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Books Reviewed

Anderson, Mark Cronlund and Carmen L. Robertson. 2011. *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Reviewed by Sue Ferguson

Razack, Sherene; Malinda Smith and Sunera Thobani, eds. 2010. *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21st Century*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Reviewed by Anne O'Connell

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Reviewed by Lisa Wright

Bell, Colleen. 2011. *The Security of Freedom: Governing Canada in the Age of Counter-Terrorism*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

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Anderson, Mark Cronlund and Carmen L. Robertson. 2011. *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. ISBN 978-0-88755-727-9. Paperback: 27.95 CAD. Pages: 362.

Reviewed by Susan Ferguson
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When *Globe and Mail* columnist Margaret Wente rails against Indigenous peoples, casting them as depraved and over-entitled, and argues for the dismantling of Indian Affairs on the basis that "some cultures are too toxic to save" (273), it's easy to dismiss her as a right-wing crank, doing the ideological work of Canada's ruling class.

Whatever the merit of that position, it risks occluding the more systemic forces at play. As Anderson and Robertson illustrate in *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, Wente's columns are in fact an (admittedly stark) articulation of an entrenched, settler colonial ideology that has characterized coverage of Indigenous people in the Canadian press since Confederation. The authors detail the ways in which this "thriving colonial imaginary" (18) is articulated within specific historical contexts, making a convincing case for its enduring presence. In so doing, they challenge those who suggest that the modern North American press adopts a more progressive, less racist, approach than it did prior to World War II.

Seeing Red is the culmination of an extensive and intensive discursive analysis of Canadian newspapers. It examines local and national coverage of 12 discreet events, beginning with the 1869 sale of Rupert's Land and concluding with Saskatchewan's and Alberta's centennial celebrations in 2005. Chapters focus on key political moments, such as the introduction in 1969 of Trudeau's White Paper and the 1990 Native blockade at Oka, as well as some less obvious episodes, including the 1938 death of Grey Owl (and subsequent revelation of his English ancestry), and the Native-run Canadian Indian Princess contests in the 1980s. In each case, Anderson and Robertson review not only how Indigenous peoples are represented, but more significantly, how these representations are inserted into a hegemonic discourse of settler colonial nation-building, one that ultimately demands either their extinction or assimilation.

The authors establish early on what many others have already noted: newspapers portrayed Indigenous peoples alternately (and often simultaneously) as wild, bloodthirsty savages on the one hand, and compliant, dependent children on the other. More "positive" imaginings saw them as a people beyond history, noble warriors or Indian princesses. But *Seeing Red* quickly moves past mere documentation and lamentation of such racism. Its particular contribution is in situating those stereotypes within a further analysis of the press' prevailing discourse of settlement and nation-building, a discourse that assumes private property in land and asserts the values of "improvement" or cultivation, invariably associating these with whiteness. Anderson and Robertson argue that Indigenous peoples are thus not only stripped of their humanity and agency, but their dehumanization justifies and normalizes the original seizure of their lands, as well as their on-going cultural and legal exclusion from (white) Canadian society.

That this discourse not only dominated, but was virtually unchallenged, across Canada's early newspapers (divided as they were by explicit partisan allegiances) is evidence of the intractability of the settler colonial narrative at that time. More controversially, however, Anderson and Robertson insist little has changed since. Any improved representation in the modern era (of the sort R. Scott Sheffield documents in *The Red Man's on the Warpath* [UBC Press, 2004] during World War II, for example), they suggest, is at best temporary. Despite today's prevailing liberal multiculturalism

ethos, contemporary coverage of Indigenous peoples bears irrefutable traces of a settler colonial mentality. Whereas early pundits predicted their assimilation or extinction, today they signal a different kind of doom: sympathetic stories about unhealthy conditions on reservations cast their communities as hopelessly dependent and moribund. In other news stories celebrating Native culture, Indigenous people appear as inhabiting a space beyond history. And of course, coverage of the Oka or Bended Elbow (1974) standoffs recuperate the well worn savage motif. As in the past, Anderson and Robertson argue, these modern imagined Natives are not "Canadian," and serve as a powerful affirmation of the desirability and inevitability of (white) Canadian stewardship of the land and its peoples.

Seeing Red offers a relatively monolithic account of Canadian newspapers, insisting that, regardless of era, party affiliation, or even ownership models, the press peddles a hegemonic racist ideology. While the evidence clearly supports such a conclusion in general, the authors don't always adequately explore the more subtle tensions in the news accounts. Analyzing the letters to the editor sections in two newspapers during the Oka crisis, Anderson and Robertson identify the emergence of "a sustained counter-narrative" (220): a handful of letters defended the 1990 blockade, and some put forward an explicit anti-colonialist rationale. Yet they dismiss these as broadly inconsequential either because they were penned by an Indigenous person or motivated by anti-Quebec sentiment. Similarly, they dismiss a 1938 *Winnipeg Free Press* editorial describing Grey Owl as an Indian with something to teach Whites, noting that it "voiced an opinion that surely confounded Canada's colonial sense of order" (126). This favourable comparison of Grey Owl to the White man does of course, as the authors argue, depend upon a particular imaginary of a constructed, assimilate-able Native. But could it not also be an attempt to humanize the Native? Otherwise, what's there to confound Canada's colonial sense of order? Or what should one make of a lone 1971 *Toronto Star* editorial criticizing the paternalism of Trudeau's White Paper, and suggesting that Indigenous peoples were understandably angered and moved to protest? The authors duly note it, but don't attempt to make sense of it, or a sprinkling of other passages which are open to contradictory interpretations. True, such counter-narratives are vastly outnumbered by stories framed by the settler colonial narrative. But greater reflection on how and why they appear at all would offer readers a more satisfying understanding of the ideological role and potential of newspaper coverage in general, and deflect potential criticism aimed at the authors' political message.

Nonetheless, *Seeing Red* mounts an important argument about the persistence of a settler colonialist framework through time. And while such a thesis invites repetition (as similar examples of dehumanizing portrayals of Indigenous peoples and Euro-centric assumptions and values are documented in each distinct period), the authors cut against the tedium of their social science by situating their findings in an engaging historical

narrative. In so doing, they add an invaluable critical perspective to the "Indian problem" in the news.

Razack, Sherene; Malinda Smith and Sunera Thobani, eds. 2010. *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21st Century*. Toronto: Between the Lines. ISBN 978-1-897071-59-5. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 228.

Reviewed by Anne O'Connell
York University

Researchers and Academics of Colour for Equality/Equity (RACE) is a national network of Indigenous faculty and faculty of colour committed to anti-colonial and anti-racist feminist research and activism. This edited collection is drawn from scholars associated with this network and coincided with the aims of their tenth anniversary conference – "to draw attention to the 'wilfull forgetting' in the majority of Canadian and international studies scholarship, of racial thinking, race-making and racial imaginaries, which have long served the imperial and colonial designs of empires and states alike" (xvi).

States of Race examines the complications, nuances and political currency of critical race feminism. The editors' introduction and the eight chapters argue that two dominant logics drive the focus of critical race feminism – neoliberalism's attachment to an imagined individualism devoid of a racial, ethnic or gendered self and the collective imaginaries which "make clear that 'outsider groups' and the 'barbarians' are always shaped by racial and gendered markers" (xvii). This apparent contradiction is enormously productive in shaping the governance of individual freedom for some and the "social death" (90) of others.

Attending to this dual logic makes each chapter a compelling read and speaks to the ways in which justice in Canada (for some) is perpetually deferred. Another main strength of this collection is the urgent and intricate theorization of race, the role of gender, feminism and theories of whiteness. How does feminism and gender rights further racial supremacy? How does the intersection of gender and whiteness embolden racial hierarchies? What is accomplished when feminism is positioned as contrary to Indigenous nationalism? These questions tease out the theoretical intricacies of critical race theory, feminism and whiteness and their application to pressing political issues such as racism and equity policies in universities, the veiled Other, security delayed individuals, Indigenous feminism, on-going colonization, the War on Terror, capitalist globalism and forms of resistance.

The collection begins with a reflective piece by Patricia Monture, the renowned Mohawk lawyer, scholar and activist, who passed away in 2010. Here, she offers powerful insights into how scholars of colour can survive a hostile and unchanging academic world while noting survival is not a very lofty goal. As one of the founders of RACE, her concern builds on a previous statement that "equality is not a high standard in my way of thinking" (3). Her treatise on racial oppression in universities is followed by Malinda Smith's chapter on how equity policies in academia have translated into equity polices for white women only. The "motivated ignorance" and "hegemonic whiteness" of academic feminism means justice deferred for faculty of colour and Indigenous scholars (42, 49). Similar themes are developed in Gada Mahrouse's chapter on "racial liberalism" in social justice movements, such as international solidarity projects and socially responsible tourism. Instead of examining the politics and histories of particular regions, western subjects perform a type of temporary solidarity that leaves their implication in colonial and imperial designs unquestioned. Mahrouse argues that privileged students in these programs are further empowered and feelings of "innocence, redemption and benevolence" are secured (181). The theme of "justice deferred" is picked up again in Sherene Razack's examination of security delayed individuals (refugees granted asylum but not full citizenship on the grounds they are deemed security risks) pre-9/11. Razack details how individuals are left for years without full legal rights on the speculative grounds they *may* engage in terrorism. Drawing on Giorgio Agamben, Razack describes the security delay as a camp, where bureaucratic routines mask racial violence and make individual wrongdoing in institutions impossible to prove. Security delayed individuals have little recourse to information, process, and appeals - an arrangement that will only intensify with the passage of Bill C-31 in 2012, amending Canada's refugee laws.

If we are witnessing a magnification of the colour line as the introduction suggests, the following three chapters illustrate its troubling intersection with gender, whiteness and varieties of feminism. Yasmin Jiwani explores the racial expression of gender in the representations of Muslim women and the hijab. Depictions of mistreated Muslim women "over there" service the war in Afghanistan, while assimilated women "over here" attempt to "diffuse…the threat of race" (74). She argues, like Thobani, that patriarchy and violence are portrayed as uniquely Islamic, while western gender inequality is uniquely absented. While many scholars lament the declining currency of feminism, Sunera Thobani details its steady rise after 9/11. Many white women actively filled the ranks of journalists, filmmakers, politicians and international development workers who would document gender oppression in Afghanistan. Thobani exposes how feminists depicted the US and Israel as the target of Muslims, legitimizing the invasion of Afghanistan and by extension making any critique of Israel as a new form of anti-Semitism. Judith Butler's comments about the shared suffering and vulnerability in the world after 9/11 are read by Thobani as yet another example of centering the western subject as the only truly human subject. Feminists must attend to the racial inequities and

imperialist relations within the global economy and consider the political demands of Islamist movements before advocating simplistic calls for gender emancipation. Another layer of complexity to the possibilities and tensions between Indigenous feminism and Indigenous nationalist discourses is explored by Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez. She critiques the discourse of Indigeneity; a political category that paradoxically promotes and limits autonomy and she explores the tensions between gender struggles within Indigenous communities and the struggles for decolonization. Altamirano-Jimenez describes Indigenous women as agents "challenging male-only Indigenous leaderships, gender discrimination, and state intervention that reinforce women's exclusion. Indigenous women are also defending territorial sovereignty, autonomy, human rights, control over natural resources, health and body, and traditionalism" (120).

