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Braedley, Susan and Meg Luxton, eds. 2010. *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. ISBN 978-0-7735-3692-0. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 241.

Reviewed by Judy Haiven
Saint Mary's University

The following two quotations bookend the latter part of the 20th century. The first is by public policy advisor to the Canadian government, Leonard Marsh. He argued for the formation of a vigorous welfare state. In his 1943 *Report on Social Security for Canada*, Marsh noted that wages—even good wages—were not enough to provide security for most Canadians,

> It is impossible to establish a wage that will allow every worker and his family to meet the heavy disabilities of serious illness, prolonged unemployment, accident and premature death. These are budget shattering contingencies that strike most unevenly (Braedley and Luxton 2010, 187).

Forty-four years later, in 1987, then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher advanced her neoliberal ideas with this:

> Who is society? There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first (Keay 1987, 8-10).

Canada's welfare state was never as robust as Marsh had envisioned it. And Thatcher's words are now echoed by our own PM, Stephen Harper. In fact now, more than a decade into a new century, progressive social critics often note that Canada's welfare state, which was never as robust as Britain's, shows signs of more weakening.

Canada, along with the rest of the developed world, is deeply mired in neoliberalism, which Raewyn Connell (in her chapter "Understanding Neoliberalism") describes as the new "common sense of our era" (23). Neoliberalism is an economic process that celebrates the free market, frees up capital markets, deregulates banking and currency exchange and seeks to privatize much of what was formerly in the public sphere such as education, health care, social services, eldercare, childcare and even water.

Neoliberalism and Everyday Life locates neoliberalism in relation to what is important to most Canadians. Each chapter examines the neoliberal challenge in fundamental areas, such as the security clamp-down on the Canada-US border (the chapter by Karine Côté-Boucher), the racialization and deterioration of labour standards (Mark Thomas), the lack of support

for childcare (Kate Bezanson), and the scarcity of assistance for the most marginalized.

For example, Paula Pinto's chapter, "Beyond the State: The Making of Disability and Gender under Neoliberalism in Portugal," is both touching and informative. She interviewed 21 women in Lisbon who are mothers and are disabled. While Pinto's study is not large, it is rich in detail and perception. In Portugal, disabled women have very high rates of unemployment, less education and less access to community resources than other citizens, including disabled men (114). In Canada, the situation is similar. In 2006, the unemployment rate for the disabled was 10.4% while it was 6.8% for the able-bodied; there are no recent figures for disabled unemployment during the current recession, but it is estimated to be 14.7% (NJN Network 2009). In 2001, Canadian disabled women had an average income of $17,230 per year, while disabled men's income was $26,890. Compare their incomes with the average male salary of $36,865 per year (CRIAW 2006).

Pinto's chapter invites a comparison with a new Canadian book, *Maternity Rolls: Childbirth and Disability* (Fernwood, 2010) by Heather Kuttai, a disabled woman and a mother of two children. As in Pinto's chapter, Kuttai writes about the doctors and hospital staff's negative and unhelpful reaction to her – a paraplegic – having a baby. Kuttai concurs with Pinto's description that disabled women

> were not expected to live sexual and reproductive lives … they were regarded as childlike, asexual beings without desire or the ability to mother. The neoliberal state was complicit with, and reinforced, this view (Braedley and Luxton 2010, 125).

Pinto and Kuttai criticize the bureaucracies in hospitals and social services and how they deal with disabled mothers.

Another important chapter is Susan Braedley's "Accidental Health Care: Masculinity and Neoliberalism at Work." She studied the fire service in Toronto and a smaller centre. She explains that the fire service is not typically subject to neoliberal restructuring because firefighters must respond to accidents and prevent "loss of life and loss of property value" (139). Therefore, cuts to the fire service are not easy to make: for example there is no way to employ firefighters on a casual, a contractual or a part-time basis, or limit the scope of their services.

Braedley notes that one aspect of the neoliberal agenda is to intensify work. Since much of the firefighters' day is spent training, checking equipment, cleaning, sleeping and cooking, there is a perception

there is considerable "down" time. So, since the 1980s, Toronto firefighters' remit has also included responding to medical emergencies, doing search and rescue work and disposing of hazardous waste. In 2006, just over 50% of Toronto firefighter responses were for "medical" reasons – not always connected to a fire (139). In fact, though not trained in social work, treatment of chronic illnesses or elder care, firefighters are called as first responders to 911 emergency calls in the "absence of other [public] services" (146). For example, septuagenarian "Maisie" called 911 frequently worried about her shortness of breath --which it turned out was caused by chain-smoking. Firefighters dispatched to her apartment, found she needed "company, reassurance and breathing support" (147). Though they were not trained to do this kind of care, increasingly the firefighters found these kinds of calls were becoming a bigger part of their jobs. These jobs previously done primarily by women social workers, aides and caregivers had been cut or cut back due to the neoliberal agenda.

All the chapters in this book find fault with the buzzwords of neoliberalism: choice, autonomy and responsibility. However, Meg Luxton's chapter "Doing Neoliberalism: Perverse Individualism in Personal Life" was quite special. She points out that the progressive movements of the 1960s and 1970s organized to fight discrimination against (and to fight for the equality of) marginalized groups such as women, visible minorities, immigrants, the disabled, gays and lesbians. She says these groups argued for policies which would "eliminate the privileging of … [various]… family forms" (165). Progressives argued that in order to level the playing field, there had to be shared or collective responsibility to assist with affordable childcare, homecare, housing, and extended health care such as dental care. They demanded that the costs should be carried by increased taxation on corporations and the rich.

Luxton explains that neoliberalism and the new right did not merely attack the "old" welfare state benefits already in place but argued against their expansion into new areas. She cites Raewyn Connell's idea (chapter 2) that for neoliberalism to "win" it had to reinforce the "sexual division of labour, nuclear family forms, private responsibility for individual wellbeing" as well as the "racialized division of labour that anchors racism" (166).

This seems both chilling and accurate. In Canada, several provincial governments as well as the federal government have taken this stand. Governments of all stripes have cut welfare assistance rates, made it harder to get unemployment benefits, wiped out government funding for new social housing projects, and have not created the necessary child care

spaces to expedite women's entry into the labour force. *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life* is a good book, which explains the poisonous effects of neoliberalism which touch all Canadians' lives.

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Reviewed by Larry Patriquin
Nipissing University

To begin, a confession: what I know about Southeast Asia you could write on the head of a pin and still have enough room remaining to house an assortment of angels. My interest in Scott's work is that it is about the state and, most intriguingly, about various peoples who for centuries have been, in effect, running from states, avoiding them at all costs.

The area under study is "Zomia," sometimes referred to as the Southeast Asian *massif*, roughly 2.5 million km^2 stretching over a number of countries (including contemporary Burma, Cambodia, China, India, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam). Most of its roughly 100 million residents (including the Hmong, Kachin, Karen, Lahu, Lisu, Miao, Shan, Wa and Yao/Mien) live 300 or more metres above sea level in small, egalitarian social units.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, Zomia has been incorporated into a number of nation-states, especially those in search of natural resources, with governments guided by ideologies as diverse as communism and neoliberalism. Prior to World War II, however, the peoples of Zomia were never integrated for any length of time into states, into "civilizations."

