for the majority of Mayas — are living and dynamic subjects unlike the rest of Indigenous peoples in the Americas whom he claims have vanished or are vanishing. How would other Indigenous peoples of the Americas take Lovell's statement in which he argues that: "Unlike native peoples elsewhere in the Americas, whose memory belongs to history, whose trace on the earth is faint, the Mayan of Guate-

mala are very much a living culture." (113) What are the author's objectives in making such a misleading comparison? To recognize a people's extraordinary resilience one does not need to diminish other peoples' struggles, more so if those peoples are part of vibrant, complex living cultures.

Despite this book's shortcomings, I think it presents a good overall portrait of the paradoxes, complexities, and contradictions of life and death in Guatemala. Death becomes not a natural stage in the passage of a life but rather a well orchestrated plan of state terror, genocide, and torture. This book includes a powerful set of pictures of survivors, workers, the militarization of society, and of the powerful hegemonic men. For instance, there is a photograph of a poster done by the UN mission in Guatemala, in which a Spanish conquistador orders two "Indians" to "Work faster!" Lovell shares with us, that after protests from the Spanish Ambassador to Guatemala, the poster was withdrawn, another irony in a beautiful human and biophysical landscape. I would have preferred a more meaningful book cover, one that would convey more directly the paradoxes of life and death in Guatemala.

Egla J. Martinez
York University

Stephen J. Frenkel, Marek Korczynski, Karen A. Shire, and May Tam, *On the Front Line: Organization of Work in the Information Economy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999)

QUESTIONS ABOUT the quality of work in the information economy have been central to a number of recent studies. The good jobs/bad jobs debate continues, with it often argued that workers have experienced important losses, especially with regard to control over work and its intensity. This book contributes to that debate and clearly demonstrates how compli-

cated the question of quality of work and the good jobs/bad jobs debate may be.

One strength of this book is the breadth of its methodology. Based on a 5-year study of over 1,000 workers at 8 companies in the US, Japan, and Australia, this multi-layered and methodologically sound study considers work experiences at similar levels within different work structures. The authors examine work arrangements among service, sales, and knowledge-based workers within different work contexts and the ways in which these various organizational forms affect the experience of work. The study is configured as a matrix, considering vertical and lateral work flow within the three different organizational types — bureaucratic, entrepreneurial, and knowledge intensive — and with respect to five elements of work — work relations, employment relations, co-worker relations, control relations, and customer relations. It is this attention to both structure and process along with the comparative dimension that differentiates this book from other recent ones that consider the changing structure of work within the new economy.

The book is as much a study of organization as of work experience. While there is some promise here as well of discussion of policy implications of this applied research, the implications for public policy and changes in employment practices and law to which the authors refer are ultimately unclear.

Focussing on the front-line worker, the authors argue that these workers are pivotal in several ways within the information economy. While others discuss the rise of service and contingent work within the information economy, these authors conclude that front-line work has taken on an increased significance in the new economy that has led to greater and faster diversification of tasks within front-line as compared to back-office and other levels of work. What is most significant to these authors is the front-line workers' level of contact with customers

within the new economy and hence their elevated importance to their work organizations. They argue that this contact at the front line is a distinguishing feature within globalized economies. It is this contact that not only contributes to the success of the business, but also creates a challenging work environment in which workers are spontaneously expected to call upon their organizational and technological knowledge to respond to customers' needs.