A chapter that stands apart from the others in this volume is an exploration of the shifting expressions of race and whiteness in light of a globalized political economy. Sedef Arat-Koç asks if the same racial dynamics apply as the white working class suffers in a faltering economy while non-whites become part of a transnational bourgeoisie? Leaving gender aside in this chapter, Arat-Koç tracks how the racially coded underclass (including whites), the precarious racial status of Eastern Europeans, and non-white elites in a transnational economy reveal some cracks in the colour line, yet one that is still built on the notion of white supremacy as the norm. While openings or cracks in white dominance appear, Arat-Koç argues that new forms of racism and imperialism take hold where racialized people are deemed as disposable and anti-immigrant and anti-refugee laws surface. Unlike the rest of the collection, this work offers a deeper focus on material inequities and their shifting attachments to who is deemed "white."

After reading through these chapters I am struck by each scholar's commitment to justice and the careful theorizing required when attending to multiple axes of oppression. In some cases I would have preferred more substantive accounts or evidence to back up claims, and I wondered how insights from queer theory might produce a less flattened articulation of gender. At times neoliberalism (radical individualism) is portrayed in direct opposition to an innocent and noble welfare state, a distinction that does little to ensure a critique of both. Mostly, however, I am reminded of the many rewards of maintaining and reproducing a scholarship of dominance and how easily we are enticed into a wilfull forgetting of racial thinking and whiteness in the formation of neoliberal and imperial projects. This may come in many forms, such as the rejection of race in favour of class politics, the addition of "race" while keeping our analysis in place, the advocacy for racial justice while keeping categories of race static, whiteness studies scholarship that over applauds white scholars or is diluted of any emancipatory or disruptive potential, or claims in university departments that there is too much focus on race. We easily occlude and collude in our respective disciplines; this volume goes a long way in countering and de-stabilizing majority scholarship.

Chazan, May; Lisa Helps, Anna Stanley and Sonali Thakkar, eds. 2011. *Home and Native Land: Unsettling Multiculturalism in Canada.* Toronto: Between the Lines. ISBN 978-1-897071-61-8. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 243.

Reviewed by Tania Das Gupta
York University

This anthology of 11 chapters originates from a 2007 Conference, "From Multicultural Rhetoric to Anti-Racist Action," held at the University of Toronto. Although contextualized in the post-9-11 attacks, the discussion of multiculturalism is not restricted to that event. The authors contest the discourse of multiculturalism as a failed or dying project.

Their starting point is that state multiculturalism has become "discursively saturated," or in other words, has seeped into every aspect of political life, including immigration, labour, Aboriginal land claims and poverty. They succeed in unsettling the sedimented policy. This objective is in line with critical scholarship around multiculturalism, pointing to its utility in managing racialized immigrants and maintaining colonialism.

"Unsettling" in the title carries a clever double meaning pointing to the fundamental link between multiculturalism policy and colonial settlement. The exploration of this link is a strength. There are 4 chapters that explicitly address this aspect, those authored by Glen S. Coulthard, Brian Egan, Emilie Cameron and Laurie K. Bertram, while other chapters, such as Nandita Sharma's, mention it in the context of related subjects such as migration and Canadian nationalism.

Admittedly, the chapters do not provide a "thoroughgoing critique or analysis of Canadian multiculturalism policy" per se. Rather, they show the policy's influence in the state's management of Aboriginal land claims discussions, the regulation of migration and immigration policies, concomitant labour policies and the racialization of poverty. Chapters are organized under 4 parts, namely Unsettling Multiculturalism, Labours, Lands and Bodies. A few chapters are mentioned below to give readers a flavour of the interdisciplinary, theoretically and methodologically diverse nature of the volume.

In Part 1 (Unsettling Multiculturalism), Rinaldo Walcott's chapter continues a tradition of literary critique by focusing on examples of contemporary literature on multiculturalism, such as the works of Janice Stein, Cecil Foster, Ayaan Hirsi Ali and film maker, David Cronenberg. He sees their varied discourses as indicative of the limits of

European modernity, liberal democracies originating in it, and white anxieties in the post-9-11 period and he challenges us "to engage critically with new imaginative worlds…or to imagine worlds other than those we have experienced" (26).

Glen S. Coulthard powerfully demonstrates how Charles Taylor's "politics of recognition" so fundamental in multiculturalism has seeped into demands for Aboriginal sovereignty. Referring to Aboriginal declarations and statements to this effect, he utilizes Frantz Fanon's discussion of Hegel's master-slave dialectic and the need for revolutionary change. He asserts that demands for colonial state recognition develops a dependence on the colonial master for one's own identity and ultimately does not lead to freedom and liberation of the colonized. He proposes the alternative of self-affirmation and anti-colonial empowerment.

Grace-Edward Galabuzi argues that multiculturalism and the Canadian state are indeed in crisis as white anxieties become reflected in demands against "reasonable accommodations" for religious and cultural minorities, increasing racial profiling due to the "war on terror" and the racialization of poverty. However, he argues that this crisis has opened up the space for counter-hegemonic intervention by progressive forces organizing around the deepening of poverty and the violation of human rights.

In Part 2 (Labours), Nandita Sharma and Margaret Walton-Roberts are thought provoking, throwing new light on the discourse of multiculturalism. Sharma argues that Canadian multiculturalism policy has been influenced by the "we are all immigrants" discourse prevalent in the United States which has served to deny the existence of racism and to develop a divided consciousness. First, it has obfuscated the hierarchical power relations between colonizing immigrants and those who came as a result of forced migration. In this process, racism has been swept under the rug. Secondly, it has developed struggles for rights that is based on citizenship, thus externalizing both migrant workers as well as Aboriginal Peoples. Thirdly, the de-racialized discourse in multiculturalism has even seeped into some claims for Indigenous sovereignty that have bracketed all non-Natives as immigrants and thus colonizers.

Walton-Roberts questions the limited notion of "participation" within national boundaries as an indication of one's citizenship. Drawing on her research on Sikh Punjabi immigrants in Canada, she argues for an "unbounded" approach to participatory citizenship as well as of multiculturalism through the assertion of rights in the transnational space. This she argues is particularly justified within the context of transnational engagements under globalized economies.

In Part 3 (Lands), Brian Egan and Emilie Cameron discuss how multiculturalism discourse has served to maintain colonial relations in Canada. Cameron suggests that "liberal multicultural understandings of difference, inclusion, and citizenship have come to inform responses to the specific claims of Indigenous Peoples" (143). Furthermore, Indigenous Peoples are reduced to haunting figures from the past in "postcolonial ghost stories." Referring to the *Recognition and Reconciliation Act* in British Columbia and its

aftermath, Egan argues similarly that projects of recognition and reconciliation do not deal with colonialism and Aboriginal land rights.

In Part 4 (Bodies), Laurie K. Bertram uses historical and archival research to describe the role of migrant European settlers in colonial land encroachment and settlement in North-Western Canada and the displacement, surveillance and deaths of Aboriginal Nations in the process. Migrant narratives have represented Aboriginal presence as racially threatening while depicting themselves as traumatized and in need of protection.

Uzma Shakir's chapter on the Colour of Poverty Campaign is written from the perspective of a front-line community activist. She writes very personally and tongue in cheek about her position as a "native informant" due to her colour and her linguistic skills. She writes about the limitation of community "service" and the need to engage at a more activist level. She makes an appeal for academic support of community campaigns.

Overall, I found this book to be very informative, current and intellectually creative in understanding state multiculturalism and its utility for colonialism and capitalism. I would recommend its use both in graduate and advanced undergraduate classes. The introduction is also an excellent synthesis of all these issues.

Landsberg, Michelle. 2011. *Writing the Revolution.* Toronto: Second Story Press. ISBN 978-1-897187-99-9. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages: 335.

Reviewed by Ester Reiter
York University

Michelle Landsberg's book, part of the Feminist History Society series documenting the women's movement in Canada, is a selection of articles from the more than 30,000 she wrote between 1978 and 2003. Many of us were avid readers of Landsberg's columns written for the *Toronto Star*. The articles convey her passion for justice on many fronts – gender discrimination, class issues, racism, international and peace issues. One can't help but be impressed by her journalist's skill in making issues women activists cared about clearly articulated and accessible to a wider public. Because they reflect her response to issues when they were "news," the reader also has a wonderful entrée into the immediacy of her heartfelt response to injustices and sometimes the joy of challenges and victories. Landsberg's columns went beyond writing about issues – she herself was a force to be reckoned with and quite influential in the push for social and legal change.

Landsberg, born in 1939, grew up in a Toronto where anti-Semitism and discrimination were still widespread. As a Jew, and as a woman, she proudly wore her difference. Landsberg recalls an incident from shortly after her husband Stephen Lewis was first elected to the Ontario legislature in 1963 (30). Someone looked up, became alarmed, and raised concerns about this beatnik seated among the audience in the legislature. Stephen, on a point of order responded, "that's no beatnik, that's my wife!" Stephen was 26, his wife Michelle 23 years old. Some may recall the 1960s slogan about not trusting anyone over 30.

So what did Michelle Landsberg write about? The book is arranged by theme rather than chronologically with current commentaries providing contextual details, sources and asides. There is no one voice and one view common to all who consider themselves feminists and so occasionally this reader would take issue with some of her positions, but these exceptions are few.

She begins the book with the 1978 strike of the Fleck workers, women who demanded union recognition, decent wages and an end to the sexual harassment they endured. Supported by a women's movement and a labour movement beginning to take women's issues seriously, these "girls" as they referred to themselves were tough and brave in the face of unheard of intimidation. Using her interviews with the women themselves, she conveys their spirit and reminds us that actions speak louder than labels or self identification as feminists.

The columns cover more issues than can be described in a short review – women's health and safety, abortion, rape, equal pay, pornography and more. Landsberg approaches issues with sensitivity – in her outrage over the legalization of lap dancing, she is careful to avoid moralistic judgements about the women doing this work. She points out how the move from elaborate strip shows to lap dancing has deskilled the work and resulted in poorly paid, exploitative work in what she sees as legal support for male sexual entitlement. Violence against women and the men's rights movement painting men as the victims really get her going. Her response to violence against children is equally indignant and powerful. She also makes clear that racism goes well beyond intent or mean actions, but requires some understanding of how white privilege actually operates. It is, and remains, a structural problem (98).