Focusing on the period after c.1500, for which documentation is more readily available, Scott argues that, for well over a thousand years, hill-dwelling groups have "been fleeing the oppressions of state-making projects in the valleys" (ix). He maintains that hill-dwellers should not be viewed as members of historyless communities that roamed from place to place, with no political institutions, left behind by progress. In contrast, if we see them as anti-state peoples, we will be able to better understand their culture, agriculture and social structures. Writing in opposition to "state-centric histories" (36), Scott proposes instead a "history of those who got away" from the state, which "is also what makes this [book] an anarchist history" (x).

From their first appearance c.500 A.D. to the late nineteenth century, states in Zomia were relatively small, because they could not expand much beyond the limited areas in which they produced food, in particular, irrigated rice. From the perspective of these "padi states," monoculture "was easier to monitor, assess, and tax than one shaped by agricultural diversity" (75). But the peoples who lived this way, attached to land, were vulnerable – and they knew it – which is why in this part of the world, when taxes, corvée labour, wars and other burdens became excessive, great numbers headed for the hills, so they could be outside the reaches of the state, primarily the Han-Chinese state.

States tried to incorporate non-state peoples living nearby via wars and raids, turning those captured, for the most part, into slaves. The men and women trapped in such societies had few choices except to take flight, since open rebellion was risky. Once in the hills, they made it difficult for institutionalized exploitation to take root, by hunting, fishing and foraging, and especially through their use of swidden (slash-and-burn) agriculture, working a series of scattered plots. Their livelihood produced "the basis of a diet that could be shielded from state appropriation" (200).

The peoples of Zomia used various additional strategies in their struggles against states, including murdering aspiring chiefs in order to maintain egalitarian social structures; creating complex ethnicities that frustrated the categorization efforts of colonial officials; learning to speak two or three (or more) languages, so they could move frequently and blend in to other "societies"; and summoning prophets who in times of crises could lead their followers to safer places, promising "a new world of equality, peace, material abundance, and autonomy from outside rule" (291).

One of the most interesting of Scott's arguments is found in the brief Chapter 6½ ("Orality, Writing, and Texts"), where he makes the tentative

suggestion that some peoples (if not in reality, then at least in tribal myths and legends) had writing at a point in their history, but their writings were either lost – occasionally texts were said to have been eaten by animals – or were stolen from them and destroyed. After such apparent débâcles, they elected to remain non-literate because they associated states with writing, especially household censuses and other forms of record-keeping that bolster states' efforts in procuring an economic surplus. In highland societies, literacy served no purpose; indeed, it was a potentially dangerous practice. Non-literate peoples typically have been viewed as barbarians; Scott suggests they were much more astute than they have been given credit for.

Those not familiar with the history of Southeast Asia, like myself, are bound to get lost in the narrative from time to time. Scott moves frequently between a dizzying array of peoples, cultures and locales, from one century to the next then back again. It cannot have been easy to organize the material for this study, and the occasional feeling of disorientation on the part of the reader is a slight drawback of the book. Furthermore, while well written, there seems to be a fair amount of repetition throughout, perhaps a result, again, of the subject matter; this volume could have lost some of its heft without affecting the heart of the argument or its defence. Be that as it may, *The Art of Not Being Governed* has done its job well, inspiring me to investigate more deeply the types of societies examined by Scott. A good place to begin would be two books he cites frequently as being among his major influences: Edmund Leach's *The Political Systems of Highland Burma* (Harvard University Press, 1954) and Pierre Clastres' *Society Against the State* (Zone, 1987).

Scott ends by noting, in passing, that we can no longer evade the state; our only option is to tame it (324). Even if it were over just a handful of pages, I would have welcomed some development of this view. From an anarchist perspective, what do the experiences of Zomians tell us about taming the state? The answer to this question is not clear. What I took from the book is that if we will always require a state – and a large and complex one at that – we must pay close attention to how the institutions of that state are structured. In discerning what our ideal state (and our ideal society) would look like, we need to ask: given a choice, would significant numbers of people pursue an exit strategy, leaving for something, that from their perspective, is both viable and preferable, or would they be mostly content to remain where they are? Come to think of it, that is a question that can, and should, be posed to all those with grand plans, regardless of where they place themselves on the political spectrum.

Soederberg, Susanne. 2010. *Corporate Power and Ownership in Contemporary Capitalism: The Politics of Resistance and Domination*. London: Routledge. ISBN 978-0-415-46788-9. Paperback: 41.95 CAD. Pages: 195.

Reviewed by Stephen McBride
McMaster University

This is a welcome addition to the literature on the role of corporate power in contemporary society. The main focus of the book is on the doctrine of "corporate governance" and the role it plays in the neoliberal system of power. The implications of dispersed share ownership, the role of institutional investors like pension funds and various forms of shareholder activism, as examples of "inside" resistance to corporate power, all receive detailed attention.

The idea of corporate governance posits the need for alignment of the interests of company managers with those of their principals (the shareholders or owners of the firm); if this goal is fully realised then the doctrine holds that internal corporate politics could be viewed as democratic. The corporate governance doctrine rests on the premise that that ownership and control of the modern corporation have become separated and need to be realigned. Soederberg's main objective is: "to question and deconstruct the hegemonic position of corporate governance theory and practice so that its capitalist nature, paradoxes and relations of power may be exposed, scrutinized and, thereby, repoliticized" (4). One element in this project is the observation that even active shareholders, like the pension funds that own major proportions of stocks and shares, seem to have only a modest impact on corporate decisions. Nor are active shareholders much aided by the state, which extends little legal support to their endeavours.

Primarily using the US as her case, Soederberg explores the pattern of pension funds and notes a trend to privatization of pensions, comprising both the expansion of private plans at the expense of state provision and the conversion of defined benefit into defined contribution plans. With the first transfer, corporations acquire "social security capital" to augment their resources in participating in financial markets; with the second, risk is transferred from the corporation to the individual. In this process, the neoliberal state plays a central role in facilitating the transfer of pensions and pension funds into the market arena. Soederberg is especially insightful in her analysis of the ideological rendering of this transfer of risk

to individual citizens. The concept of an "Ownership Society" advanced by, but by no means confined to, the Bush administration, depicts a state pensioner as dependent on government largesse, whereas in the Ownership Society workers control their own retirement savings. On the one side are rights, entitlements and a safety net; on the other, opportunity, choice and freedom. In the context of US political culture, this is a powerful appeal and is apparently undented by the fact that the Ownership Society's main beneficiaries have proven to be high income families and the Wall Street firms that handle investments.

The discourse of corporate governance took off in the 1980s, but one of its core assumptions, the idea of a separation of ownership from control, has a much older history. The dispersion of share ownership, well beyond the ranks of those who control its day to day management, has long been noted. In its modern form, the thesis that control has become separated from ownership goes back until at least the 1932 book by Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*. In Chapter 4, Soederberg critically examines the ownership/control issue and the extent to which it has, from its inception, led to manipulative ideological arguments. Its proponents have always declined to engage with critical scholars who rejected of many of the empirical claims made on behalf of the separation of ownership and control. Critics posited that dispersed share-ownership actually concentrated real economic power in the hands of small ownership blocks that were able to gain access to other people's money without sacrificing overall control (Carroll 2010, 5-7). The convenience of the separation argument for the holders of concentrated wealth is obvious, but the consequences of the theory went far beyond this. It supplied, for instance, a rationalization for social democracy's post-World War II departure from policies of nationalization of industry. After all, if actual power in corporations rested with a bureaucratic-managerial cadre, with efficiency and social responsibility amongst their motives, rather than a dispersed group of shareholders, why not regulate the former rather than take into public ownership the shares of the latter (Crosland 1956)? Similarly, these concepts could be used to rationalize neo-corporatist arrangements institutionalizing state, business and trade union consultations and, sometimes, decision-making. So it is no surprise to see the concept get another outing in support of the corporate governance doctrine that is Soederberg's subject. What is more surprising is the lack of theoretical attention that has been paid to the doctrine of corporate governance itself, a neglect that Soederberg's timely book does much to repair. Among the conclusions that follow from her analysis are the

continued salience of class in understanding corporate power, something that the corporate governance doctrine serves to obscure; and in which even labour-led and other forms of shareholder activism, analysed in the final three chapters of the book, depoliticize resistance because they based on the faulty conceptual framework of corporate governance. Deconstructing this doctrine, as Soederberg does in this volume, in addition to the academic achievement it represents, potentially also provides a valuable service to activists.