The significance of the front-line worker in terms of their numbers is without question. It is important, however, to critically assess the nature of front-line work and the customer contact these authors view as contributing to a positive work experience. For many front-line workers, particularly in fields such as sales and telecommunications, the customer contact is largely scripted and workers are monitored to ensure that they stay within the script. Rather than concluding that work has become more routinized and set within a regimented bureaucratic context, these authors point to the increasing complexity of work and to the growing popularity of the empowered work organization in which, they suggest, the complexity of work has loosened the formality associated with regimented work contexts. Within these structures, the complexity itself has become the challenge which stimulates workers in the modern work organization. Despite their tendency to argue that work on the front line has, in many contexts, taken on new dimensions of respect, to their credit, the authors do not present sweeping or simplistic conclusions that work on the front line has improved (or worsened). Rather, they point to the necessity of detailed comparative analysis and the importance of context or structure in assessing the nature of work. It is this question of relativity which is the highlight of this study. As detailed as this study is, what is most disappointing is that the authors overlook the question of alternatives workers may see for themselves. They also skirt dis-

cussion of the impact of changes in work structures on workers' experience. There is little sense of workers' agency, and despite the number of interviews conducted for this study, workers' voices are not prominently featured. Given the length of the book and the detail presented, it is understandable that relatively little attention is directly paid to workers' voices. The authors might, however, consider developing the qualitative data into a parallel volume to enrich what is sometimes too dense a discussion of organizational structures and work flows.

Overall, the authors adopt a disappointingly uncritical understanding of the changes within the organization of work and the experience of service at the front line. This is not to suggest that there be a simplistic conclusion that work in the context of the globalized economy has deteriorated. But, there should be some greater sense of the ways in which work today may have lost some meaning for some groups of workers, particularly given the recent literature that emphasizes the tendency for workers to be overworked, underemployed, highly stressed, closely monitored, and in increasingly contingent categories of work within the information economy.

In conclusion, this book is very dense with presentation of the data and discussion about the complexities of workflows within different forms of work organization. The ambitiousness of the study and the questions raised make the volume well worth reading. Yet there is little evidence here that in the work contexts in which sales, service, and knowledge-based workers find themselves today, they have real decision-making authority and are truly challenged by the level and variety of work tasks expected. Rather than referring to work becoming more complex, and as such, a challenge, the authors might consider more closely the question of work intensification and the pressures that intensification entails with regard to the minute decisions regarding work process.

Norene Pupo
York University

Torry D. Dickinson and Robert K. Schaeffer, *Fast Forward: Work, Gender, and Protest in a Changing World* (Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 2001)

TORRY D. DICKINSON, a professor of Women's Studies and Robert K. Schaeffer, a sociologist, have combined efforts to present what they consider a new, comprehensive, and convincing explanation for global transformations over the last 500 years. The result is a sweeping, and not entirely convincing, description of changes in work, family, and social movements over the last 500 years — but with an emphasis on the last decade of the 20th century. Drawing on world systems theory and feminism, the authors argue that the global North and South are locked in inevitable conflict. "The entire material basis of life in the North," they note, "is endowed with the hard, underpaid work done by the world's economically subjugated majority." However, they assure us, "even though corporate domination has lasted 500 years it won't last forever."⁽¹⁴⁾ There is hope for change, they suggest, if workers, North and South, recognize the nature of the world system, and the fact that "the modern world is socially manufactured."⁽¹⁵⁾

The first part of the book describes economic and social relations in the global North and South in terms that will be familiar to most readers of this journal. In what is hardly a new insight, the authors observe that since World War II wage work in the core has been redistributed and reorganized. They describe the expansion of women's wage work, the rise of consumer economies, the development of welfare states, and the trajectories of social movements as part of the centuries old struggle between the core and the periphery. Identifying four kinds of work — subsistence, sharing, enterprise, and wage — the authors argue that

any analysis of global labour has to consider non-wage labour and multi-generational work as well as traditional wage labour. The book's second section describes the impact of world economic changes on households, workplaces, and the natural environment, while the last section critiques protest movements and "institutional" struggles, calling for "diversifying" social change and making the movements more "woman centered."

