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SPECIAL SECTION
TWENTY YEARS AFTER KANEHSATÀ:KE: REFLECTIONS, RESPONSES, ANALYSES

The Kahnawá:ke Standoff and Reflections on Fascism

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Abstract
This article offers a critical interpretation of the state and media reactions to the crisis at Oka, Québec in the summer of 1990. Drawing on Marx's analysis of Bonapartism, or fascism, it is argued that the Canadian state was willing to use excessive force to suppress the Mohawk dissidents. Its fascist methods also included racial demonizing and using the basest impulses of angry crowds to intimidate Natives. Mainstream media sources played an unmistakable role in channelling this racist violence against the rebelling Aboriginals. The function of competing nationalisms (Mohawk, Québécois and Canadian) in this episode is analyzed as well. It is argued that solidarity between the working class and the Mohawks may have resulted in a more positive outcome of the conflict. A renewed set of relations between the Canadian left and Aboriginals could reveal constructive ways forward for groups struggling under the weight of capitalist society and its state.

Résumé
Cet article offre une interprétation critique des réactions de l'Etat et des médias à la crise de Oka, Québec dans l'été 1990. Utilisant l'analyse que Marx avait faite du Bonapartisme ou fascisme, il suggère que l'Etat canadien était prêt à employer une force excessive afin de supprimer les dissidents

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David Bedford est professeur de science politique à l'Université du Nouveau Brunswick. Il a écrit sur plusieurs aspects de la politique Autochtone, y compris : la relation de la gauche avec la lutte Autochtone; la taux de participation des Autochtones aux élections ; et la Grande Loi de la Paix en tant que document de Relations Internationales. Il enseigne dans le domaine de la philosophie politique et la politique autochtones. Thomas Cheney a un BA en science politique de l'Université de Nouveau Brunswick. Il entre dans le programme de Masters en science politique à l'Université de Victoria, avec une spécialisation sur la théorie politique et les questions environnementales.

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Mohawk. Ses méthodes fascistes incluaient la diabolisation raciale et l'utilisation des pires impulsions des foules en colère afin d'intimider les Autochtones. Les médias dominants ont joué un rôle indubitable en canalisant cette violence raciste contre les Autochtones rebelles. La fonction des nationalismes rivaux (Mohawk, Québécois et Canadien) dans cet épisode est également analysée. Cet article défend que la solidarité entre la classe ouvrière et les Mohawk aurait pu aboutir à un résultat plus positif du conflit. Des relations renouvelées entre la gauche Canadienne et les Autochtones pourrait révéler des voies constructives pour des groupes luttant sous le poids de la société capitaliste et son Etat.

Keywords
• Oka • Kahnawáke • Aboriginal • state • class • fascism

Mots clés
• Oka • Kahnawáke • Autochtone • état • classe • fascisme

On 11 July 1990 the city of Montréal discovered that the crisis at Oka, Québec had taken a new and dramatic turn. The Mohawk Community at Kahnawá:ke had blockaded the Mercier Bridge and Highway 132, both important commuter routes from the suburban communities on the South Shore to the island of Montréal. Morning commutes that normally took thirty minutes were going to take two to three hours. The question of Mohawk land claims now occupied centre stage of Québec and Canadian politics.

The blockades of July and August set in motion events that would demonstrate clearly the character of the Canadian polity and the extent to which the fascist propensities of the capitalist state under threat lie just below the surface. As Canada had previously revealed its hidden face, both before and during World War II when it failed to do anything to protect the Jews of Europe (or Canada), and when it had turned on its citizens of Japanese ethnicity, confiscating their property, imprisoning them and then refusing them the right to return to their homes in British Columbia, so it would, once again, make use of tried and true fascist techniques in suppressing Mohawk resistance. The use of state forces of repression, targeting of whole populations, unleashing the lowest impulses of the crowds as an unofficial form of state intimidation, the silencing of the media and, finally, channelling labour militancy into reactionary nationalism are all hallmarks of a nascent fascism and were all critical tools in the suppression of the Mohawks.