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Reviewed by Ian Hussey
York University

I asked to review this book largely because of its main title. I wanted to know if this edited volume was going to uncritically reproduce the idea of a straightforward relationship between fair trade and social justice. Being familiar with some of the editors' previous research on fair trade, I thought that that was unlikely but one never knows. After reading the book, I'm glad that – pardon the cliché – I didn't judge it by its title or cover. I likely wouldn't have been so skeptical if the book's title included a question mark, but that certainly isn't necessary and turns out to be more of a difference in style than a major disagreement with the contributors' analyses of fair trade. The photograph on the book's cover – a close-up shot of a farmer's hands, worn and dirty, shaped into a cup and holding a bunch of ripe coffee cherries – resembles some of the advertisements for fair trade coffee that many researchers, including some of the book's contributors, have criticized for romanticizing producers and portraying them to largely middleclass "Global North" consumers as "deserving poor" in and through a commodification of difference. I don't know if the cover is

intentionally meant to be ironic, if I am reading too much into it, or if it is intentionally meant to attract book consumers and readers who are used to seeing those kinds of advertisements for fair trade (and non-fair trade) coffee.

Regardless, this book is a significant contribution to the anthropological case study literature on fair trade that will give yuppies and more radical fair trade consumers, researchers and activists alike something to think about. This collection will work well in undergraduate classes on anthropology, sociology, environmental studies, indigenous studies, co-operative studies and business and society, and I assume it will find its way onto the reading lists of some of the more engaged members of the fair trade movement. Having said that, I don't entirely agree with the claim by NYU Press that "There has been scant real-world assessment of Fair Trade's effectiveness", and hence this book fills that supposed gapping hole in the literature. There is far more published research on fair trade in the "Global South" than there is on fair trade in the "Global North," but this does include, on the one hand, a number of studies on the effectiveness, benefits and tensions of fair trade in particular producer communities tied to a number of different commodities and, on the other hand, the effectiveness and consequences of marketing fair trade to niche and mainstream consumers in the "Global North" and of fair trade activists' and certifiers' lobbying efforts to get transnational corporations to start selling fair trade certified commodities. This is not to say that there is no place for this collection, far from it.

This edited volume includes global ethnographies that investigate "the prospects and pitfalls" – to borrow a phrase from Gavin Fridell – of seeking social justice and environmental sustainability in and through market-driven mechanisms. This collection is a solid complement to two contemporary seminal books in the fair trade literature that it thoroughly engages with – Fridell's *Fair Trade Coffee* (University of Toronto Press, 2007) and Daniel Jaffee's *Brewing Justice* (University of California Press, 2007) – both of which concentrate on coffee. The real strength of *Fair Trade and Social Justice* is that it isn't just about coffee – not to say books solely on coffee aren't important – but it includes critical analyses of fair trade's effectiveness in a number of regions of the world, and a variety of global commodity chains, including those pertaining to coffee, bananas, cut flowers, tea and crafts. These investigations are not just about producers; as the book's contributors are aware of and have insights into the interconnectedness of producers, traders, certifiers and consumers.

The collection is divided into three parts: 1) "Global Markets and Local Realities: Regulating and Expanding Fair Trade;" 2) "Negotiating Difference and Identity in Fair Trade Markets;" and 3) "Relationships and Consumption in Fair Trade Markets and Alternative Economies." The book includes a few introductory pages before each of these three parts and an introduction at the beginning of the collection where the editors offer readers a fairly detailed history of fair trade in the context of neoliberal globalization. They explain that fair trade was first promoted as a statist regulatory model promoted by some United Nations member states and then more recently because of a number of geopolitical and historical events, fair trade has shifted into its various non-statist incarnations. The introduction also includes critical commentary on some of the paradoxes of non-statist fair trade in the context of neoliberal globalization. The concluding chapter by Jane Henrici, entitled "Naming Rights: Ethnographies of Fair Trade," helps to synthesize the material and pull out key themes.

Many of the essays in this collection view fair trade "as a form of 'shaped advantage' by which a limited number of producers enter the global market under more favorable terms, utilizing enhanced institutional capacity and marketing skills to tap into a growing niche market" (8), as opposed to more lofty claims that fair trade is a form of "alternative globalization" or "decommodification." While I generally agree with this assessment, I do want to give a quick nod with the little space I have remaining in this review to Kathy M'Closkey's chapter, "Novica, Navajo Knock-Offs, and the 'Net: A Critique of Fair Trade Marketing Practices." Discussions of fair trade and fair trade praxis rarely include and include reference to indigenous peoples from the so-called "developed world." Yet, as M'Closkey points out, Native American artisans' incomes have substantially declined throughout the last three decades because of the appropriation of their designs and "Unlike their counterparts in less developed regions, such as southern Mexico, Native American artisans are not benefiting from inclusion in the alternative networks promoted by the fair trade movement" (258). This needs to change, for far too long fair trade in white settler colonies like the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand has excluded the very indigenous peoples who have the right to those lands. And, ideally, this change in how fair trade is conceptualized and practiced will be tied in with indigenous land claims, struggles over sovereignty and struggles against the exploitation of natural resources by transnational corporations and neoliberal governments the world over.

Santucci, Antonio A. 2010. *Antonio Gramsci*. New York: Monthly Review Press. ISBN 978-1-58367-210-5. Paperback: 15.95 CAD. Pages: 207.

Thomas, Peter D. 2009. *The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy, Hegemony and Marxism*. Leiden: Brill. ISBN 978-90-04-16771-1. Cloth: 167.00 USD. Pages: 478.

Reviewed by Adam Hilton
York University

The fortunes of Antonio Gramsci as a Marxist thinker and Communist Party leader have been so curious it is worth foregrounding their recent past within academic and intellectual circles.[1] Particularly in the English-speaking world, Gramsci's popularity has undoubtedly only *increased* since the fall of the Soviet bloc, the advance of neoliberalism and the deeper disorganization of the Left. Such a phenomenon leaves us asking why it is that *this* Marxist revolutionary has been spared the same fate as Marx and Engels, who either have continued to be held in disrepute or, worse, been relegated to irrelevance. In this case, however, the exception proves the rule. The growth of the "Gramsci industry" in the past few decades has been due mainly to the fact that he is *not* typically read as a Marxist and a Communist. Indeed, as a "theorist of the superstructures" Gramsci is frequently promoted as an *alternative* to the crude economism of the Marxist tradition. In part due to the earlier instrumentalizations by the Italian Communist Party's (PCI) official postwar "Gramscianism," as well as the later academic interpretation of Gramsci's perspective as rooted in the trenches of a non-political "civil society," the Italian Communist thinker ultimately found a warmer reception in cultural studies than he did in either political science or sociology. Peter D. Thomas's fresh reassessment of the *Prison Notebooks* and the late Antonio A. Santucci's recently translated biography serve as important correctives to this non-political, "cultural studies" Gramsci.