The book's most useful contribution is to place women's work — paid and unpaid — at the center of world economic development and to suggest that any movement for social change should focus on gender as well as class transformations. They argue that studying the household as part of the world economy indicates that "what may look like proletarianization, or labor's increasing dependence on wages and the global market may actually turn out to be deproletarianization or declining dependence on wages and market consumption." The household, they suggest, can now be considered a "powerful base upon which antisystemic movements can be built," and praise the rise of new woman-centered movements around the world. (162) The notion that unpaid household work should be considered in any analysis of labour and economic systems is not new and will be familiar to most readers. The authors seem, for example, to have just discovered the significance of "the kitchen, the hearth, the yard, the street, the neighborhood, and labor's informal markets" as centers of political activity while historians of women have been arguing just this for quite a while. (179)

The effort to make gendered work central to a world system's analysis is useful but the authors argue at such a general level that the book fails to systematically or convincingly address either the theoretical or the historical issues. In a puzzling assertion, for example, the authors write:

when working-class feminists and other activists realized that nonwage work was more than just housework, homebased work became defined as a part of a larger cooperative effort. This qualitative jump in understanding was made possible because workers recognized the value of women's work, unpaid work and informal work and appreciated the importance of collective survival skills. (254)

One can only wonder who, what, and where they are talking about. In the US, for one thing, it was middle-class women who began to press for an acknowledgement of the significance of housework. To date, despite the AFL-CIO's campaign for "working families," the labour movement has been rather slow to address issues outside the workplace. Similarly, the authors suggest that "U.S. student and youth movements have grown largely because students realize that few young people will be able to obtain full-time positions that support middle-class life styles." (230) Again, one wonders who and what the authors can possibly be talking about. Neither the movement of students against sweatshop labour abroad nor the recent living wage campaigns address the economic prospects of the students' own lives.

Often, even when the authors refer to specific movements or developments, they seem to be forcing the evidence to fit their theory. They argue, for example, that falling fertility rates in the periphery are a response to "deteriorating economic conditions." While they admit that demographers point to multiple factors, including television and increased availability of contraceptives (curiously, no mention of education), they ignore these and simply quote one woman who says that food is expensive and the future is bleak. From this woman's statement the authors conclude, "the general decline in fertility rates reflects this economic assessment." (99) Like so many quotations in the book, this one has no identifying context, thus leaving room for a good deal

of skepticism. If limiting fertility is simply a rational response to economic hardship how does one explain high fertility rates among historically impoverished groups? Surely in the case of fertility rates, cultural and religious factors are important. Ultimately, readers interested in understanding work, gender, and protest in a global context will find this book at best, a restatement of much that is familiar and at worst, an overly general statement of theoretical abstractions.

Susan Levine
University of Illinois at Chicago

Conor Foley, *Global Trade, Labour and Human Rights* (London: Amnesty International United Kingdom, 2000)

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is an independent, worldwide voluntary movement dedicated to the investigation and prevention of the gravest violations of human rights, e.g., unfair and discriminatory trials, imprisonment, execution, torture or other forms of cruelty, arbitrary killings, and “disappearances” — any serious violation of fundamental human rights by governments or others in positions of power.

It is therefore fitting that the organization should turn its attention to the workplace, which is where the arbitrary and discriminatory exercise of power can easily turn into abuse. It is not just that the employment relationship is so clearly one of subordination. Workplaces are the centres of production of wealth, and therefore crucial to the plans of governments and powerful individuals — and they will take quick and dirty action whenever human factors of production stand in the way of their plans.

The list of abuses revealed in *Global Trade, Labour and Human Rights* shows us why any discussion of human rights is largely meaningless unless it pays attention to “worker rights,” as defined by such international instruments as the Conven-

tions and Standards of the ILO. In fact, citizens of most countries enjoy more rights on the street than they do in their places of work, even under the most democratic of regimes.

Columbia is the first country to be singled out, because of the growing campaign of terror the government is waging against its people, with the full backing of such democracies as the US (aka “war on drugs”). In fact, it leads the list of countries systematically killing, torturing, and harassing trade unionists. In December 2001 (a year after this book was released), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) sent a letter to ILO Secretary-General Juan Somavia charging that in November 2001 alone, 10 trade unionists had been assassinated (some after cruel torture), 3 taken hostage, and another critically injured, bringing the total for such killings in Columbia to over 160 for the year. In one case, when members of the Andean Trade Union Commission of Municipal Workers refused an order to disaffiliate, paramilitary forces executed their president right in front of a regular union meeting.