Fascism has been interpreted in various ways. Analysts on the Left generally draw their theoretical inspiration from Marx's *Eighteenth*

Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. For Marx, Bonapartism, or fascism, originates in a bourgeois social formation where class tensions are so great that the bourgeoisie cannot rule directly and in the open. Instead, they must hide behind an ideology that masks class rule and that appeals across class lines, thus creating a broad consensus. (Marx 1972, 19) Appeals to God and country, peace, order and good government, as well as nationalism, and racial demonizing are frequent tactical choices. All were used in targeting Japanese Canadians. The Québec bourgeoisie, faced with militant and left-leaning labour unions in the late 1960s and early 1970s used nationalism to diffuse class antagonism and to forge a consensus around the agenda of nation-building through supporting and developing a Québec-based bourgeoisie.

Fascism is, in addition to its functional definition in terms of class rule, also identified by the methods it employs. These were especially conspicuous in the state's reaction to the Oka and Kahnawá:ke blockades.[1] Intimidation in place of debate, 'debate' itself reduced from rational discourse and exchange of ideas to simple demagogic chants, demonizing stereotypes and scapegoating targeted populations are all fascist techniques. Most especially for this paper, fascism also involves enlisting important sections of the subordinate classes in intimidating the demonized. The result is a class politics that is devoid of rational content in the configuration of class interest and activity, and equally devoid of rational content in its sociological analysis. What is of interest to the left as we reflect on the lessons of Oka twenty years later was how easily the democratic state revealed its fascist face, how equally easy it was to enlist mobs to help in the intimidation, how lacking in class solidarity was organized labour, and how ineffective the left was in re-orienting the popular narrative.

Let us begin by examining the various ways in which the Mohawk population was a target for intimidation. Of course, most in evidence was the military and police blockading of the Kahnawá:ke Reserve. Three layers of roadblocks were set up. Closest to the reserve was the army. Next, was the Sûreté du Québec roadblock, followed by local police who

[1] The reason for the response to the Mohawk blockade was not immediately class-based. Although largely proletarian the Mohawks were challenging the status quo of property and order as aboriginals, not primarily as workers. The state's reaction, however, is indicative of its role as defender of property and as creating the conditions for accumulation, both of which were threatened by the blockade. As well, generalized repression, even surplus repression, characterizes the bourgeois state.

were accompanied by hostile crowds. Military planes regularly buzzing the community, razor-wire, cannons aimed at the community, occasional instances of tear-gassing, and regular manoeuvres set a climate of anxiety. Food shipments were interdicted, leaving the people fearful of starvation, even as John Ciaccia, Québec Native Affairs Minister, was insisting that no such restrictions existed. Claude Ryan, a senior minister and former Liberal leader, later admitted that it was indeed government policy (York and Pindera 1991, 211).

Kahnawá:ke is serviced by Kateri Memorial Hospital. With one exception, all the physicians who worked there were non-native and lived off-reserve.[2] As they were the only people allowed by either side to go to and from the reserve their treatment is an especially interesting test case. At first the Kateri physicians crossed over the blockaded Mercier Bridge, stopping at each of the road-blocks to show proper documentation, to answer questions, to have their vehicles searched, even to have lunches and any extra food confiscated. Eventually they were prohibited from taking this route and went to the reserve through a series of back roads, again running the gauntlet of road-blocks. This route, too, was finally closed by the state and more inventive means had to be found to get to Kateri and to look after patients who, as the crisis wore on, were increasingly suffering from ill health. Stress and fear had especially negative effects on people with chronic illnesses such as asthma, diabetes, heart conditions and so on.

Minister Ciaccia then arranged for the physicians to travel by boat. Mohawk Peacekeepers, the local reserve police force, would pick the doctors up from a dock in Dorval and take them across the St. Lawrence River. This soon drew the attention of local media, in particular Gilles Proulx of the radio station CJMS, who encouraged the crowd to prevent the doctors from embarking from the public dock. The local police did nothing to stop the crowds from forming, and so a private dock was used for a few days but this too was blocked by the crowds. Finally, an ambulance driver from Urgences Santé volunteered to drive and escort doctors through the roadblocks on the Mercier Bridge and through the crowds who were by now determined not to let the people of Kahnawá:ke get medical services. Although in the end the state (and the mobs that it permitted to form) was unsuccessful in preventing the physicians from staffing Kateri Memorial

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[2] What follows is based upon personal communications with a number of the physicians involved.