Both Thomas and Santucci are emblematic of the "philological turn" steadily gaining momentum in Gramscian studies since the 1975 Italian publication of Valentino Gerratana's critical edition of Gramsci's *Prison*

[1] This review has benefited enormously from the generosity of comrades and teachers alike. I especially want to thank David McNally, Paul Gray, Jeremiah Gaster, Stephen Hellman and Greg Albo, whose advice and recommendations have done much to inform and improve the views laid out here.

Notebooks. His enhanced sensitivity to the literary construction of Gramsci's texts has done much to reverse the initial historical reception of his work. Following the end of the Second World War, Gramsci's prison writings were transported back from their wartime haven in the Soviet Union to Italy where, under the guidance of the PCI, they were thematically reorganized, repackaged and published as a completed work in six massive volumes. Gerratana's republication of the notebooks *as they were actually written* allows the reader to trace the formation and progression of Gramsci's categories as a work in progress. Since then, Gramsci's work, both before and during his incarceration, has been subject to careful reconstruction and elaboration, providing a more accurate depiction of the Communist leader and his thought.

The difference this interval of sustained scholarship has made can be gleaned from a comparison between Santucci's new biography (written in 1987, but just translated into English) and the long-standing classic, Giuseppe Fiori's *Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary*, first published in 1965 (translated into English by Tom Nairn for New Left Books in 1970 and *still* in print from Verso). While Fiori's book is a standard chronological depiction of Gramsci's life, conveying the rich texture of his Sardinian childhood, the electric political atmosphere of Turin and the horrid nightmare of his later confinement, Santucci's account is organized according to the forms taken by the posthumous publication of Gramsci's writings, titling his chapters "The Political Writings," "The Letters From Prison" and "The Prison Notebooks." As a Gramscian philologist, Santucci's attention is thus divided between Gramsci's life and ideas as well as the precise literary form they took. It is not going too far to suggest that Santucci has written a biography of both Gramsci *and his texts*. This approach does a valuable service in reminding readers that understanding Gramsci's ideas is always double task: cutting through the labyrinth of Gramsci's notes on the one hand, while sifting through the manifold layers of (mis)interpretation on the other.

Equally important to note is that Gramsci's pre-prison "political writings" occupy the largest chapter of Santucci's biography. This is a vital corrective to the vast and ever-growing literature that has almost exclusively focused on exploring Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* without equal effort dedicated to elaborating and integrating the politics of his earlier journalism. Indeed, the periodization of Gramsci's ideas into pre-prison and incarcerated phases must always be remembered to demarcate an exogenous and *forced* discontinuity in his life and political activity; his

prison sentence inducing a necessary intellectual reorientation rather than any “epistemological break” in his thought.

Santucci’s book also includes other valuable tools, ideal for readers approaching Gramsci for the first time. In addition to short introductory remarks from Eric Hobsbawm and Joseph A. Buttigieg, the text is appended with a succinct chronology of Gramsci’s life as well as a biographic glossary of the main historical and political figures that crop up throughout the book. Considering all the constraints of a small introductory text, the only real demerit of Santucci’s book (and this criticism extends to his English translators as well) is that of all the intriguing passages extracted from Gramsci’s writings and assembled throughout the text, not one citation is given for their location in the existing English editions. Oddly enough, Santucci’s citations for the quoted passages of the *Prison Notebooks* are not even given in the standard international format (providing the notebook number, followed by the number of the note), but instead rely on the pagination of the specifically Italian edition of 1965. While this may not provide such a formidable obstacle for seasoned veterans of Gramsci’s *Notebooks*, who are most likely already familiar with the select passages, it seems a puzzling curiosity for an introductory biography that ostensibly hopes to whet readers’ appetites for more.

Citations notwithstanding, the translation of Santucci’s *Antonio Gramsci* is likely to make a very important contribution to the ongoing attempt to capture how intensely political Gramsci’s project was. While certainly not supplanting Fiori’s classic account of Gramsci’s revolutionary life, Santucci’s book is a perfect compliment. Probably best read before Fiori, together the two provide the best introduction to Gramsci’s life and work available in the English-speaking world.

Peter Thomas’s intervention into the terrain of Gramscian studies (now available in affordable paperback from Haymarket) delivers a very severe blow to the “cultural studies” Gramsci who has become so familiar to western audiences. Thomas’s intention to re-politicize and re-historicize Gramsci’s project within the context of the Communist International (Comintern) is the book’s singular achievement. The book neatly divides into two sequential threads. Firstly, Thomas offers a response to Perry Anderson’s influential 1977 interpretation (in *New Left Review*) of Gramsci’s political theory. Secondly, Thomas takes up Louis Althusser’s criticisms of Gramsci’s philosophy as laid out in *For Marx* and *Reading Capital*. Thomas’s selection of targets is apt: Anderson and Althusser are not only towering intellectual figures in their own right, but it is precisely Gramsci’s theory of the state and his philosophy of praxis that Thomas

claims to be the key concepts at the centre of the *Prison Notebooks*. Their displacement or occlusion by Anderson and Althusser therefore must be dealt with before the key perspective within the *Prison Notebooks* can be understood.

In addition to problematizing more than a few popularly held beliefs of the standard interpretation of the *Prison Notebooks* along the way (e.g. Gramsci's use of "code words" to evade the prison censor, such as "philosophy of praxis" as a synonym for Marxism or historical materialism), Thomas attempts to present Gramsci's prison research project as having a much greater internal coherence than is often argued. What is typically said is that Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* elaborate tentative and unsteady theses concerning his theory of "hegemony," reputed to be the key concept in his vocabulary. Thomas, of course, does not deny hegemony its central place within the *Notebooks*, but argues that it can only be properly understood when situated within Gramsci's truly "novel contribution to Marxist political theory: the concept of the 'integral State'" (137). Indeed, against those who would locate Gramsci's theory of hegemony solely within the boundaries of a non-political civil society, Thomas insists that:

> It is only within the problematic of the integral state as a dialectical unity of both civil society and political society that Gramsci's theory of proletarian hegemony becomes comprehensible, as a theory of the political constitution of an alliance of subaltern classes capable of exercising leadership over other subaltern social groups and repression against its class antagonist. It must necessarily progress to the dismantling of the state machinery upon which its antagonist's power is founded, and which provides the ultimate (coercive) guarantee for the bourgeoisie's (consensual) hegemony (137-8, footnote 8).

As the social basis for power in the state, any class project for hegemony must begin in, but never be confined to, civil society. Hegemony, in Gramsci's usage of the term, must therefore be understood as a practice spanning both civil society and political society (the state narrowly conceived). As the terrain of hegemony, civil society and political society together constitute the "integral state."

By situating Gramsci's concept of hegemony within his theory of the bourgeois integral state, Thomas draws our attention to Gramsci's prison-time engagement with the earlier debates of the Comintern. Specifically, it is Gramsci's peculiar form of Leninism that begins to explain his unique emphasis on mobilizing subaltern social groups in civil society in order to delegitimize and debase bourgeois state power. Gramsci, intently focused

on the 1921 New Economic Policy (NEP), tried to theorize the *practice* of "Lenin's last struggle" when, after the post-WWI revolutionary wave had definitively *receded*, he proposed a "cultural revolution" to consolidate the insurgent working classes and rebuild their capacities through basic (often defensive) class struggles alongside non-revolutionary workers and peasants. With this form of hegemonic politics in mind, Gramsci invokes Lenin and Trotsky's tactical recommendation to the west, the united front, as the strategic basis for consolidating the social forces of civil society into a "proletarian apparatus" during a period in which taking state power was off the immediate agenda.