She tells us about events in Burundi, in Guatemala, in Algeria. She denounces fundamentalist thinking that limits women wherever it occurs, amongst the Taliban in Afghanistan and amongst the Jewish orthodox who wield an inordinate amount of power in Israel. She doesn't preach on what others should do, but rather, as in the case of Afghanistan, looks to Afghani women to articulate their response. Landsberg is a peacenik. War is never the answer and one has also to look to the role that economic policies such as Structural Adjustment Programs have played in making the lives of the most vulnerable worse and contributing to the rise of religious fundamentalism. She is quite eloquent:

> Structural adjustment programs shut down schools and clinics, drove up the child and maternal mortality rates, and condemned entire generations to illiteracy. The reward for religious affiliation began to look tempting as Muslim religious groups offered free schools and clinics…Hopeless economic misery doesn't just happen (242).

Landsberg was in fine form when supporting the position of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women and the Advisory Council on the Status of Women in the constitutional conferences making the case for a Charter of Rights which would recognize women, Indigenous women in particular, while keeping Quebec in Canada. The failed Meech Lake deal of 1987 was followed by debates around the Charlottetown Accord when Mulroney was Prime Minister. One article, published in 1992 is entitled "Son of Meech Senate Deal Leaves Women Out in the Cold." Landsberg explains:

> Native men were promised the right to self government and the right to opt out of the Charter of Rights. Native women got nothing despite the stark evidence of massive inequality…Provinces got the right to opt out of any new national social programs. Can you think of any possible new social program other than child care? No, neither can I. The new deal then is the final nail in the coffin of a desperately needed national child care plan (280-281).

An earlier article which follows in the anthology (the organization is not chronological) talks about the struggle to have women's equality included in the Charter. It was a coup that occurred after much lobbying and engineered by women members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women. Landsberg suggests that "Never before have so few women accomplished so much on behalf of so many" (285). Furthermore, "This whole astounding reversal that had the premiers backpedalling so fast that they nearly fell off their tricycles was engineered by a mere handful of women who took unpaid time off their jobs to do it" (287).

Lines like this had me falling off my chair laughing. In short, this book is a wonderful documentation of the struggles of that period that need to be remembered. It is a book that can be picked up and read in sections. Her writing is delightful, and unfortunately, we wish more of this was history.

Mallea, Paula. 2011. *Fearmonger: Stephen Harper's Tough-on-Crime Agenda*. Toronto: Lorimer. ISBN 978-1-55277-898-2. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages: 229.

Reviewed by Lisa Wright
Carleton University

In *Fearmonger*, Paula Mallea seeks to confront the ideologically driven tough-on-crime policies of the Conservative government. Mallea argues that the law reforms ushered in through legislative initiatives are deeply problematic and contradictory to expert findings on how to create safe communities. Fiscal and human costs, as well as high rates of recidivism and the lack of a deterrent effect, are used by Mallea to demonstrate the failure of relying on incarceration as a means of producing safe communities.

Mallea achieves two goals in *Fearmonger*. First is an assessment of the effectiveness of the Conservative government's tough-on-crime approach to crime control, where impact is evaluated in human and fiscal costs. Mallea uses the evidence from her analysis of the costs of the tough-on-crime agenda to create the foundation of her second goal, to contribute to the public debate on how to respond to crime.

In order to achieve these goals, Mallea provides a comprehensive and accessible explanation of many of the Conservative government's crime bills and draws on parliamentary hearings, news articles and academic literature as supportive evidence. The explanations provided by Mallea make the inherent problems (for example a reliance upon incarceration) with these bills obvious by washing away the propaganda the Conservatives have manufactured to justify their legislative changes. The tough-on-crime agenda, according to Mallea, is inherently ineffective.

Harper and the Conservative government, however, as Mallea points out, are not interested in effective responses to crime. She writes, "the Conservative government, in an effort to be seen 'doing something' about crime, prefers a solution based upon a simple network of prisons rather than a more complex network of social services" (11). Mallea explains how the tough-on-crime propaganda accompanying legislative and policy changes works to mislead the public into thinking they are actually doing something about crime. As well as not actually doing anything about crime, Mallea argues that these crime bills are also not encouraging public debate about crime. Mallea believes that in Canada there is not currently an informed public debate about how to respond to crime and argues that such a debate is necessary if we seek to create safe communities.

As a means of moving forward from ineffective tough-on-crime policies, different alternatives to incarceration currently in use in Canada and internationally are continually promoted as evidence of a better way. "There are myriad ways of dealing with

most offenders that do not require imprisonment, and many more ways of preventing crime in the first place" (152). Preventive programs are promoted throughout *Fearmonger* as a means of confronting the reactive legislative changes proposed by the Conservative government. Expert and community sources (such as the Church Council on Justice and Corrections) are used to support the viability of the prevention programs that are recommended.

A key concern with *Fearmonger*, and Mallea's examples, is that deeply problematic alternative programs are promoted as useful alternatives to incarceration. While Mallea provides a lot of alternatives to incarceration and exposes many holes in the Conservatives crime policies, she does not critically engage with the alternatives provided. A critical engagement with various programs that respond to crime is a necessary part of a public debate on how to produce safe communities. One program that is brought up several times in the book is drug treatment court. The positioning of drug treatment courts as an alternative to incarceration is problematic in and of itself as most participants of drug treatment courts are sentenced to time in prison during the program as punishment (Moore 2007). Drug treatment court programs have also been found by social science researchers to wreak havoc on the lives of their participants in many different ways, for example see Moore, Freeman and Krawczyk (2011) for an analysis of the impact of spatial restrictions placed on drug treatment court participants.

Also missing from *Fearmonger* is a discussion about the goal of these crime bills, if not to effectively respond to crime, as she is silent on possible explanations. Mallea outlines expected populations which will be affected by these legislative changes (this includes youth, the mentally ill, Aboriginal peoples as well as others) without any discussion of why the Conservatives would target these populations. Without a discussion of the reasoning behind these legislative changes, *Fearmonger* misses the connection between these legislative changes and the Conservative government's anti-expert knowledge stance. Mallea demonstrates, in many different ways, the lack of consideration by the Conservative government for expert research on how to respond to crime but she does not use it to provide a reason for the Conservative position. A discussion of the anti-expert knowledge stance would have provided a useful layer of analysis for those of us seeking to make sense of our government's actions that go beyond questions of effectiveness.

A final criticism of *Fearmonger,* concerns Mallea's use of the Conservative strategy of creating panic about crime to discuss responses to crime. Mallea uses fearmongering tactics to scare the reader, for example the use of rare cases as examples makes these cases seem like the norm. "Nothing in the proposed laws would have helped in stopping a Clifford Olson or Willie Pickton before they started to commit their appalling crimes" (65). If the goal is to incite public debate, however, this tactic should be reconsidered, as scare tactics are not enabling of public debate.

Readers interested in questions of effectiveness will find *Fearmonger* a useful resource, as will those looking for an accessible explanation of the Conservative crime bills. Readers who are well versed in criminal justice matters, however, will already know that the Conservative crime bills will not reach their stated goal of producing communities safe from crime, but can make use of the data being set out.

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Reviewed by Kevin Walby and Alex Luscombe
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Security and intelligence agencies have expanded rapidly since September 11, 2001. Given the consequences for social justice in Canada and the rest of the world, studying this expanding security and intelligence community has never been so important. Two significant contributions in this area are *The Freedom of Security* and *Intelligence Cooperation and the War on Terror*.

The Freedom of Security explores how security and freedom have become entwined in Canada since September 11, 2001. Specifically, Bell investigates the practices of Canadian government agencies like the Canada Border Services Agency and Department of National Defence, with the rationale of drawing attention to Canadian federal government agencies as key actors in the War on Terror (2). The purpose of the book is not to demonstrate that there has been a reduction in rights since the events of

September 11, 2001, but rather to show how security and freedom have become interwoven. As Bell puts it, the "main problem explored is how logics and practices of security are embedded within and harness politics of freedom" (7). Freedom is not simply the antidote to security but a means through which security is mobilized, legitimated and reconstituted.

For conceptual guidance, Bell draws from governmentality studies. The governmentality literature provides a useful orientation for tracing how discourses of security and freedom are invoked and tethered to governance practices. Bell is thus critical of the idea of security. *The Freedom of Security* in no way can be construed as calling for more security (see pg. 14) as in the human security literature. Nor is Bell arguing for a reconfiguration of Canada's security apparatus. Instead, Bell traces how certain claims about threat, terrorism and risk result in the creation of security problems. To trace these claims, Bell examines publicly available government documents, speeches, and the results of interviews with policy specialists.

In the first chapter, Bell notes that a precautionary logic has moved to the centre of national security policy in Canada during the last decade. Increasing the demand for "risk management," this precautionary logic manifests itself in several ways. First, there is more funding for longstanding security agencies. Second, there has been the creation of new security and intelligence agencies. Third, there has been the emergence of a broader security network at the federal level, characterized by increased surveillance and information sharing. Sticking with her main argument, Bell's claim here is not simply that this padding of the security apparatus has resulted in decreased liberal rights. Instead, she draws our attention to initiatives that now try to enlist citizens in security projects and to keep watch for risk under the rubric of responsibility. In this sense, these initiatives are about fostering a participatory security apparatus, or at least one that tries to stimulate "groups within the population to enlist in the management of security risks" (53). This focus on participatory security is one way that Bell attempts to demonstrate the interconnectedness of security and freedom in contemporary government discourse, though more empirical details here would have been useful.

Next, Bell argues that liberal freedom and national security are mutually reinforcing in the context of government practices and court rulings. Here Bell focuses on the issue of national security certificates in Canada. Canada's security certificate program allows for people to be detained on secret evidence, without recourse to regular criminal trial proceedings. Security certificates have existed in Canada for decades but were only used after September 11, 2001, when five men of Arab and South Asian descent were indefinitely detained at the Kingston Immigration Holding Centre. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled security certificates to be in violation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in February 2007, but the federal government was given a year to reform the program. The legal modification of the security certificate program, Bell argues, shows how fluid the idea of freedom can be, insofar as national security practices and

laws such as the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* that are declared unconstitutional can be revived under the aegis of the liberal notion of rights. When such exceptional practices are normalized, freedom is construed as state protection (85) and resistance to national security is likened to terrorism.

Next, Bell examines how the relationship between security and development in Afghanistan is framed in terms of security and freedom. Canada is a participant in the armed occupation, simultaneously employing other agencies on the ground to develop and therefore westernize local infrastructure and trade. This is what Bell calls the liberal way of war, which tethers the idea of humanitarianism and human rights to security, state violence and occupation. An instance of what Bell calls "humanitarian securitization," the liberal way of war is about withholding freedom from the subject population until they until they have been "developed" in accordance with the desires of the West. The final chapter explores what Bell calls the "simultaneous denial and defence of freedom" (146). Canada has been implicated in torture during the last decade while at the same time proclaiming to spread freedom. Citizenship is the modality of this simultaneous denial and defence. For instance, Canadian security officials facilitated the torture of Abdullah Almalki in Syria, not through rendition but through sharing intelligence that enabled Syrian officials to detain Almalki when he travelled there to visit family. The argument here is that citizenship is a technology that enables this tethering of security and freedom, the sharing of intelligence, and also the coordination of security practices between states. Again, some readers may be searching for more empirical details to support the argument.