Second on the list is Myanmar (Burma), which uses forced labour extensively in blatant contravention of ILO Conventions 29 (1930) and 105 (157). Amnesty International reports were confirmed by an ILO Commission of Inquiry, and could be taken before the International Court of Justice. Unfortunately, the ILO is often regarded as “toothless” in these matters because, unlike the WTO, it lacks a binding dispute settlement mechanism.

The 74-page booklet is subtitled “Global Trade,” and it does a good job of showing that abuse of worker rights is part and parcel of development in an era of internationalization of production, privatization, deregulation, and other forms of liberalization. National leaders who make a point about the “rule of law” in other areas, have made it just as clear that they have no intention of enforcing international standards where workers are

concerned. As one result, sweatshops that almost disappeared by the mid-1900's, numbered in the thousands at the close of the century.

Of all abuses revealed in this book, perhaps the most tragic is child labour, of which the most intolerable forms are child soldiering and prostitution. The author cites ILO estimates that over 250 million children, some as young as 5 years- old, work up to 16 hours a day, "in the face" of the 1959 UN *Declaration on the Rights of the Child*, the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (adopted by all countries in 1989), ILO *Conventions on Minimum Age* (138), and the *Worst Forms of Child Labour*. (182)

The book provides a thumbnail guide to international law in this area, including elements of the Minimum Standards agreed to by the European Union. It also provides a useful checklist of principles for multinational enterprises, such as the *Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officers* for company security forces that are called on to enforce abusive conditions.

One criticism might be that this book is far too kind to the governments involved. It not only seems rather naïve to suggest that they should take a stand against the excesses of globalized production but it perpetuates the notion that the "forces" of globalization somehow exist outside the countries in question. The reality is that the leaders — the "agents of globalization" — are not just the supranational corporate élites. They are just as likely to be government leaders themselves, who constantly make it clear where they stand in the growing conflict between rights of property and the rights of workers. They refuse to ratify ILO Conventions and other international instruments to regulate the workplace, and refuse to allow any mention of human rights or core labour standards in trade negotiations. Expressing an undying faith in "market forces," they argue that "unfair trading practices" do not apply to violations of worker rights. As a result, govern-

ments have been able to commit massive human and worker rights atrocities with little or no real consequences, while relatively minor trade disputes over property have generated high-level disputes, with sizeable economic effects and penalties.

As well, this book fails to do justice to the role that unions play in the fight for worker rights, decent workplaces, and democratic communities. Trade unions not only create and assert rights for their members; they do so for the working class in general by advancing an industrial relations model that challenges "free market" models. Unions seek more, not less, intervention by the state to reinforce and universalize gains achieved through collective bargaining. All of their experience tells them that progress for workers occurs through regulation, not liberation of markets. A large part of the solution to the alarming abuse of workers lies in "core labour standards" and other "enabling rights" that unions make possible. Laws governing pay, working time, health and safety, and even the protection of fundamental human rights all tend to take human labour out of the realm of competition — an effect which "globalization" is unfortunately reversing.

Unions have helped to draft codes and other instruments of corporate responsibility that have proliferated during the last two decades. Such international instruments as the ILO's *Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises* (1976), and the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development's (OECD) newly-revised *Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises* have brought internationally-recognized standards to multinational enterprises engaged in such globalized practices as "outsourcing." The ICFTU warns, however, that these cannot be substitutes for government action; nor should they be allowed to undermine such internationally-recognized standards as ILO Convention 87 on Freedom of Association.