This, however, is only the first half of the book, and is its most profound argument. In the second half, where Thomas takes up the cudgel against Althusser, the centrality of the integral state recedes as the argument shifts to the terrain of philosophy. For those who have come of age since the fading of Althusser's star and are unfamiliar with the controversies surrounding "historicism," "humanism" and so on, Thomas could have made the stakes of this debate clearer. The younger generation of readers may well wonder why the "Althusserian moment" continues to be the spectre haunting Marxist philosophy. Unfortunately, what the uninitiated are left with is what feels like an extended (though certainly not uninteresting) detour en route to the final chapter, when the integral state makes its brief reappearance in Thomas's discussion of intellectuals and hegemony. A more consistent and thorough intertwining of the two threads of *The Gramscian Moment* could have eased this discontinuity within the book.

Thomas's overall assertion that Gramsci's political and philosophical perspective—his "moment" in Marxism, so to speak—constitutes the most appropriate point of departure for any contemporary revitalization of historical materialism remains unfortunately underdeveloped. We are left with a detailed roadmap with which to navigate Gramsci's wide-ranging project, but with no clear guide as to how that schema may relate to our contemporary surroundings. While such a demand exceeds the intentions of this book, its major point clearly requires it.

Thus one can only hope that Thomas's book will reset the terms of debate for Gramsci scholars. It is not designed for beginners, but will serve its purpose if it reorients scholarly attention away from the "cultural studies" image of Gramsci and pushes forward a new research agenda that focuses more historiographical attention on Lenin's NEP, develops a closer examination of the successes and failures of the united front strategy and

critically re-examines Gramsci's concepts in the context of contemporary capitalism. All these avenues are opened up for subsequent investigation. While these ambitious projects fall beyond the scope of Thomas's book, this important text will no doubt be a vital tool for that enterprise.

Kramer, Reinhold and Tom Mitchell. 2010. *When the State Trembled: How A.J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee Broke the Winnipeg General Strike*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. ISBN 978-1-4426-1116-0. Paper: 35.00 CAD. Pages: 443.

Francis, Daniel. 2010. *Seeing Reds: The Red Scare of 1918-19, Canada's First War on Terror*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press. ISBN 978-1-55152-373-6. Cloth: 27.95 CAD. Pages: 280.

Reviewed by Peter Campbell
Queen's University

It would be an understatement to say that the history of the Canadian left has lost its lustre; it would be an overstatement to say that its lustre has been restored by *When the State Trembled* and *Seeing Reds*. Nonetheless, the fortuitous publication of these two books in the same year raises the profile of a history whose lessons Canadians can ill afford to forget. *When the State Trembled* is a "local" history placed in national and international contexts, while *Seeing Reds* is a national and international treatment whose central event is that "local" strike in Winnipeg in 1919. The interplay of the local, national and international on the one hand, and of the two books themselves on the other, means that both works are well worth reading, and even more worth reading together.

The central argument of *When the State Trembled* will not be new to readers who have read Tom Mitchell's work already published in *Manitoba History*, *Prairie Forum*, *Left History* and *Labour/Le Travail*. Readers will not be surprised to find that Kramer and Mitchell's book is meticulously researched, its impact heightened by the acquisition through the Access to Information Act of the correspondence between A.J. Andrews and the acting Minister of Justice, Arthur Meighen. That said, it remains an intriguing perspective that brings fresh insight to our understanding of Winnipeg 1919, the idea that it is the victors who have been marginalized

and forgotten. In their focus on A.J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee, Kramer and Mitchell produce what might be called social history from above. As they point out, in the Winnipeg story it is the defenders of the status quo who lurk in the shadows, the "revolutionaries" who are in plain view in the streets and parks of Winnipeg. Turning Marx's famous aphorism in the *Communist Manifesto* on its head, Kramer and Mitchell argue that rather than the state managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie, in Winnipeg in 1919 the bourgeoisie was managing the affairs of the state. The case they make is compelling and convincing.

When the State Trembled reconstructs the history of the Citizens' Committee of 1000, revealing both its Winnipeg roots in the Winnipeg Citizens' Alliance and Citizens' Committee of 100, and the direct and indirect influence of American citizens' alliances in cities such as Minneapolis and San Diego. In doing so, Kramer and Mitchell reveal the extent to which the Citizens' Committee of 1000 was a secret organization and also convincingly demonstrate that the line between citizens' alliances and anti-labour vigilante organizations was blurred indeed. In outlining the genesis of the Citizens' Committee, Kramer and Mitchell remove all doubt that the strikers of Winnipeg were in a war, a war for the hearts and minds of the citizens of Winnipeg and the country as a whole. The Citizens were in the business of creating a "fiction of disorder" that "provided a pretext for vigilante action, the manipulation of state power, the invasion of workers' homes and labour temples, arrests, imprisonment, denial of bail, suspension of habeas corpus, and deportation" (174).

Yet Kramer and Mitchell refuse to reduce A.J. Andrews and the Citizens to blinkered reactionaries devoid of intelligence and insight. They demonstrate, in fact, that the Citizens were as quick to invoke the legacy of Magna Charta, the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Hobbes, Locke and Adam Smith as Bill Pritchard and Bob Russell were to invoke Giordano Bruno, the Tolpuddle Martyrs, Marx, Engels and Dietzgen. In their description of this war of moral authority, the reader will only be caught short by the surprising neglect of conscription, which does not even make its way into the index. Conscription was rife with meanings related to patriotism and the moral authority of the British connection that Andrews and the Citizens were so concerned the radicals were undermining, and the lack of treatment of the issue is a notable omission in an otherwise admirably comprehensive analysis.

In a sense, Daniel Francis follows the lead of Kramer and Mitchell in *Seeing Reds*, moving outward from the state to reveal the widespread anti-radical campaign that enlisted the movie industry, newspapers and

magazines. Francis discusses filmmaker George Brownridge's anti-Bolshevik film *The Great Shadow*, about "a Red plot to take over a trade union" made by the Adanac Producing Company, based in Trenton, Ontario. It was financed by the CPR and several other large companies and starred Tyrone Power Sr (79). Venerable Canadian magazines such as *Saturday Night* and *Maclean's*, Francis demonstrates, played even more important roles in feeding the anti-Bolshevik hysteria that sanctioned the illegal and questionably legal actions of the Canadian government and its business allies.

As in the case of *When the State Trembled*, the storyline in *Seeing Reds* is well known, although Francis includes a number of digressions – on Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian women's movement, the Russian Civil War and the Irish Civil War, for example. As an author who writes, and writes well, for a general audience, Francis sees these digressions as an important element in his work. At times they are revealing, as in the case of Francis' comparison of the Winnipeg General Strike to the Glasgow General Strike of January 1919 (136). Both general and academic readers will find that they enliven the work, although academic readers may be concerned at times that Francis presents these vignettes with few, if any, footnotes. As academics we are more willing to trust the reliability of information and ideas lacking footnotes in an author's area of expertise, than to overlook a lack of footnotes in areas less familiar to the author.