Intelligence Cooperation and the War on Terror is also about the coordination of security practices between states, but adopts a very different political and normative posture. Svendsen explores the connections between UK and US security intelligence agencies. He argues that intelligence sharing between the UK and the US is the norm rather than the exception, although there are different styles of producing and acting on security intelligence in the respective countries. The relationship between UK and US security intelligence agencies stems back to strategic alliances forged during World War II, although Svendsen focuses primarily on September 11, 2001 to the present. An idea that Svendsen raises is that some US security intelligence agencies have better relationships with UK agencies than some of their own domestic counterparts, indicative of what Svendsen calls the "globalization of intelligence." However, one of the main findings in this book is that "the relationship does not always flow smoothly" (7) insofar as the different styles of producing and acting on security intelligence in the different countries are at odds. For example, while the UK has traditionally preferred a "softer" approach to intelligence work, characterized by passive monitoring and reactive intervention, the US has increasingly adopted an aggressive approach characterized by pre-emption and disruption. This is what Svendsen refers to as a "wait and see" versus a "see and strike" method of counter-terrorism.

Svendsen's book is based on analysis of newspaper reports, government documents, and interviews with intelligence officers in the UK and USA. First, Svendsen reviews existing materials on UK-US signals intelligence, human intelligence, and open source intelligence. And as Svendsen points out, "the vast majority of UK-US intelligence information comes from open source intelligence" (19), which might be an interesting finding for those who do not know much about how security intelligence works. Svendsen raises further questions about how a kind of "groupthink" can emerge in intelligence circles that become incestuous with information sharing. This phenomenon may have been accelerated by the creation of the US Department of Homeland Security in 2002 and UK Serious Organized Crime Agency in 2004, having further enhanced information sharing between the two countries. There are also domestic factors that influence intelligence work. For instance, Svendsen notes that in the USA there has been a drift away from civilian agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency toward the Pentagon and military agencies (32).

Svendsen offers two major case studies. The first regards counter-terrorism efforts in the UK and the USA. As noted in the book, "bilateral UK-US intelligence liaison" for counter-terrorism efforts has a long history that predates September 11 2001. Svendsen argues that the British had a great deal of experience applying counter-terrorism security intelligence to the Irish Republican Army, but US intelligence agencies failed to take advice from the UK about tactics. Interestingly, in a "series of high-level meetings" between US and UK intelligence officials in 2002, the US considered remodelling the FBI based on its UK counterpart, MI5. This reform was never made, however, with US officials allegedly concluding that no such changes would be made until "another 'spectacular' attack on US soil, akin to 9/11" (56). The more aggressive US style of using torture, extraordinary renditions, and secret prisons continued to take precedent, despite being "far from helpful" (96).

The second case study focuses on UK-US intelligence relations regarding weapons of mass destruction and nuclear proliferation. Svendsen details the UK and US intelligence liaison and joint operations that formed as it regards weapons of mass destruction, which facilitated the invasion of Iraq based on false intelligence. "Intelligence resources in both the United Kingdom and United States were becoming overburdened" (126) and subsequent intelligence failures became politically hijacked to legitimize the attack on Iraq in lieu of credible information. Once again, the US style of "see and strike" led to crises of legitimacy, and Svendsen hints that the "wait and see" approach of UK security intelligence might have provided more credible intelligence.

This focus on "credible intelligence" evinces a significant difference between Bell and Svendsen. Bell critiques the ideas of risk and security, while Svendsen simply describes issues related to security and intelligence in the last decade. Without a critical standpoint or conceptual stance, Svendsen's text glosses over the social justice elements of security and intelligence, leaving readers to draw their own connections and conclusions.

Svendsen is careful to hide his normative position that security intelligence regarding weapons of mass destruction and counter-terrorism efforts in the UK and USA should be enhanced. This pro-intelligence position puts Svendsen again at odds with Bell, who is explicitly anti-security in her normative and political posture. At the same time, neither Bell nor Svendsen chronicle the massive demonstrations against issues related to security and intelligence in the last decade, an addition that would have greatly enhanced their accounts.

We also note some conceptual as well as methodological issues in both texts. First, both books are vague when it comes to the notion of risk management. Neither really defines this term or practice, which leaves readers guessing at the meaning. Second, both are a bit murky on what counter-terrorism actually entails. Svendsen does differentiate between counter-terrorism and anti-terrorism and ties this to different styles of security intelligence in the UK and the USA, but more conceptual framing would have been useful. Third, both authors ignore key works in their areas. For instance, Bell ignores the article on security certificates by Mike Larsen and Justin Piché (2009), which covers many of the same arguments and substantiates them with data. Meanwhile, Svendsen ignores the conceptual framework provided in the writings of Peter Gill, which would have enhanced what is a predominantly descriptive account. Fifth, both authors base their accounts on newspaper material, publicly accessible reports, and interviews. These books would have benefited from incorporating data based on access to information requests. Access to information requests allow researchers to get at data that is not otherwise publically accessible, such as the internal policies and threat assessments of security intelligence agencies. When scholars simply draw from newspaper material and publically accessible reports, they run the risk of merely reproducing the details provided in officially sanctioned government discourse rather than getting at what is actually written down within these agencies as it regards organizing governance practices. Empirical details from this register of insiders' texts would have enhanced the credibility of both authors' claims.

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Reviewed by Evan Johnston
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There are few institutions that remain as idealized and venerated in the public sphere as development NGOs. For many Canadians, the perceived role that NGOs play overseas is ranked up there with the long-cherished myth of Canadian peacekeeping as the most defining features of Canada's benevolent foreign policy. While years of diligent ideological struggle on the part of the Canadian Left may have made the myth of Canadian peacekeeping harder to sell, the myth of benevolent development NGOs remains firmly intact.

Nikolas Barry-Shaw and Dru Oja Jay's book *Paved with Good Intentions: Canada's Development NGOs from Idealism to Imperialism* seeks to dispel this powerful myth, arguing that Canadian NGOs have been partners in the implementation and enforcement of the most destructive neoliberal policies in the Global South. "Contrary to their image as free-floating atoms of altruism," they write, "NGOs are actually tightly intertwined with the state" (2) and have "become increasingly integrated into the foreign policy apparatus" (6).

This has not always been the case, with NGOs understood to be only marginal actors in the development world up until the 1980s. However, after what the authors call the "NGO boom" of the 1980s – driven by the needs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank – NGOs became crucial political actors in the project of neoliberalism. As Barry-Shaw and Jay put it, "NGOs helped secure the continued implementation of 'market reforms' by diverting the energies of the poor away from political protest and into ways of coping with deepened poverty that did not challenge its root causes" (17). That is, NGOs played a key role in pacifying and deflating protest movements in the Global South, serving in many instances to soften the blow of harsh policies of privatization that would otherwise provoke fierce resistance. Development NGOs function – to paraphrase the title of Chapter 2 – as a "spoonful of sugar" to help the neoliberal medicine go down, and in Chapter 6 the authors show how this is particularly true in the case of Haiti after the flood of 2004.

Development NGOs have been able to obfuscate their role as a "soft power" in imperial conquest by positioning themselves as autonomous from any particular state or corporation, which Barry-Shaw and Jay refer to as their "legitimizing myth" (55). One of the most valuable features of this book is the great lengths the authors go to emphasize the extent to which NGOs are dependent upon, and would collapse very quickly without,

large amounts of state funding every year. For example, the authors show that Canada World Youth depends on the Canadian government for 81.1 per cent of their yearly budget (as of 2011), with Oxfam Canada sitting at 44.5 per cent (as of 2010). Social justice and anti-imperialist activists in Canada owe Barry-Shaw and Jay a great deal of thanks for making this data clear and accessible, as the mythology of NGO altruism is sustained in large part by the belief that NGOs are driven by moral, rather than economic, considerations.

In many ways, Barry-Shaw and Jay's book explores issues similar to those discussed in INCITE!'s important 2007 anthology *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded* (South End Press), where the editors introduce the concept of the "non-profit industrial complex." *Paved with Good Intentions* is a much-needed intervention into the study of Canada's own non-profit industrial complex, owing largely to the book's emphasis on the politics of NGO finances. As Barry-Shaw and Jay themselves point out, "the consequences of NGOs' dependence on government funding are rarely discussed…Most studies of development NGOs dismiss the issue as irrelevant to understanding these organizations" (3).

Absent from the book is any explicit consideration of the relationship between development policies and imperialism, which one might expect given the presence of the latter term in the book's title. Did the "NGO boom" of the 1980s signal a change to a qualitatively different form of imperialism? Is this form of imperialism more difficult to resist due to the prevalence of NGO "soft power"? How does this overlap with or compliment the traditional understanding of imperialism as a tendency toward monopolies? The lack of theorizing imperialism also goes hand in hand with an overemphasis on neoliberalism at the expense of saying much about capitalism itself, though the book actually succeeds at making quite compelling critiques development policies under capitalism without having to name it directly. In order to get a full picture of both the theoretical project of Canadian imperialism, and to contextualize the activities of Canadian development NGOs within a larger framework of Canadian foreign policy, *Paved with Good Intentions* should be read alongside Todd Gordon's *Imperialist Canada* (Arbeiter Ring, 2010) and Yves Engler's *The Black Book of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Fernwood, 2009). Taken together, these three books represent an important step in Canadian studies, and signal a crucial shift away from the left nationalist thesis that has long dominated the Canadian left by illustrating beyond any doubt the Canadian state's own imperial aims.

Paved with Good Intentions is not, however, a book of political theory, and it would be pointless to fault it for not being what it never claimed to be. Barry-Shaw and Jay have put together a groundbreaking exposé that will be of enormous significance for Canadian activists and scholars in the years to come, thanks to the book's wide scope and impeccable research. As *Paved with Good Intentions* makes clear, solidarity from below –

rather than neoliberal pseudo-empowerment handed down from above – is not only the most desirable way forward, but is the only way to break the NGOization that Canada and other imperial powers have imposed on the Global South.

Farber, Samuel. 2011. *Cuba Since the Revolution of 1959: A Critical Assessment*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. ISBN 978-1-60846-139-4. Paperback: 24.00 USD. Pages: 369.

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Samuel Farber's *Cuba Since the Revolution of 1959: A Critical Assessment* is bound to change the way we think about Latin America's most important socialist experiment. Farber, a US-based academic who left Cuba in the 1950s, focuses on the politics and ideology of the revolutionary leadership – its ideas. "The single most important factor that explains the uniqueness of Cuba's development," Farber writes, "was the political leadership of Fidel Castro, which made a major difference in the triumph against Batista and in determining the course taken by the Cuban Revolution after it came to power" (10). While acknowledging the challenges the Revolution faced and the unrelenting character of US imperial aggression, he sets out to demonstrate that the repressive nature of the Cuban government is general and systemic and not merely a justified response to specific security threats. Farber thus seeks to debunk the myths, fallacies and misunderstandings perpetuated by the revolutionary leadership and its apologists in a wide-ranging work that focuses on the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions of the Revolution from its early days to the present.