Unions have also secured core labour standards in a growing number of frame-

work agreements between multinational companies and ITS's, the international trade union organisations that represent workers in specific sectors. The International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (ICEM), for example, has signed a framework agreement with the German company Freudenberg, which together with its worldwide subsidiaries, employs about 30,000 people in 41 countries. All are now covered by a jointly-monitored agreement that guarantees union-company meetings, participatory approaches to health, safety, and the environment, and specifically cites ILO Conventions on freedom of association and collective bargaining, equal opportunities, and forced or child labour.

The overall value of this book is that it interrupts the "grand narrative" of economic reform and liberalization by displaying the terror and abuse that lies just beneath the surface. Progress begins when such groups as Amnesty International direct attention to this side of the story, as they have done in a series of books, including *Torture Worldwide: An Affront to Human Dignity* (2000), *Hidden Scandal, Secret Shame: Torture and Ill-Treatment of Children* (2000), *Broken Bodies, Shattered Minds: Torture and Ill-Treatment of Women* (2001), *Human Rights: Is it Any of Your Business?* (2001), and *Business and Human Rights in a Time of Change* (2000). For this reason, their publications should be promoted in universities and colleges around the world where corporate and government leaders of tomorrow are being trained. As well, they should be read by NGO's and activist groups, and concerned individuals everywhere.

Winston Gereluk
Athabasca University

Sharon Beder, *Selling the Work Ethic: From Puritan Pulpit to Corporate PR* (London: Zed Books, 2000)

SHARON BEDER, an engineer at the University of Wollongong, is best known for her book *Global Spin: The Corporate Assault on Environmentalism* (1997). In *Selling the Work Ethic*, she turns her attention to how work has been vested with a moral quality in order to evoke greater labour productivity, legitimate wealth accumulation, and justify inequality.

This is an ambitious undertaking. Much of the history of political economy is interpreted in terms of the social construction of the work ethic. If manual labour was seen as "degrading" and "vulgar" to the Greeks and Romans, the rise of the Protestant work ethic in the 16th century "imbued work with a moral value through an emphasis on responsibility and contribution." (188) When exported to the US a century later, it was transformed from a religious/ individual to a secular/national ethos with work as an indication of good character rather than a sign of God's blessing. (24) Later Adam Smith elevated greed from a private vice to a social virtue; Social Darwinism legitimated a *laissez-faire* economy with its accompanying rewards for the industrious and strong and punishments for the idle and weak; and Taylorism elevated the manipulation of workers to a high art.

Many of our current social institutions were structured to meet and legitimate the cultural imperative of work. The education system was designed to instill good work habits while reinforcing the myth of equality of opportunity and social mobility. The concept of human capital, if nothing else, justifies income inequality. Hierarchical wage structures and career ladders reward the "organization man" for his loyalty to the corporation. Social welfare programs, on the other hand, had to ensure that there is a sufficient stigma attached to the receipt of social assistance to discourage idleness.

The contradiction faced by modern capitalism is that the primary objective of the work ethic has been undermined by stagnant real wages, rising income inequality, reduced social mobility, and transformations in the labour process. Downsizing erodes the worker's loyalty to the company, falling living standards call into question the edict of an honest day's work, and the post-industrial "mop and slop" economy holds out little promise of climbing the occupational ladder. On a different level, environmental concerns have challenged the benefits of ever increasing material production. These failures have led to the gospel of the "new Social Darwinism" (evident in workfare schemes), with the primary objective "to convince the middle class that its enemy is the poor." (67)

This is a challenging thesis and there is no doubt that we often exhibit a "pathological compulsion to work" and too readily identify ourselves in terms of our occupation or, more insidiously, with loyalty to our employer. Beder forces us to reflect on the premise that work is valuable for reasons other than pay.