At times, the essentially narrative approach Francis takes in *Seeing Reds* suffers from a lack of analytical rigour. The problem emerges in Francis' critique of what has come to be known as the theory of "western exceptionalism" attributed to David Bercuson. Francis argues that the labour revolt was not a "western Canadian phenomenon" (120), claiming that eastern Canadian workers were just as "restive" and "militant" as western workers (122). The problem is that Bercuson's argument is not based on a claim that eastern workers were less militant; his argument – and Bercuson is right on this point - is that they were less *radical*. As this is not the only example of Francis "dumbing down" the arguments of other historians, it leaves *Seeing Reds* a good read for both general and academic audiences, but at times the latter will be less convinced by the analysis than the former.

As seductive as it is for left-wing Canadian historians to believe that their socialist forebears were victims of Canada's first "war on terror," Francis' claim must be treated with a healthy dose of skepticism. Symbolically, it equates the attack on the World Trade Center and the Winnipeg General Strike; it equates socialists and labour leaders who

resolutely opposed violence with suicide bombers. In short, the analogy Daniel Francis makes in *Seeing Reds* is tempting, but it is a temptation that Canadian labour historians may want to resist.

Both of these books raise critical issues that Canadian historians need to pursue in the years to come. Leading the way is a question that neither of these books answers: why were there so many more pro-labour returned soldiers in Winnipeg than in other Canadian cities? Is there a direct connection between the way demobilized soldiers languishing in England at the end of the First World War were returned to Canada, and the role they played once they got home? A second critical issue is the role of anti-Semitism, a topic both Jewish and non-Jewish historians have been dancing around for more than a generation. Daniel Francis' observation that "anti-Semitism seems to have been subsumed under the broader fear of, and hostility toward, foreigners in general" is true and not true (99). Kramer and Mitchell argue that the Jewish radicals were "more aggravating" to the members of the Citizens' Committee than were the Anglo-Celtic strike leaders (94). Can we not do better than "more aggravating?" As Kramer and Mitchell themselves point out, anti-Semitism was much in evidence in the Mounted Police (224). There is a book to be written, ideally co-authored by a non-Jewish historian and a Jewish historian who understands Yiddish.

Class, Edward Thompson famously stated almost two generations ago, is a relationship. In *When the State Trembled* authors Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell invoke Thompson's legacy in their assertion that in 1919 "class was happening" in Winnipeg (12). While not denying that the Winnipeg General Strike took place on the level of a fight for better wages and working conditions, the authors convincingly argue that the bourgeois opponents of the strike also "correctly intuited the battle as one between capital's freedom and the OBU's wish to abolish capitalism" (25). By taking socialists and the One Big Union seriously, Kramer and Mitchell do not reduce the response of the Citizens' Committee to misguided hysteria; what was irrational, they ask, about the Citizens and the state responding to what the radicals said they stood for and were willing to do? In *Seeing Reds*, Daniel Francis gives the leaders of the labour revolt their due, respecting their abilities and the challenge they embodied. He quite rightly concludes that the Reds "did pose a threat to the establishment". The Red Scare, he argues, "was less an illogical outbreak of paranoia than it was a response by the power elite to a challenge to its hegemony" (240). Whatever the excesses and delusions of the state and bourgeois opponents of the strike, the labour revolt of 1919 was a moment of legitimate threat

to the Canadian ruling class. Thanks to Reinhold Kramer, Tom Mitchell and Daniel Francis we now have a much richer understanding of that moment, and students of the history of the Canadian left have been given renewed impetus to explore one of the defining moments of Canadian history.

Gordon, Todd. 2010. *Imperialist Canada*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring. ISBN 978-1-894037-45-7. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages: 432.

Reviewed by Paul Kellogg
Athabasca University

It is not uncommon to analyze the world system using the category of imperialism. It is unusual to associate Canada with the term. By putting the two together in his book *Imperialist Canada*, Toronto author Todd Gordon has provided us with a compelling and important analysis of Canada's place in the world system.

There is an older literature which "portrayed Canada as a subordinate nation with little or no imperial ambition of its own and dominated first by Britain and then the United States" (9). This left-nationalist or dependency school of political economy, nearly-hegemonic in left-analysis in the 1960s and 1970s, conceptualized Canada, not as imperialist, but as the victim of empire. In a short introduction, Gordon surveys the emerging literature which challenges this "dependency" analysis, insisting by contrast "that Canada is an imperialist country – not a super-power, but a power that nevertheless benefits from and actively participates in the global system of domination in which the wealth and resources of the Third World are systematically plundered by capital of the Global North" (9).

Gordon roots this understanding of Canada in a particular understanding of the dynamics of the world system. If states are the agents of empire, their aggressive push abroad cannot be separated from the dynamics of capital accumulation. The state "should be considered as internally related to market relations" (33) and those market relations continually lead to recurring crises of overaccumulation. A partial fix for these crises of overaccumulation – a "spatial fix" – is characteristic of imperialism. "New geographical regions are sought to absorb the existing surpluses of capital … flagging profitability can be improved by accessing

cheap labour, raw materials and natural resources … In effect, fresh spaces of wealth accumulation are established as capitalism penetrates new territories" (32). Imperialism might be carried out by institutions of the state, but its dynamics are not reducible to state policies. The actions of imperialist states are deeply rooted in the dynamics of capitalist market relations – Canadian capitalism as much as any other Global North country. Crucially for Canada, Gordon argues, this means that its actions abroad cannot be seen as "the result of pressures from the Americans and increased integration with them … Canadian capital is still an independent force, however much its interests often coincide with its American counterpart" (14-15).

Importantly, Gordon does not begin his analysis "externally" but rather looks at the very construction of the Canadian state itself. The second chapter is a riveting account of "empire at home," documenting in grim detail the conquest of indigenous lands which laid the foundation for what is today Canada. "The whole foundation of Canadian capitalism rests upon indigenous land and resources" he writes, "Canada's existence is premised on the forceful subjugation of indigenous nations and their resources to its interests" (67). In an analysis influenced by David Harvey's notion of accumulation by dispossession, Gordon puts Canadian mining interests at the centre of this analysis. "Canada has the largest concentration of mining companies in the world, with interests in over 3700 properties" (81). This makes the dispossession of indigenous lands a central focus for Canadian capitalism, as "approximately 1,200 indigenous communities are located within 200 kilometres of an active mine" (82).

This analysis of Canadian state formation provides an indispensable foundation for Gordon when his analysis turns abroad. "Although separated spatially from the domestic agenda, the international imperial agenda is not an entirely different project; it is a continuation of the former, both geographically and historically" (134). In part, this reflects similar commercial interests to that of the mining corporations seeking profits on indigenous lands in Canada. There is quite a long history of Canadian banks in the Caribbean and "mining corporations such as the International Nickel Company's (Inco)" operating in Indonesia, Guatemala and elsewhere, profiting from the exploitation of natural resources through repressing the rights and interests of local populations (135).

But Canada's role abroad is not reducible to these straightforward commercial interests. Canada is a full partner in the complex architecture of Structural Adjustment policies and their "well-documented devastating impact on the Third World" (142). These policies were overseen by

international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, institutions in which Canada has " played an important role … By the late 80s structural adjustment was strongly endorsed and advocated by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the departments of Finance and External (now Foreign) Affairs as part of an effort to facilitate the expansion of Canadian economic interests in the wake of the profitability squeeze of the 1970s and 80s" (142).

Trade deals have always played a large role in analyses of Canada's place in the world system. But whereas the left-nationalist literature has focused on trade deals as mechanisms which victimize Canada, Gordon by contrast develops an analysis which sees Canadian state and business interests as pushing "free trade" deals to further their own class and national interests. In the wake of the growing difficulties with a multilateral approach – whether through the collapse of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) or the impasse of negotiations at the level of the World Trade Organization (WTO) – it is well-known that the United States, the world's principal imperialist power, has shifted to "bilateral" trade deals as mechanisms through which to advance a neoliberal agenda. But this has also been a track pursued by Canada which, as of the summer of 2010, "had enacted seven trade agreements and concluded deals with Jordan and Panama" (153).