Farber does not deny the popularity of the Cuban Revolution among wide segments of the masses prior to the mass apathy of the 1990s. Drawing upon the "classical Marxist tradition," however, he puts forward a simple criterion in a detailed introduction that sets the tone for the rest of the book: "to be a fully participatory democracy," Farber writes, "it must be based on the self-mobilization and organization of the people, and the rule of the majority has to be complemented by minority rights and civil liberties" (4). In this sense, the Cuban Revolution never empowered its supporters to develop their "own autonomous political consciousness so that they could cease being the objects, and become the subjects, of history" (39).

In Chapter One, we are given an account of the decision-making style of the government that emerged following the revolution, its tendency to announce major

policy shifts without discussion or consultation beyond the revolutionary inner-circle and the drive to subordinate all aspects of social, political and cultural life to the state under the Cuban Communist Party (which absorbed all the main revolutionary parties and movements in 1965). The mass organizations that were established by the government such as the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDS) were intended primarily to serve as transmission belts to implement party policy (and spy on the population). One-party rule and the government's complete monopoly of the media cemented the ability of the revolutionary leadership to enforce a monolithic vision of society. Despite some important democratic reforms in the 1970s and 1980s, candidates are still prevented from presenting and campaigning on political platforms or points of view in provincial and national elections, and the assemblies are given very little input into the formulation of policy. All this, Farber argues, amounts to a radical departure from the vision of revolutionary democracy and socialism from below envisioned by the classical Marxist tradition and practiced by the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 in its initial days.

Farber meticulously documents the government's suppression of any opposition through draconian laws, such as the outlawing of "contempt" for authority and provisions that allow the government to punish without trial citizens engaged in "pre-criminal" behaviour. Without diminishing the many attempts staged by the United States to undermine the Revolution and personally assassinate Castro, Farber argues that there was no reason why revolutionary unity could not have been achieved through discussion and debate in genuinely democratic institutions. After the defeat of the right-wing guerrilla campaign from the Escambray Mountains in 1965, moreover, counter-revolutionary forces were all but vanquished from the island.

In Chapter Two, Farber rehashes a familiar critique in detailing the waste and inefficiencies of Cuba's command economy, where – until recently – even the smallest "hole in the wall" was owned by the state and subject to centralized planning. Cuba's health and education accomplishments, however, are put into perspective; while the country has scored high when it comes to the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index, the measure fails to take into consideration important factors determining the quality of life, such as the complete inadequacy of food rations. Similarly, in Chapter Three on Cuba's foreign policy, Farber argues that some of the government's more progressive campaigns – such as its extraordinary contribution to the South African liberation movements of the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in Angola – were compromised by its support for the communist dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia, which responded to reasons of state and the need to manage the relationship with the Soviet Union.

Chapter Four explores the government's labour laws and its relationship to workers, demonstrating that it has never attempted to establish genuine worker's control of the means of production. Instead, the government has used trade unions to discipline

workers while morally exhorting them to increase productivity. Chapters Five and Six on Blacks Cubans and gender, respectively, debunk claims made by the revolutionary leadership that it has eradicated racism and sexism. Although the position of Black Cubans and women may have improved in some respects, both are underrepresented in the most prestigious occupations and at the highest echelons of government and the party, and both have been prohibited from organizing independently to advance their interests. The discussion on homosexuality in Chapter Six is particularly devastating given that the government has never taken responsibility for its campaigns against gays in the 1960s and 1970s prior to the partial cultural and social liberalization of the following decades.

The more recent economic reforms of Raul Castro's government – most of which have been decreed with no participation from below – are largely viewed critically. With Cuba gradually moving towards a capitalist economy, Farber fears that military hardliners in the government will eventually preside over a protracted transition to capitalism along the lines of the Sino-Vietnamese model (possibly with the support of the US and Miami's reactionary Cuban right). Chapter Seven provides an interesting account of the different dissident tendencies, most of which are individual-based and none of which has coalesced around an alternative socialist vision. Perhaps to avoid succumbing to despair, Farber puts his faith in the burgeoning youth movement, which by his own account lacks consciousness and direction.

Cuba since the Revolution provides a devastating critique of the Castro government in an historical synthesis rich in theoretical and empirical detail. Most importantly, Farber's account provides a revolutionary theory of democracy demonstrating that the practices and institutions of "formal democracy" must form the basis of any form of socialism worthy of the name. Perhaps the main weakness of the book is that it avoids relating the Cuban experience to Latin America's current Left, its transformational potential, and the current prospects to create democratic socialism from below. This would have provided the work with a wider contemporary relevance, as its discussion on revolutionary dilemmas is confined almost exclusively to the distant past. But this hardly diminishes the importance of a provocative work full of historical insight that transcends both the narrow dogmatism of the anti-Castro right and Cuba's apologists on the left.

Collins, John. 2011. *Global Palestine*. New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN 978-0-231-70310-9. Cloth: 30.00 USD. Pages: 219.

Reviewed by Mary-Jo Nadeau
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In 2005, over 170 Palestinian civil society organizations launched the campaign for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS), calling for international solidarity in the struggle to end Israel's violations of international law and Palestinian human rights. The BDS movement's rapid growth and global reach during its first seven years has made it the most widely recognized global struggle against apartheid since the South African anti-apartheid movement. BDS has reshaped and enlarged both the existing Palestine solidarity movement and the broader transnational global justice movement.

A measure of its impact has been the proliferation of new books examining the political framework and dynamics of BDS, and providing historical analysis for understanding the origins and growth of Israeli apartheid. This burgeoning literature now circulates widely and includes such books as: *The Case for Sanctions Against Israel* edited by Audrea Lim (Verso, 2012), *The Palestine Nakba* by Nur Masalha (Zed Books, 2012), *BDS: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights* by Omar Barghouti (Haymarket Books, 2011), *Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War Against the Palestinians* edited by Frank Barat (Haymarket Books, 2011), and *Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide* by Ben White (Pluto, 2009).

John Collins' *Global Palestine* is a must-read addition to this list. Aptly self-described as "grounded in a sense of solidarity with the Palestinian people," Collins rightly situates the book within the "exciting and inspiring new wave of Palestine-focused writing and activism" (x). Like others in this emerging genre, the book functions simultaneously as activist handbook and thorough scholarly interrogation. This is recognized by its reviewers (on the back cover) who have described the book as "theoretically sophisticated" (Laleh Khalili), "a fine example of intellectual precision and political commitment" (Saree Makdisi), and informed by a "deep knowledge of local struggles and transnational solidarity movements" (Lisa Hajjar).

Global Palestine engages with an impressive range of critical academic scholarship in an accessible style while also drawing widely on references to films, artists, poetry, journalism, social movements and influential writers from many global and historical contexts. Importantly, Palestinian knowledge production figures substantially throughout (from the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish, to the "Gaza Mom" blog of Laila El-Haddad, the writing of Ghassan Kanafani, and the academic work of Edward Said and Joseph Massad).

The title succinctly reflects the author's main claim that "the same forces operating to produce Palestine's troubling realities are also operating globally in ways that

have implications for all of us" (ix). This argument is explained and elaborated across four substantial chapters (Colonization, Securitization, Acceleration and Occupation) and a conclusion (Decolonization).

Treating "Palestine as an entry point" (22) for analysis, each chapter illustrates and elaborates the main forces that Collins argues are driving "the deep structures of global politics" (xi). In "Colonization," he situates Israel/Palestine as "the site of an ongoing project of settler colonialism" (20). Usefully for global solidarity movements, this framing locates Israel as part of an "undeclared 'settler international'" (30) which is described as a "robust strategic partnership amongst settler states" (60). "Securitization" extends this analysis to illustrate the emergence of a "generalized process of social militarization" (51), demonstrating how the "structural violence of Israel's domination of the West Bank and Gaza" is linked to longer histories of domination and resistance of all settler states. In "Acceleration," Collins introduces his analysis of "dromocolonization", highlighting Palestine as "a kind of laboratory" for the application of speed and "techno-logic" (81) in Israel's assertion of ongoing colonial violence. Finally, the analysis of "Occupation" is framed around a dual meaning. Here he focuses not only on Israel's "settler colonial occupation of Palestine", but also on "the Palestinian Occupation" which he describes as "the stubborn, everyday habitation of the land by Palestinians…Zionism's most fundamental obstacle" (113).

This critical intellectual mapping shows how these four interlinked processes are constituted through a highly unequal yet contested arena of "struggle between the 'settler international' and the resistance movements" (72). It is not surprising then that Collins turns to *Decolonization* in the final chapter. Here he provides closing reflections on the current state and possible futures of resisting settler colonialism in Palestine and globally by building "transnational solidarity in the pursuit of global justice" (146).

As a whole, these chapters offer a detailed historical and political excavation of the cultural and institutional racial logics and dynamics of Zionist settler colonialism. They also assemble a rich vocabulary for ongoing critical analysis, and provide a compelling and coherent history of the colonial present in Palestine/Israel which links this context to neoliberal capitalism as it is shaped through "global colonization" (23).

I read this book with great interest, both as a scholar of white settler colonization and the racial politics of the colonial present in Canada, and as an activist in the global BDS movement (with the Toronto-based Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid and Faculty for Palestine). The book makes a clear contribution to these academic and political sites of engagement.

At the same time, I think it is crucial to read this book alongside more BDS-specific literature. While Collins has much of relevance to say about the International Solidarity Movement that emerged during the 1990s and its relationship to the local resistance movements in Palestine, the book remained vague in extending this analysis to

the current BDS movement. There are only two or three explicit references to BDS in the text, and equally few materials referenced throughout.

With the BDS movement having emerged as the key catalyst in shifting global attention to Israel as an apartheid state, discussion of it is both timely and necessary in this context. In a recent statement (2012), the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) has highlighted that amongst the "three-tiers of Israeli oppression: occupation, settler-colonialism and apartheid" it is the "apartheid paradigm" which is "the least understood or recognized, despite the mounting international studies that have shown beyond doubt that Israel is guilty of the crime of apartheid." Given the significant contribution of Collins' book, a more systematic discussion of Israeli apartheid would certainly have proven insightful. While references to apartheid are present, a more sustained interrogation of apartheid and BDS would have been a most welcome addition to this important text.

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Reviewed by Elise Thorburn
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Published in the year after the G20 was held in Toronto and the downtown core of the city was turned into a veritable militarised zone, Tom Malleson and David Wachsmuth's *Whose Streets?* has three self-proclaimed goals: to forefront the efforts of grassroots organizers, to provide space for diverse and debating voices, and finally to be, itself, a political act that would spur political discussions about left politics in Canada. The first two goals were easily met. The final goal was worked towards, but never completely fulfilled.