There are, however, two aspects of the argument that leave one with a measure of unease. First, the difference between the pursuit of profit on the one hand, and the virtue of work on the other, is often obscured. Marx, for instance, would share the canon that work is a potentially creative activity — despite its debasement under capitalist social relations — while obviously disparaging of the drive to accumulation of capital. This distinction is an important one especially in light of the recent financial "bubble" of the casino economy of the 1990s. How does one convince workers of the virtue of hard work at a time when entrepreneurial "get-rich-quick" schemes and financial markets offered windfall gains that make a mockery of diligent savings out of an honest day's work? How does capitalism celebrate the accumulations of capitalists and rentiers through unproductive activity while seeking to convince work-

ers that their future is best achieved through a lifetime of labour?

Second, given the scope of the argument, it often overreaches in the effort to subsume all social phenomena within a single framework. Statements to the effect that "social mobility between generations has become a thing of the past" (74) require, at the very least, some empirical support. Or consider the discussion of income inequality: it seems implausible that "the middle third of [the population in the United States] used to be able to save but since 1980 this is no longer the case." (73) Despite rising levels of household debt, this ignores the substantial savings that workers have amassed in their pension plans and, more importantly, the social definition of subsistence that draws more heavily on the imperatives of consumption rather than production.

The important contribution of the book is to redress the imbalance in the recent literature on the new consumerism. Both post-modern interpretations of consumer culture as an outlet for self-creation and the classic "status-seeking" view (most recently articulated by Juliet Schor, in *The Overspent American*) tend to disregard that capitalism is still, first and foremost, about work. The glorification of consumption, particularly after World War II, accompanied the further degradation of labour: industrial workers could expect no gratification from their role in the production process and consumption was elevated to the primary objective. Beder reminds us that capitalism is still the need to extract work effort and consumerism alone will not accomplish this end.

Hugh Grant
University of Winnipeg

Otto Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*, edited by Ephraim J. Nimni, translated by Joseph O'Donnell (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000)

THAT ONE of the greatest failures of Marxist theory was its inability to understand "the national question" has been a pervasive truism for decades. The fact that this claim has been repeated many times in one form or another indicates that those who hold it are most likely unfamiliar with Otto Bauer's Marxist classic *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*. And one cannot blame them (at least if they only read in English): Bauer's long, complex, and very sophisticated analysis of the nation from a historical materialist perspective has been unavailable in English until now, and in order to read it in the German original much more than a basic command of that language would have been necessary. (A French translation appeared in Paris and Montréal in 1987; indeed the book has been translated into all major Western languages, and a Russian version was published already in Czarist times.) I would dare to restate my original statement, and say that Marxism has difficulty dealing with non-material aspects of human experience: human consciousness, culture, identity, and so forth. Bauer's treatise on the national question is probably one of the best exceptions to this rule, successfully managing to overcome those limitations of classic Marxism without the need to resort to any form of "idealist" or metaphysical explanation. Bauer's detailed analysis of the nation is deeply rooted in human society and history, and challenges "mystical" notions of the nation or any conception that sees it as a biological or natural phenomenon. In this way, the nation is for Bauer a dynamic entity that changes throughout history. Moreover, Bauer's analysis avoids as well most of the mechanistic simplifications of "vulgar" Marxism.

Otto Bauer (1881-1934) was a prominent leader of the All-Austrian Social Democratic Party (*Gestamtpartei*) and a notable theorist of Austro-Marxism, an intellectual current that was linked, but not identical, to that party. While Bauer's

ideas on the nation — together with those of the other Austro-Marxist concerned with this question, Karl Renner — were highly regarded in their party, the program they advanced to solve the national question was never adopted. Renner and Bauer put forward the idea of non-territorial national-cultural autonomy in a multinational state. Yet the party conference held in 1899 in the Moravian city of Brünn adopted a national program demanding national autonomy based on territory and rejected the South Slav delegation's proposal that a program demanding a non-territorial autonomy be adopted instead.

