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.

References

Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI). 2012. "Israeli Apartheid: What's in a Name?" June 1. [http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1901].

Malleson, Tom and David Wachsmuth, ed. 2011. *Whose Streets? The Toronto G20 and the Challenges of Summit Protest*. Toronto: Between the Lines. ISBN 978-1-92666-279-4. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages 230.

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.

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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