Divided into three sections, the chapters focus on many different aspects of the convergence. The structure of *Whose Streets?* is innovative and important because it

places on equal footing the voices of labour and social movement organizers who experienced traumatic brutality at the G20, and activists and thinkers who were able to reflect and reconsider the organizing of recent years in light of the G20 mobilisations. The first section, "Before the G20," focuses on the thoughts of some key organizers of the demonstrations. It includes activists who did structural protest organizing, worked on legal support, organized with migrant justice and indigenous solidarity contingents, participated in activist media collectives, and those who stood on either side of the – let's be honest – labour/social movement divide. The central debates culminate around disagreement between labour and social movements on the use of "diversity of tactics" – a debate that has been around for a long time and doesn't look, unfortunately, to be going anywhere.

The second section, "During the G20," offers more narrative responses to the events of June 2010, giving voice to the broad swaths of people arrested, harassed, assaulted, and/or threatened by police over the course of that long weekend. A powerful collection of first hand accounts, this section tells the stories of those present for the G20 weekend, and makes clear the levels of physical violence used by police to crush protestors but, more importantly, it explicitly catalogues the tactics of degradation, humiliation, and terror employed by the state to make arrestees obedient and compliant. The stories told in this section recount how the state uses threats of sexual violence, intimidation, and shame around sexual orientation or perceived aberrations from the status quo to strip political prisoners of their sense of self, to dehumanize them as additional punishment. The frequency of these narratives – the repetition of such stories with such similar details – makes clear to whomever may have still possessed some doubt that what happened in those cells was not due to a few "bad apples" or the aberrant behaviour of officers caught up in a moment, but rather a calculated decision carried out by the state to strip human beings of their dignity and humanity because they are deemed a threat to state power. That this happened to such a wide swathe of the population in downtown Toronto on a summer weekend should erase any doubt, as well, that police violence in neighbourhoods not nearly so middle-class or white is likely far worse than many have ever imagined.

The final section, "After the G20," returns to a less anecdotal, more theoretical, style. Writers here, a mix of activists and academics – and of course, activist academics – reflect on the weekend of the G20, what mass convergences or summit demos tell us about the state of left organizing and about our power, how and where state violence can be challenged, and again, some authors return to the debate about "violence," the black bloc, and diversity of tactics.

This fixation on "diversity of tactics" and questions of violence are where my problems with this collection lie, and it is this fixation that, despite the best efforts of the editors and the writers, leads to the third goal of the book being left incomplete. What this means is that, although many different perspectives were raised on particular issues,

the book never really gets to the core of what the G20 organizing – and in fact a long history of organizing in Canada – can tell us about the problems on the left in Canada and how we can begin to reinvigorate a movement that will not just wage defensive battles against neoliberal incursions and austerity politics but will be able to begin the task of prefiguring and reconstructing the social, political and economic realms. To illustrate what I mean here I will mention three specific articles, and through them briefly construct a counter-narrative for how I see the lessons of the G20 guiding left organizing today.

The first two pieces I want to examine look at organizing for and during the G20 from the – currently – opposing perspectives of labour and social movements. The first, "Labour's Role in Opposing the G20" by Archana Rampure, defends the role of the labour movement leadership. Rampure highlights the important role that labour plays in mass mobilizations and states that "the labour movement is the bedrock of progressive politics in this country" (49). She claims that "union leaders are generally more progressive than their membership" and that rank and file workers simply aren't politicized – they are not "invested in the movement" (51). Rampure centres most of this – labour's decision to abandon social movement activists both physically, by walking away from the G20 fence, and politically, by issuing statements condemning property damage and trumpeting their cooperation with the security forces of the state – on clashes between labour and social movement activists over diversity of tactics.

Jeff Shantz's contribution, "Unions, Direct Action, and the G20 Protests," offers a counterpoint to Rampure's position, noting that both in its decision to march away from the fence and in the issuing of letters of condemnation, the union leadership "made a public commitment to state capitalist order, the restricted terrain of legality that serves such an important role in the neoliberal legitimation of anti-working class politics" (59). But the focus of both of these pieces on the debate between labour and social movements centring on "diversity of tactics" is problematic because it misses the much bigger point about the problem with the contemporary labour movement and left politics in general, and that is one of organizational structure.

It is this tension in structure that Clarice Kuhling in "Forms of Protest Reflect Our Power" attempts to draw out, but also ultimately does not go far enough in directing criticisms where they belong – at the structure of organized labour. Breeding and building traditions of democratic engagement within workplaces is the only way forward but this means union leaders must replace themselves. The primary work of an organizer is to build more organizers. Maintaining the hierarchical structures and leadership positions – so far removed from the base – will never accomplish this, and it will only continue the rifts that exist between social movements and organized labour, eventually making both irrelevant because both will ultimately lose.

Both Shantz and Kuhling attempt to grapple with this by bringing in the example of the Greater Toronto Workers' Assembly. This is an important contribution, as it

begins to open up the discussion about solidarity between labour and social movements, and also considers new ways or organizing. But neither Kuhling nor Shantz are able to contend with the inherent structure of contemporary unions which makes them an impediment to struggle rather than a motor of it.

The focus of these central articles on labour's recalcitrance to engage in more militant actions seems to be a case of putting the cart before the horse. Labour cannot be radical because labour isn't structured in a radical way. It needs an internal revolution before it can participate meaningfully in an external one. *Whose Streets?* would benefit from taking this lesson of the G20 and giving it a thorough consideration in this text.

Ross, Stephanie and Larry Savage, eds. 2012. *Rethinking the Politics of Labour in Canada*. Halifax: Fernwood. ISBN 978-1-55266-478-0. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 224.

Reviewed by Julie Guard
University of Manitoba

This is a thoughtfully conceived and carefully structured collection of essays that coheres exceptionally well to present a timely account of the state of organized labour in contemporary Canada. In just over 200 pages, this slim volume covers a lot of ground with remarkable efficiency, analysing the current and historical state of the labour movement with sufficient clarity to make it suitable for classroom use. But it does more: defining politics more broadly than most enables the collection to deliver more than the title suggests, combining an overview of the current state of labour in politics with analyses of political alternatives and case studies of initiatives toward union renewal, mostly through community unionism. As a whole, the book draws an instructive contrast between labour's long-standing efforts to make gains within electoral politics and what the contributors, in various ways, argue are the more fruitful possibilities of alliances between labour and community organizations. Several chapters provide insightful perspectives on organized labour and political parties, but the primary emphasis is on labour's varied relationships with community-based organizations, grassroots movements, and equity-seeking groups, and in particular, how political activism within unions creates possibilities for a reinvigorated, renewed, and revitalized labour movement.

This tension within the labour movement between electoral and extra-parliamentary politics is the books' central preoccupation, and the contrast between

labour's traditional approach to politics and the more generative potential of a return to grassroots labour politics is established in a thoughtful and very useful chapter by Donald Swartz and Rosemary Warskett. Their overview of the history of labour in Canadian politics offers an important discussion of the evolution of solidarity, and argues for a broad understanding of collective struggle that recognizes the interpenetration of economic and political rights and challenges the neoliberal individualist culture with a culture of broadly based solidarity. Amanda Cole and Charlotte Yates' chapter interrogates the possibilities of the kind of broad-based labour solidarity Swartz and Warskett advocate, and offers concrete evidence that supports and complicates that position. Surveying the various ways collective solidarity has benefitted unions by mobilizing workers in support of women's rights, they observe that, while solidaristic struggle has improved women's status in their workplaces and unions, union men's support has not always been as wholehearted or undivided as women workers have quite rightly demanded.

Several of the contributors assess organized labour's engagement in electoral politics, including its relations with political parties, but as the chapters by Bryan Evans, Larry Savage, and Peter Graefe demonstrate persuasively, even when labour has maintained close and friendly relations with the NDP or has attempted to work with the Liberals or the PQ, the viability of these alliances has depended on unionists' unilateral compromises. Yet, as they show, despite labour's concessions, its political allies have been unreliable friends and the incremental advances achieved through those collaborations have been inadequate and temporary. The courts, as Charles Smith demonstrates in a valuable summary of charter challenges, have similarly failed to protect, much less advance, union rights, despite the statutory provisions in the Charter ostensibly guaranteeing rights of association that unionists hoped would secure the courts' defence of collective bargaining.

These and other chapters raise the timely question, why do unions continue to support alliances with political parties and judicial challenges, which provide such poor returns on their considerable investments, especially in the current climate of austerity and declining membership? A number of the contributors provide evidence of labour's engagement in extra-parliamentary political activities, reflecting an implicit consensus among them that these alternatives to electoral politics offer far more promise. Their collective argument for community or social unionism, which involves community alliances with labour, and proceeds from the kind of broadly based solidarity advocated by Swartz and Warskett, is strong. Chapters by Stephanie Ross and Simon Black highlight the diversity of community-labour coalitions and caution us against facile judgements that, as Ross in particular points out, overlook the complexities of real-world trade-offs in a context of hard choices and difficult compromises. Several chapters offer insight into the opportunities and challenges such collaborations present, as well as suggesting something of the range of community unionism. All offer valuable perspectives on the

potential, and pitfalls, of community unionism. In their contribution, for instance, Suzanne Mills and Tyler McCreary offer surprising and encouraging evidence of over three decades of union collaborations with Aboriginal organizations. Yet these collaborations, they observe, face significant obstacles, including unions' tendency to prioritize economic issues over social justice or anti-colonial struggles, and First Nations' own struggles for sovereignty, which can complicate or undermine their relationships with unions. In their chapter on migrant workers, unions and workers' centres, Aziz Choudry and Mark Thomas demonstrate that social unionism that links genuine grassroots mobilization at the local level with international solidarity networks and encourages workers' self-organization can help overcome some of the daunting challenges facing these vulnerable and marginalized workers, and at the same time, strengthen and energize the labour movement. Kendra Coulter's case study of union cooperation with anti-poverty organizations offers an important reminder that, when unions overcome their long-standing aversion to working to advance the interests of the poor, they stand not only to recover their moral compass, but by publicly opposing the backlash against the poor, they do what we hope unions will always do: unite us, as working people, in the creation of a better world for all.

This linking of community unionism and labour politics, and the multiple examples of broadly based solidarity in practice, moves the conversation well beyond the usual frame of labour in politics and in this way, the book makes an unexpected and innovative contribution to the growing literature on union renewal. The many case studies that illuminate praxis – theory embodied in action – make that contribution especially valuable. The collection as a whole is an important resource that I predict will be used by unionists, labour scholars, and students, and indeed, it should be recommended to anyone seeking insight into the world today.

Sharzer, Greg. 2012. *No Local: Why Small-Scale Alternatives Won't Change the World*. Winchester, UK: Zero Books. ISBN 978-1-84694-671-4. Paperback: 21.95 CAD. Pages: 178.

Reviewed by Charles Z. Levkoe
University of Toronto

It appears that the honeymoon with the locavore has come to an end, that is, if it ever began. Over the past decade, a renewed embrace of localism has been heralded as a way to engage in ethical consumption, build communities, strengthen economies, protect

the environment and, at times, transform society. Local food initiatives have been central to this trend, with an explosion of research studies, popular literature, documentary films, policies, community-based initiatives, entrepreneurial activities, and, of course, an abundance of new purchasing opportunities. In recent years, however, the popularity of local initiatives has come under intense scrutiny from both pro- and anti-capitalist critiques, and important questions have been raised about the validity of localist claims. Greg Sharzer's *No Local: Why Small Scale Alternatives Won't Change the World* joins this cadre of voices to bring a decidedly Marxist perspective to the ongoing debate.