Canada's push abroad has clear economic motives. But is that sufficient to label Canada "imperialist?" Gordon addresses this issue directly. "Any country with imperial ambitions backs up its dreams of global power with some degree of military might" and "Today, the United States … has built up the most powerful military in human history. That military is a key feature of the American imperial project. But what about the Canadian military?" (276). Gordon demonstrates that, even though it is not as militarized a society as the US, Canada nonetheless has a clear military component to its imperial projects.

He structures this analysis, again, looking first "internally" and then externally. There is a long history of enforcing Canadian colonial ambitions internally through the use of the military against First Nations. This is of a piece, Gordon argues, with the increasing turn to the use of force by the Canadian military abroad. His book joins a growing contemporary literature challenging the "peacekeeping" image of Canada abroad, analyzing Canada's role in the coup in Haiti in 2004, its part in the "re-engineering" of Afghanistan from 2001 on and its close alliance with the

right-wing government in Colombia, all as foreign policy moments, seen most clearly through an "imperialist Canada" lens (326-398).

This book makes a real contribution to a necessary reconceptualization of Canada's place in the world system, a necessity imposed by the actions of the Canadian state and Canadian corporations both at home and abroad. Future writings will be needed to fill in areas not covered in the book – most importantly to do with the complex relationship between Quebec and English Canada. Gordon documents the state-sanctioned execution of Métis leader Louis Riel in 1885 (77). There is a reason that Canada's prime minister of the day, Sir John A. Macdonald, famously said, about Riel: "he shall hang though every dog in Quebec bark in his favour." The one part of the country where Métis resistance found mass sympathy was in Quebec, a nation with its own deep grievances against the Canadian state. Integrating Quebec into our understanding of imperialist Canada remains an important task for activists today.

It is for activists that he writes his conclusion. "[A]s imperialism is the product of the contradictory dynamics of capitalist accumulation, it will not disappear of its own accord. We must build an anti-imperialist resistance" (403). Gordon sees *Imperialist Canada* as both a contribution to a theoretical debate and a potential resource for the movement activists "organizing against Canada's reactionary role" in Haiti, "organizing against the war in Afghanistan and Canadian support for Israel, raising awareness about Canadian mining and sweatshop manufacturing, working in international solidarity committees in unions, challenging racist immigration policy and building support for First Nation struggles." Without a doubt *Imperialist Canada* will be just such a resource for these "early rumblings of a new Canadian anti-imperialist politics" (405).

Yee, Jessica, ed. 2011. *Feminism for Real: Deconstructing the Academic Industrial Complex of Feminism*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. ISBN 978-1-926888-49-1. Paperback: 15.00 CAD. Pages: 176.

Reviewed by Julie E. Dowsett
York University

Feminism has been institutionalized and professionalized, both within and outside of academia. Today "feminist theory" can be listed as an area of expertise on an academic curriculum vitae almost as legitimately as something like "modern political thought." A degree in women's studies can be parlayed into a middle-class career that involves sitting around tables talking about "women's issues." The institutionalization and professionalization of feminism has concerned many feminist activists. For example, only some women have enjoyed its benefits, particularly those already privileged by their race, class, gender identity and/or sexuality. In addition, there are larger concerns about the process of institutionalization threatening politicized forms of feminism. These and other concerns are addressed in the edited volume *Feminism for Real: Deconstructing the Academic Industrial Complex of Feminism*. In her introduction, Jessica Yee poses what is perhaps the central question of the volume: "when feminism itself has become its own form of oppression, what do we have to say about it?" (12). The various contributors – who locate themselves as insiders, outsiders or both to institutionalized/professional feminism – offer a variety of replies to this question. In a format reminiscent of *Canadian Woman Studies*, the book largely consists of short, accessible articles with some interviews, poetry, photographs and art thrown into the mix. In their various modes of expression, many of the contributors offer insightful and much-needed critiques of what Yee dubs "the academic industrial complex of feminism" (hereafter AICF). At the same time, the book could have been improved with a better developed introduction, a clear definition of the AICF, the omission of some entries of questionable relevance to the topic at hand, and the addition of a conclusion or epilogue.

The strongest contributions to this collection are personal narratives from a diverse group of women (and one Two-Spirit man) that examine their experiences with feminism. Most of these contributors deal with feminism in academia, although some deal with non-academic institutionalized/professional feminism. In the former group, the contributors describe their experiences of oppression in women's studies

and other feminist classes. Many describe feminist theory as disconnected from real experiences (93, 105, 124). For example, in her piece "Feminism and Eating Disorders: Wishful thinking for a more caring attitude," Cassandra Polyzou makes the persuasive argument that due to the way feminists have theorized eating disorders, the notion of a feminist with an eating disorder has become a contradiction in terms (127). Feminists who struggle with eating disorders (including Polyzou herself) are disparaged as "bad feminists" who have betrayed the cause (130-132). Many contributors contend that insofar as feminist theory is connected to experience, it still tends to privilege the experiences of white middle-class women. For example, Krysta Williams and Erin Konsmo point out that women's studies and other feminist courses continue to allow tokenism (that is, including one article from an Indigenous person and/or a person of colour) to stand in for actual engagement with questions of race (30). Shabiki Crane discusses how her first-year women's studies class rarely mentioned colonialism and consistently represented non-white women as victims, such as Muslim women who wear the hijab (78). The AQSAzine Collective demands an end to erroneous assumptions about the feminist politics of hijab-wearing Muslim students in the feminist classroom (75). Although most of the contributors dealing with feminism in academia discuss their experiences in undergraduate classrooms, Diandra Jurkic-Walls discusses her experiences in graduate school. She critiques the prevalence of back-biting and more feminist-than-thou (or lefter-than-thou) discourse; moreover, she suggests that feminist academics accuse each other of being racist because they have yet to figure out where feminism stands on race and racism (145-147).

There are also strong contributions that describe people's experiences with non-academic institutionalized and professional feminism. For example, Andrea Plaid discusses the distinction between "The Degreed" and the "Self-Taught" in the sex-positive community and critiques the assumption that the latter have a less nuanced understanding of political or social issues (98). Latoya Peterson, editor of the well-known blog *Racialicious* and a college drop-out, describes how she inadvertently became enmeshed in the world of third-wave feminist activists and writers. Louis Esme Cruz, an Indigenous Two-Spirit man, reads activist spaces that are "women-only" as another form of colonialism in that contemporary gender binaries have been imposed by Europeans onto Indigenous people (54).