The Question of Nationalities was first published in 1907, and a second edition appeared during the author's lifetime in 1924. The present English translation is based on this second German edition, including the valuable preface written after the partition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into nation states, when, as Bauer himself acknowledged, any hope for the realization of the programmatic part of the book was lost. This preface also contains some interesting additions and examples, in particular a clarification of the often misunderstood notion of "national character" based on a historical-materialist analysis, and illustrated by an extended comparison of French and English national characters. This English edition is superb. Joseph O'Donnell's translation makes the difficult text intelligible, when necessary providing well-chosen English equivalents for complex German terms, or terms invented by Bauer. The German original of all the key terms is given in square brackets.

Each of the main types of nations is exemplified in the book by prominent examples taken from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first half of the book is theoretical and historical. It begins with a long analysis of the term "nation," in which the Germans are the chosen instance of a "historical" nation. Then Bauer moves to the nation state, "deconstructing" the supposedly natural bond between nation

and state, and subsequently to the multinational state, examining the phenomenon of the "awakening of the nonhistorical nations" in modern times with the Czechs as the main example. The second half of the book, more programmatic, deals with territorial and non-territorial national autonomy and finally with the "program and tactics of Austrian Social Democracy." The Jews figure here as the major case study: in response to the question as to whether the Jews should claim cultural-national autonomy, Bauer discards such a possibility, claiming that while the Jews used to be a nation during feudal times, in his time they were integrating and it was likely that they would in the future completely assimilate into the surrounding nations.

Although the book's general structure is straightforward, it is not an easy read. Bauer's writing is somewhat idiosyncratic, at every step deploying a rich erudition, and backing every theoretical claim with an abundance (sometimes even an overabundance) of historical examples. However, the examples themselves have intrinsic interest. For instance, by choosing the Germans and the Czechs as his respective case studies of a historical and a nonhistorical nation, Bauer in fact re-writes the political-economic and cultural history of Central Europe. Like many other major works (and let me insist, this is a major work), *The Question of Nationalities* cannot be summarized in a few pages, and a short review like this one cannot expect to do justice to its content. I do believe that the only way to do full justice to this work would be to recognize its place in the history of understandings of the nation and as such incorporate it into academic and public debates on nations and nationalism.

Bauer rejects, on the one hand, "pragmatic" definitions of the nation based on a mere enumeration of elements (precisely the kind of definition Stalin would later use in his critical response to Bauer), and on the other metaphysical or psychological definitions of the nation, those usually

formulated by nationalists themselves. (113-14) It takes Bauer over 100 pages of historical examples and introduction and explanations of many new concepts to arrive at his own, somewhat synthetic definition of the nation as "the totality of human beings bound together by a community of fate into a community of character." (117, cf. 101) Each of the terms that make up this definition (community of character, communities of fate) is discussed at length in an attempt to delimit its uses and establish nuances of meaning (see e.g. page 100 on "community").

Bauer traces the existence of nations back to antiquity and tribal times. Here most contemporary students of the nation would differ with Bauer, but the disagreement may be more a question of terminology than of principle. For most scholars, it is misleading to call early human groups "nations" and other terms must be used to refer to pre-modern formations that would eventually develop into nations (e.g. "ethnic groups," a term that in this sense postdates Bauer). Still, Bauer convincingly shows that European national *cultures* do have a much longer history, in most cases dating back to antiquity or the Middle Ages — which does not mean that the human (ethnic) groups that established those national cultures were then "nations." The distinction between pre-modern ethnic groups and modern nations is not qualitative (i.e. does not imply that nations are in any way superior to ethnic groups) but temporal: the nation is a distinctive modern phenomenon, similar in some respects but in essence different from earlier phenomena. In other words, to be German, Czech, or Jew (to use Bauer's examples) would have meant something different in the 16th century and the 19th century. It must be noted that even though the term "nation" is not appropriate for pre-modern groups, in modern times both "nations" and "ethnic groups" may be useful to account for various cases.