No Local is a short but dense book, written in accessible prose and aimed at a wide range of readers. Its self-proclaimed task is to help proponents of localism realize the folly of their ways. The book's argument is that local initiatives - from urban agriculture and farmers' markets to alternative currencies and cooperatives - do little or nothing to change systemic inequalities. While Sharzer admits that some of these initiatives make slight improvements for a specific class of consumer (i.e. those that can afford the time and money required to participate), he attempts to show that these well-meaning alternatives are bound by the same economic rules as the large corporations they oppose. For example, a small, locally owned business may produce a niche product of superior quality, but its capacity to survive in a capitalist market is still dependent on externalizing costs, exploiting labour and destroying the environment. The take home message for localists is that individual choice, lifestyle activism, and micro-alternatives do not have the power to transform capitalism. While Sharzer's argument reinforces the importance of addressing the core problem of social and ecological injustice, *No Local* may be a missed opportunity to have a broader impact on movement building and social change efforts.

Moving beyond critiquing specific local initiatives, *No Local* attempts to take on the concept of localism as a whole. The challenge, however, is that Sharzer constructs his critique in meticulous detail without clearly defining his target. The result is a series of assumptions about a wide range of initiatives that lack an empirical foundation. Localism is presented as a concept that begins with a criticism of size but becomes a pessimistic and naïve utopian ideology embraced and fostered by the petite bourgeoisie. In constructing his adversary, Sharzer argues that the localist do-it-yourself attitude abandons the root causes of social and economic inequality and environmental degradation. Instead, proponents attempt to escape capitalist social relations by creating "pockets of equitable cooperation" (146), abandoning hope and awaiting social breakdown (i.e. climate change and peak oil). Far from contributing to any significant change, the individual choice and personal responsibility purported by localists serves to maintain the structures of inequality and oppression, accommodating and even facilitating neoliberalism. Sharzer argues that all local initiatives can be categorized as either directly challenging capitalism, and thus worthy of our efforts, or part of the problem. Thus, if localists understood the

internal drives of capitalism, they would cease to be localists and begin to engage in actual systemic transformation (i.e. collective resistance through democratic class struggle) that confronts and disrupts capitalist social relations.

Assuming we accept Sharzer's prefiguration, his binary classification of pro-market (i.e. the belief in a fair and ethical capitalism) and anti-market (i.e. the critique of capitalism) "localists" groups together a wide diversity of people and initiatives while ignoring their differences. For example, it is true that some urban agriculture initiatives are led by profit seeking entrepreneurs or otherwise exemplify the localist ideology that Sharzer targets. But many more initiatives are initiated by neighbourhood residents and activists (from across classes) as a way to empower individuals, build collective consciousness and develop capacity for broader action. Thus, it is not clear that there is one localist movement with a common ideology. A number of writers have wrestled with these issues as part of a critical dialogue around the politics of scale (e.g. Swyngedouw 1997; Dupuis and Goodman 2005). Failing to identify the nuanced realities of the case studies results in constructing a "straw man" argument with which many localists will have trouble relating.

In the book's final chapter, we are promised that our newfound knowledge of the inner workings of capitalism will lead us in the right direction. Sharzer provides hints at his vision for a different kind of society with brief mention of ideas such as democratic social planning, workers running society themselves, and socialism. Only then is the local "no longer outside, beyond an alterative to capitalism but a site of struggle against it" (141). But Sharzer ignores the way that many local initiatives are already building coalitions and networks at regional, national and global levels and collectively developing more nuanced critiques of social, economic and political systems. For example, Canada's People's Food Policy Project recently brought together thousands of individuals and local initiatives to collaboratively propose and prioritize a food policy platform based on the concept of food sovereignty – where food systems are controlled by those who produce and consume food as opposed to corporate interests and global financial institutions and food is understood to be the foundation for healthy lives, communities and eco-systems. These kinds of linkages between local initiatives and collective movements illustrate how people and ideas can connect across scales, and also to more radical political agendas. *No Local* spends little time addressing the ways that local initiatives may be an entry point for engaging individuals in broader collective struggles and the effects of trans-local networking on movement building.

Sharzer is extremely well versed in his subject matter and his writing style is clear and straightforward. However, *No Local* reads like a theoretical debate between a particular reading of Marx and an abstracted ideology of "localism" constructed through a selection of specific writers (i.e. Barbara Kingsolver, Bill McKibben, Carlo Petrini, E.F. Schumacher). Sharzer spends far too much time summarizing Marx and too little time

applying his ideas to the empirical evidence. *No Local's* strongest contribution to both the theory and practice of social change is through its, unfortunately limited, engagement with the case studies. Through *No Local*, Sharzer reminds us to think carefully about the unintended consequences of our efforts at the local level, but in the process risks making invisible the actual and existing complexity of local initiatives.

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Choudry, Aziz; Jill Hanley and Eric Shragge, eds. 2012. *Organize! Building from the Local for Global Justice*. Toronto and Oakland: Between the Lines and PM Press. ISBN 978-1-77113-004-2. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages: 313.

Reviewed by Ian Hussey
York University

This exciting new edited volume contains over twenty essays on building power, mass movements and critical analysis around working-class, anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-capitalist struggles. The chapters are written in accessible language by a wide array of activists, organizers, lawyers, artists and academics, and draw lessons from struggles in Canada, the United States, Palestine, and Aotearoa/New Zealand in an effort to link local organizing work with global struggles and transnational activist networks and to place these struggles in historical context. From art and activism for Palestine to immigrant workers' community-based labour organizing to organizing in support of Indigenous Peoples to the struggles of queer people of colour and of the psychiatric survivor movement, this book contains critical commentary on many of the most pressing and creative struggles happening today. The authors are not, however, simply cheerleading their various causes; rather, they illuminate and engage with the tensions, limits, problems and gains of a wide range of organizing practices and contexts.

Part of my own work falls within the category of political activist ethnography and I was happy to discover that this text also engages with that tradition of critical scholarship as a means of producing analyses of the everyday work of organizing for social and economic justice. In addition to the many chapters on various struggles, the book contains essays on activist research on mapping power relations, reflections on research partnerships and local community organizing, and practical issues, such as fundraising and the law and organizing. The book also includes an introductory chapter by the editors that serves to provide historical context, pull out key themes and synthesize the contributions of the chapters to come. The book has three themes: 1) the limits of local work and activism, 2) organizing in context: theory and analysis, and 3) practices to move us forward. This is not a book that reviews theoretical frameworks in an academic way. This is a book about learning the limits of reform through struggle and how we can go further. When the authors in this text talk about going further, they do not do so in an abstract or utopian fashion. Rather, they base their insights in the actual practices and processes of organizing, including the limitations and contradictions we face in trying to build power and make change. This book is therefore of interest to organizers, but it will also work well in undergraduate classes on social movements, labour studies, socio-legal studies, indigenous studies, immigration, and urban studies.

Most of the book's chapters are about building an inclusive base and about articulating strategies of social change. The authors fall in the tradition of the likes of Andrea Smith and Saul Alinsky who have taught many of us that in organizing we must start where people are at, with the problems they are facing and with everyday language, not buzzwords and jargon that may not be known to people and therefore may serve to alienate and exclude them. The authors in this book are putting forward a vision of building community organizations that go beyond particular goals and that contribute to building a wider culture of opposition. The idea is that in building democratic alternatives to either state or capital, rooted in anarchism and in community organizing, more people will see and begin to believe in forms of local production and services that exist without the need for a hierarchy of management, that provide political education and that add to a wider culture of opposition through naming the fundamental problem, global capitalism. This type of organizing requires a longer-term strategy to which the various authors in this book make a significant contribution. So while the book's chapters are grounded in specific struggles, all of the authors place their local work in the context of wider issues. The authors recognize that there are limits to local work and they seek to define those limits and ways of moving beyond them.

With the space I have left in this review I'd like to highlight the chapter by Harsha Walia, "Moving Beyond a Politics of Solidarity toward a Practice of Decolonization." Walia argues that those of us that are non-Native must come to view ourselves as active and important participants in decolonization movements and that Indigenous self-determination should be the foundation for all social justice struggles. This means

moving beyond an intersectional approach to engage with Indigenous struggles on their own terms. This is, of course, by no means easy, but Walia offers us some ideas about the messy practice of solidarity, the contradictions she has come across in her organizing work with No One is Illegal and ways to think about and deal with the various contradictions and challenges. She encourages non-Natives to both decentre themselves/ourselves so as to learn and to engage from a place of responsibility, rather than a feeling of guilt, but at the same time to recognize our own part in colonial processes and hence our responsibility to participate in processes of decolonization. She ends the chapter with an argument that the process of decolonization requires a move beyond solidarity activism to "a radical terrain of struggle where our common visions for justice do not erase our different social locations, and similarly, that our differing identities do not prevent us from walking together toward transformation and mutual respect" (252). This is but one of the critical lessons this substantial collection of essays has to offer.

McNally, David. 2011. *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism*. Leiden: Brill. ISBN 978-9-00420-157-6. Cloth: 136.00 USD. Pages: 296. [Paperback published in 2012 by Haymarket Books. ISBN 978-1-60846-233-9. 28.00 USD.]

Reviewed by Mark Neocleous
Brunel University

Capitalist society overflows with monsters. The two that most occupy the cultural and political imagination are the vampire and the zombie. David McNally's book explores these and related figures in the dialectic of modernity.

The strengths of the book lie in the way it moves easily across the history of ideas, the critique of political economy, social theory, literary criticism and critical anthropology, and does so in a way which takes in early capitalist formation and the enclosures movement, agrarian riots, industrialization, colonial violence and postcolonial formations. In so doing it does a good job of showing why any analysis of capital really does need to take into account capital's monsters and, conversely, why the analysis of monstrosity really does need to take into account capital. It is insightful, well-written, and for the most part powerfully argued across three core chapters: on *Frankenstein*, political anatomy and the rise of capitalism; on the vampire-capital; and on African vampires in the age of globalisation.

Yet the broad historical scope and the fascinating moves across disciplines generate tensions which run through the central argument of the book.

McNally claims that we must move from the corporeal to the political register of monstrosity, on the grounds that secularization and science brought about a shift away from "corporeal distortion and abnormality" as indicators of monstrosity to other indicators: social behaviour of greed and enclosure on one side and riot and treason on the other. Yet this historical thesis is somewhat undermined by the centrality of the corporeal to the text. For the book is as much about the body politic and its anatomy than anything else: from the body of the hanged, the buying and selling of body parts, through to the discussion of Marx's "persistent use of body-imagery" – "body of value," the "body of iron," the "body of the coat," and so on. Thus although the monsters of global capitalism might no longer be the deformed bodies of pre-modernity, they are nonetheless still very corporeal in their monstrosity. When one writes about monstrosity it is almost impossible not to write about the body.