Unfortunately these and other important contributions are somewhat overshadowed by a poorly developed introduction, the

inclusion of some seemingly irrelevant pieces and the lack of a proper conclusion. Although the book is supposed to be "deconstructing the academic industrial complex of feminism," at no point in her introduction does Yee define what she means by the term. The scope and definition of the AICF remains unclear throughout the book; however in subsequent interventions, the feminists who live and work within the AICF are described in a variety of ways. For example, they are graduate students who sit around with their fair trade coffee reading 900 pages a week, they are writers who preach the "one-true feminism" and perhaps most revealingly, they can really put together a white hipster outfit (39, 47, 173). In other words, these are self-important women who immerse themselves in the aesthetic of the working class in a fallacious attempt to escape their own privilege. Although the nature of the AICF becomes clearer over the course of the book through such descriptions, a better developed introduction involving not only a definition of the AICF but also an overview of book as a whole would have been helpful. The confusion created by the term AICF is heightened by the inclusion of some entries of questionable relevance. For example, it is unclear how Nimikii Couchie's poems or Lisa Mantie's article on the lack of feminist voices in the mainstream media relate to the mandate of the book. In the concluding article, "On Learning How *Not* to Be An Asshole Academic Feminist," Kate Klein offers a prototypical narrative of her developing feminist consciousness at university, yet offers little on the titular topic. Instead of allowing the Klein piece to stand in for a conclusion, an epilogue or conclusion from Yee might have rendered some of the problems with the introduction less pressing and given the book as a whole a greater sense of cohesiveness.

Whatever its flaws, many contributors to *Feminism for Real* offer insightful discussions of how the institutionalization and professionalization of feminism has been advantageous for some women at the expense of others. This might be best expressed by Shaunga Tagore in her poem describing feminists

> debating about feminist organizing in high theory discourse while barely-paid migrant workers prepare lunches for seminars, conferences, forums and get deported the next day (37).

As a whole, the book offers a long-overdue intervention into the persistence of colonial relations, racism, classism and elitism in institutionalized and professional feminism today. This book is particularly recommended not only for academic feminists, but for all left academics

and “Degreed” people (working in social justice-related fields) who wish to critically interrogate their roles.

Aronsen, Lawrence. 2010. *City of Love and Revolution: Vancouver in the Sixties*. Vancouver: New Star Books. ISBN 978-1-55420-048-1. Paperback: 24.00 CAD. Pages: 208.

Mills, Sean. 2010. *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montréal* . Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. ISBN 978-0-7735-3965-1. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 302.

Reviewed by Douglas Nesbitt
Queen’s University

These two city-focused studies provide invaluable contributions to an emerging literature on Canada and Quebec’s “sixties” – an ambiguously periodized “decade” sometimes beginning as early as 1956 and often extending well into the 1970s.

Each historian clearly identifies his sixties in relation to various phases in the history of their respective city’s conception of the left. For Aronsen, Vancouver’s “sixties” extend loosely from 1963 to the fall of Saigon in 1975. Yet, most of his research focuses upon the years 1967 to 1972. Montréal ’s radical “decade” also begins in 1963, a year in which the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) is formed and the electorally-oriented Rassemblement pour l’indépendance nationale (RIN) becomes increasingly engaged with the anti-colonial ideas of Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon and others. Mills does not declare the “sixties” to be over in 1972, but concludes his study with the Common Front general strikes of that year.

Aronsen’s work focuses primarily on the cultural transformations of post-war society, overturning a staid Protestant Vancouver. Following a tour through Kitsilano’s emergence as the centre of Vancouver’s hippie scene, we move to the east side where the Vancouver Free University (VFU) emerged to meet the needs of the local community in an equally counter-cultural – though not explicitly radical – leftist way. This distinction sets the VFU apart from other free university experiments in North America, including Toronto’s Rochdale College, which were

explicitly tied to the political projects and organizations of the New Left. As a consequence, the VFU had an important influence upon the emergence of community-centred education reform under the provincial NDP government elected in 1972 – the same year that VFU collapsed. With more care than in previously published studies of the Sixties, we're also treated to the transformations in sexual attitudes and practices and drug use. Aronsen is particularly adept at contrasting the emerging women's liberation movement (including the VFU's popular childcare and child-rearing courses) with an enduring but transforming misogyny within the counter-culture and New Left.

Aronsen ends his book with chapters on the short-lived Vancouver Yippies and their relationship to the 1971 Gastown Riot, and the city's anti-war movement in its three major phases, including its Communist-led phase in the early 1960s, its increasingly NDP-backed phase in the late 1960s and the large-scale anti-nuclear demonstrations of the early 1970s.

Well-researched and presented in an accessible, narrative form, Aronsen's account is richly infused with a constant awareness of geography. Anyone with a cursory knowledge of Vancouver's neighbourhoods and major streets will find it a pleasure to read. Yet, *The City of Love and Revolution* appears to be limited to the political boundaries of Vancouver as opposed to Greater Vancouver and the Lower Mainland. Readers may be surprised by the work's silence on the student-faculty protests at Simon Fraser University.

With the exception of the chapter on the anti-war movement and recurring appearances by Vancouver's left-wing city councilor Harry Rankin, Aronsen's work lacks a substantive exploration of the relationship between the counter-cultural and New Left with the wider and larger "Old Left" institutions, including the Communist Party, the NDP and organized labour. As a consequence, wider political realignments culminating in the provincial NDP's 1972 victory and the reconstitution of labour following the postal workers strike of 1965 are largely absent. In fairness to Aronsen, the lack of research on the evolving relations between a youth-centred counter-culture and New Left and the Old Left and organized labour remains a central problem confronting the emerging Sixties historiography as a whole.

Sean Mills steers clear of the counter-culture to engage with the "formal" politics of Montréal 's social movements. *The Empire Within* is divided into two sections. The first section, spanning 1963 to 1968, explores how decolonization struggles in Algeria, Cuba and elsewhere had a profound impact upon the intellectual underpinnings of Quebec's

nationalist left. Case studies concerning this process include the short-lived but influential magazine *Parti Pris*, the various elements of the RIN, as well as the early FLQ. The second section transitions from an intellectual history to a well-executed account of the major confrontations between popular and state forces, including the "Black Renaissance" sparked by the Sir George Williams Affair in early 1969, the emergence of a powerful women's movement and the battles surrounding language such as Opération McGill français and Bill 63. The final two chapters recount the October Crisis and the 1972 Common Front strikes.

While placing the role of postcolonial thought at the centre of his arguments about the trajectory of Montréal 's complicated terrain of oppositional politics, the intellectual debates of 1963-68 are segregated from the debates over praxis between 1968 and 1972. For example, while offering a well-supported and convincing critique of the FLQ's urban guerrilla tactics as a strategic blunder with relation to the city's large-scale labour and social movements, Mills disconnects the FLQ's actions from the various (and contested) theorizations of violence as a revolutionary tactic espoused by postcolonial thinkers explored in earlier chapters of the book. The result is a missed opportunity to extend the exploration of postcolonial theory to an exploration of postcolonial practice. In Mills' work, therefore, there is no sense of debate regarding the political strategies of decolonization, whether the Montréal 's short-lived municipal left party – Front d'action politique (FRAP) – or the revolutionary syndicalism of organized labour and urban guerrilla strategies.

Each work makes an immense contribution to an emerging subfield in Canadian and Québécois historiography. Mills, in particular, usefully reinterprets Quebec's experience within a left-nationalist milieu influenced heavily by decolonization struggles and the political distillations and theorizations of such experiences. Aronsen's detailed local focus lays the groundwork for further avenues of study for the 1970s, a transitional decade from the post-war settlement to neoliberalism in desperate need of rigorous historical research.

There remains, however, an ongoing friction between emphases upon a generational interpretation of the Sixties in which cultural norms are transformed in enormous and lasting ways, and the "political Sixties" in which radical anticolonial, left nationalist, working-class and New Left forces represent an acute challenge to the global system of empire and race. Perhaps, as both Mills and Aronsen's work implicitly suggest, a resolution may be found by extending our periodization of the Sixties well into the 1970s in order to grasp the extent to which the women's liberation

movement was, arguably, the deepest transformation in both the cultural and political realms to emerge from the late 1960s.