One specific reason makes it regrettable that this English translation appeared so late: several generations of Marxists encountered Bauer through the falsified representation of his book in Stalin's *Marxism and the National Question*. Stalin first proffered a simplified and distorted summary of Bauer's arguments (and those of the Jewish Marxist party, the Bund, whose national program for Russia was similar to Bauer's), and then relentlessly attacked them. To be sure, some of the real or apparent contradictions Stalin found in Bauer's text are not made up, even if Stalin interprets them in the least generous way possible and squeezes them to the maximum to achieve the effect he seeks (in particular Bauer's ambiguous position on the question of whether the Jews are or are not a nation). Ephraim Nimni — the editor of the present volume, who certainly cannot be accused of hostility towards Bauer — characterizes Bauer's chapter on the Jews as "enigmatic," admitting that it stands "in contradiction to his theoretical stance." (xxviii) It definitely appears more contradictory today than it must have in Vienna before World War I.

One particular section may puzzle contemporary readers: "The Nation as Community of Nature." (25-33) "Community of nature" and "community of descent" are some of the terms introduced by Bauer to express a relatively simple idea: that ethnic groups in their early, tribal stages are composed of the descendents of common ancestors and tend not to mix with other groups, so that only later will a national culture that holds the nation together and is independent of biology be created. However, to clarify this idea, Bauer borrows from a scientific Darwinist language that has become outdated and sounds almost offensive to today's ears; but the ideas themselves, purged from the late-19th century rhetoric, are not offensive. And in any event, Bauer himself later acknowledges the hypothetical status of his speculations on heredity (36) and re-focuses his

argument on culture and history, where he is on much more solid ground to develop a systematic analysis. Whereas he sees heredity as having some importance in the early tribal stages of the history of the nations, it becomes irrelevant in his analysis of later stages.

Nimni's excellent "Introduction for the English-Reading Audience" deserves special mention. Nimni offers a general overview of Bauer's argument that makes it accessible to the book's intended audience, as well as an examination of the historical context in which it was written that will be particularly useful to readers not versed in the history of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the Austrian Socialist Party. Furthermore, the introduction places Bauer's arguments in the context of current debates on nations and multiculturalism, and therefore discloses what I think is the main *raison d'être* for the appearance of this edition now: the need to introduce Bauer's ideas into these debates in order to challenge the conceptual constraints imposed by liberal discourse (the "centralist-atomist principle" that Bauer borrowed from Renner) on the thinking of alternatives to the limitations of the nation-state and its inability to respond to a multi-ethnic *de facto* reality.

Nimni's introduction includes a short paragraph on Canada, pointing to the relevance of Bauer's arguments to debates on nationality in this country. (xxx) Indeed, despite the fact that this book was written in a very different historical conjuncture and in socio-political conditions different from our own, its conceptual framework might greatly contribute to the controversies on multiculturalism in Canada in general, and in particular to the question of its francophone population. I have in mind for example the recent article in *Labour/ Le Travail*, 46 in which Ralph Guntzel portrayed the massive and rather uncritical support of organized labour in Québec for sovereigntism since the 1960s. It is my belief that an approach based on non-territorial cultural autonomy in the context of a multinational state

would reflect much more closely the interests of workers than the insistence on sovereignty at the cost of destroying this multicultural state. Moreover, a solution inspired by Bauer's program would imply full recognition of the national rights of francophone Canadians, not only those living in Québec but also the Acadians in

the Atlantic provinces and other francophone communities or individuals all over Canada, as well as the national rights of other ethnic minorities.

Bauer's book is a must read for historians, political scientists, social theorists, students, and general readers interested in the national question and/or in Marxism.

Not only is it indispensable for any academic library, but it should be required reading in the courses on nationalism taught today in almost every university. Bauer's concepts, arguments, and proposals deserve careful consideration by scholars engaged in the ongoing debate on nations, nationalism and multiculturalism, from both theoretical and historical perspectives. For all these reasons, this long-overdue English edition is a welcome contribution and the credit must go to Nimni's perseverance for having brought this complex project to a successful conclusion despite many difficulties along the way.

Roni Gechtman
New York University