Likewise, when one writes about monstrosity it is almost impossible not to sound like one is writing cultural studies. That in itself is a problem as McNally seeks to distance his argument from "postmodern cultural" accounts of monstrosity which "lack a critical theory of capitalism" and which tend to simply be on the side of the monstrous "Other." Yet despite McNally's own powerfully argued insistence that we must root the monstrous in the political economy of capital, he nonetheless sometimes sounds as though he wants to be writing "postmodern cultural" analyses. Thus, for example, the view of *Frankenstein* as a warning to the ruling class of the monster it has created – "the Luddite revolts and the repression they induced are pivotal to the context in which *Frankenstein* took shape;" Shelly drew upon a "rich tradition of popular rebellion," etc – is surely in tension with the claim that "Victor Frankenstein's troubles originate with the death of his mother," and it is a tension that is never worked out. The strong reading of the Frankenstein monster as a *monster of the market* is somewhat undermined by veering into the very ritual codes of the cultural studies industry from which McNally seeks to simultaneously distance himself. This tension is even more pronounced in the chapter on African vampires.

This in turn generates an additional problem. The book is a strong statement of Marxist categories and their applicability to the study of the monsters of capital and, likewise, an equally strong account of why Marx himself was interested in the monstrous, especially the vampire-capital. McNally is surely right to suggest that "part of the genuine radicalism of Marx's critical theory resides in its insistence on tracking and naming the monsters of modernity," and cites Franco Moretti's suggestion that "the literature of terror is born out of terror of a split society and out of the desire to heal it." But is "healing" really the communist project as envisaged by Marx? Similarly, the "subjugation and exploitation" imposed on human beings by capital are described here as "genuinely traumatic." But surely the problem of capital is not that it *traumatizes* us. Such claims

sound more like "postmodern cultural" studies than Marxism. For Marxism, the problem of exploitation is the problem of exploitation; it is not the *trauma* of exploitation or alienation that is the issue. (For, otherwise, there is a very easy capitalist and therapeutic solution: let's ensure that people have the chance to work through their traumas).

Early in the book McNally suggests that not all monsters are equal, and that we need to differentiate distinct forms of monstrosity. The intention is to distinguish between the zombie as a beast of burden, crushed by work, mercilessly exploited and thus a life destroyed, and the vampire, constantly sucking the blood of the living and thus destroying lives. Yet this distinction is sometimes confused by the fact that McNally keeps getting attracted by other forms of monstrosity or cognate issues which don't easily fit into this frame. Thus the monster motif is meant to "equip us with a form of night-vision that illuminates the neoliberal world of wild money." But is "wildness" the same as monstrosity? This problem is skirted over, but wildness is then used as an opening for a discussion of the shift from the gold standard to derivatives and forms the basis of a discussion of Enron as a case-study in the "occult economy of late capitalism." But is the occult the same as the wild? Likewise, "occult economy" includes not just Enron's derivatives but also the recent genre of urban African witchcraft-tales and an analysis of beliefs in "economic witchcraft." "Occult economy" and "economic witchcraft" are being made to do rather a lot of work as categories and do not fit easily into the zombie versus vampire frame. Moreover, the African peoples discussed here believe in the occult economy in a way in which the subjects of the western world don't, at least as far as their own conscious and deliberate practices would suggest. Hence the attempt to locate the vampire within the African witchcraft genre more widely does not really succeed; one senses the monstrous motifs getting out of McNally's own control.

There is also a noticeable absence of an engagement with the concept of the undead. Only when he introduces the zombie does McNally get around to addressing the fact that one of the underlying facts about the monstrous is that they are the "living dead." McNally deals with this in relation to the zombie yet never addresses this in relation to the vampire. Yet the whole point of the vampire is that it is an undead creature. Bram Stoker's *Dracula* was published with that title in June 1897, but even as late as the end of May that year he was still using his working title for the novel: *The Un-Dead*. And this undead nature of the vampire is crucial to Marx's use of the vampire to understand capital as (un)dead labour. This is never explored by McNally, and hence an opportunity to pursue the contrasting nature of these monsters is rather lost.

One might note this loss of opportunity in another way. Edmund Burke's use of the monstrous is said to be "significant for mobilising plebeian anxieties about grave-robbing and dissection," and "mobilising popular idioms." The justification provided for this is Burke's occasional reference to tombs. But there is a far more likely source of Burke's imagery, lying in Burke's own politics of the dead. Burke famously argued that if society is a contract then the contract must in part be with the dead as well as those yet to

be born. The monster of revolution might be a problem for Burke, then, because the monster is undead and thus somehow breaks what is implicit in our contract with the dead: that the dead do live on, but only as national tradition and not as revolution.

This mention of Burke points to a more general problem. McNally suggests that Mary Shelly recoiled from the ugliness of the monster, but that working-class radicals would come to *affirm* proletarian monstrosity in a way that would be claimed by Marx. "Part of the genuine radicalism of Marx's critical theory resides in its insistence on tracking and naming the monsters of modernity." That might be true, but Marxism is hardly the only politics to try and track and name the monsters of modernity (see my own *The Monstrous and the Dead*, University of Wales Press, 2005). Burke's work is replete with monsters – far more than is alluded to by McNally and possibly far more even than Marx. And it might equally be said that fascism also seeks to track and name what it sees as the monsters of modernity. Marx was far from alone in thinking politically about the monstrous.

Eagleton, Terry. 2011. *Why Marx Was Right.* New Haven: Yale University Press. ISBN 978-0-300-18153-1. Paperback: 16.00 USD. Pages: 258.

Reviewed by Charles Post
Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York

During the years of "high neo-liberalism" – from approximately 1979 to the early years of the twenty-first century – capitalism seemed politically and ideologically unassailable. Under the banner "There is No Alternative," pro-capitalist politicians and "public intellectuals" (or more accurately apologists) proclaimed that the "free market system" was not only the best of all possible worlds, but the inevitable outcome of all of human history. In this period, no thinker was subject to more vilification, falsification or condescending disregard than Karl Marx. Marxism was dismissed as "outdated" and "naive" at best, if not a nefarious theory that had only produced tyranny, poverty and human misery on a mass scale. Even on the left, Marx's theories were rejected as variants of Enlightenment thinking with its totalitarian "grand narrative," in favour of new variants of idealism and causal pluralism – post-structuralism and post-modernism.

The neo-liberal consensus began to unravel in the mid and late 1990s as the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico against the North American Free Trade Agreement, the mass strikes in defence of public pensions in France and the rise of the global justice

movement challenged "free market" orthodoxy in practice. However, it was the beginnings of a long-period of capitalist economic stagnation, marked by the global financial meltdown of 2007-2008, that opened the flood gates to the revival of anti-capitalist criticisms. In the past few years, establishment publications from the *Harvard Business Review* to the *Wall Street Journal* have all run essays asking whether Marx was, after all, right. Clearly rejecting Marx's politics – working class struggle for socialism – mainstream academics and journalists have been forced to admit that Marx's predictions that capitalist growth was necessarily crisis-ridden may, in fact, be true.

Terry Eagleton, perhaps the most prominent Marxist literary theorist writing in English, has entered this discussion was a zealous defence of Marx, *Why Marx Was Right*. With his characteristic clarity and humour, Eagleton demolishes ten of the most common anti-Marxist myths. Eagleton gleefully dissects claims that Marxism is outdated in today's classless "post-modern" world; notions that Marxism's naïve notion of human nature have led to horrendous violence and the establishment of brutal, repressive anti-democratic regimes; and the all-too familiar assertions that Marxism is a form of economic reductionism and determinism that ignores human spirituality and non-class forms of oppression. While none of his arguments are original – all have been made by critical Marxist thinkers over the past eighty years – few have been able to muster their arguments with such wit, passion and insight.

Eagleton is at his best in answering the hoary assertion that Marxism inevitably led to the repressive, bureaucratic regimes that masqueraded as socialism in the twentieth century. He effectively demolishes the notion that Marxism advocates an undemocratic, minoritarian and violent social transformation. Eagleton defends Marx (and the Marxist tradition, including Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg) as advocates of a more radical democracy in which working people do not get to periodically choose which of their oppressors will rule, but actually decide the use of society's productive resources. In terms of violence, Eagleton points to how:

> the reluctance of working people to shed blood has contrasted tellingly with the readiness of their masters to wield the lash and the gun… If socialist revolutions have generally involved violence, it is largely because propertied classes will rarely surrender their privileges without a struggle (187).

Synthesizing the arguments of Trotsky, Deutscher, Mandel and Callinicos, Eagleton demolishes the notion that Marxism was responsible for the horrors of Stalinism, pointing to its material roots. The tiny size of the working class in pre-revolutionary Russia and the creation of a capitalist world economy in the late nineteenth century made "socialism in one country" a reactionary utopia. While the isolation of the Soviet regime with the failure of revolutions in the industrialized west was primarily responsible for the

rise of the bureaucratic post-capitalist dictatorships, Eagleton also recognizes the Bolsheviks' tendency to underestimate the importance of safe-guarding democratic rights and institutions.

Eagleton is also extremely effective in demolishing the common-sense of the academic left – in particular in cultural studies – that Marxism is a form of class and economic reductionism that is teleological and unable to account for gender or racial oppression or the degradation of the natural environment. He defends class struggle as "*fundamental* to human history," (34) not in the sense that that without class exploitation "Buddhism, astrophysics and the Miss World contest would come tumbling down," but that class "shapes events, institutions and forms of thought which seem at first glance to be innocent of it; and it plays a decisive role in the turbulent transition from one epoch of human history to another" (35). Eagleton goes on to summarize the rich, but incomplete Marxist discussions of gender and national, racial and colonial oppression and environmental degradation – and the track-record of revolutionary socialism in fighting sexism, racism, colonialism and environment destruction. For Eagleton, Marxism has made "issues of culture, gender, language, otherness, difference, identity and ethnicity…inseparable from questions of state power, material inequality, the exploitation of labour, imperial plunder, mass political resistance and revolutionary transformation" (221-222).

One could make a number of minor criticisms of Eagleton's defence of Marx. I am much more cynical than Eagleton about the possibilities that market mechanisms and democratic planning ("market socialism") can stably coexist for prolonged periods in post-capitalist societies. His attempt to avoid the issue of whether class struggle or an independent development of the productive forces drives historical change – which may reflect his reliance on two of the most sophisticated advocates of these divergent views, Alex Callinicos and Ellen Meiksins Wood, for input on this book – is disappointing. The largest absence is a discussion of why capitalism cannot produce economic stability – why capitalist crises are *inevitable* – is especially regrettable as we are in the midst of the most severe global economic downturn since the mid-1970s. However, all of these short-comings pale in comparison to the wit, passion and clarity of Eagleton's defence of Marx. *Why Marx Was Right* is an accessible and sophisticated introduction to modern Marxist thought.