Hospital and from providing vital health-care services to the people of Kahnawá:ke, the attempts at intimidation left no doubt about the tactics it was willing to use.

Of interest is the way that the crowd behaved and the police complicity in it. Notable were the riots of early August when thousands from Chateauguay, perhaps the most affected South Shore community, gathered near their border with Kahnawá:ke shouting racial epithets and burning an effigy of a Mohawk, in a 'celebration' reminiscent of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Germany. (York and Pindera 1991, 250) As well, however, doctors and their patients were subject to regular harassment as police stood by and watched. Crowds regularly blocked cars that doctors drove, threatening and insulting the physicians, even trying to overturn them and get inside. In one especially ghoulish incident, a Mohawk woman was being rushed by ambulance to the Montréal General Hospital, with a gynaecological emergency. The crowd stopped the ambulance and after heated discussion with the driver, and with police complicity, looked inside, even removing the sheets covering the woman to verify that she was, in fact, bleeding.

Most dramatic and tragic was the incident of August 28 when a convoy of sick and elderly who needed to be removed from the reserve were stoned by a crowd as they left the Mercier Bridge and crossed into LaSalle. Cars were pelted with a hail of stones, their windows smashed, leaving one man dead, twelve injured and hundreds terrified. These facts are well known. Less well known is the surrounding story. The police were informed that the motorcade was on its way. Despite potential danger from angry crowds the police held the cars up for two hours on the Mercier Bridge for no reason. In the meantime, the notoriously anti-Mohawk Gilles Proulx was notified and he announced on his show that a crowd should gather to prevent the cars from getting off the bridge and away from the reserve. As the minutes turned into hours hundreds had gathered. Once the mob had fully assembled and had time to arm themselves with stones, bricks and cement blocks from the nearby construction site, the police ordered the cars through, making no attempt to protect the Mohawks or stop the crowd from stoning them. The Mohawk ambulance accompanying the convoy and carrying an attending physician was prohibited by police from exiting the bridge leaving the physician and an ambulance driver to walk along the road through the crowd, without police protection.

Even though the event was filmed only three persons were charged. The cases were finally decided the following year. Yvon Breault pleaded

guilty and was given an unconditional discharge. Stephane Vincke and Jean-Louise Lizotte were also given discharges after agreeing to donate $500 each to charity. Judge Chaloux was concerned not to give them a criminal record because a felony conviction would prevent them from pursuing their chosen careers. Lizotte wanted to be a security guard and Vincke had already enlisted in the Canadian Army. (Gazette 30 April 1991, A4) To see the true character of the state, even the Canadian state, one need only imagine the response of the courts to charges against union members who stoned a convoy of scabs, killing one and injuring twelve, or a group of anarchist youth stoning a procession of bankers. It is also inconceivable that the police would simply stand by and watch the events unfold, doing nothing to prevent it.

Predictably, the mainstream media acted as a propaganda arm of the state, targeting the Mohawks for reprisals. The Montréal Gazette, the dominant English language newspaper, as well as La Presse strove to discredit the Warrior Society and many of the Native leaders guiding the protests at Kanehsatà:ke and Kahnawá:ke . These media outlets also endeavoured to instil in the non-Native population a fear of widespread Native revolt throughout Canada, ultimately providing the justification for the use of state force against the Aboriginal dissidents. While these press sources did not question the validity of the Native complaints against the Canadian state, they persistently decried the methods chosen by the Native protesters as inappropriate and described them as 'foul-mouthed people throwing stones, wearing costumes and brandishing guns….' (Gazette 21 Sept. 1990, B3)

One of the main aims of the media was to consistently bring into disrepute the Warrior Society itself. Headlines such as 'Less like Warriors than thugs' were featured in the Montréal Gazette (17 July 1990, B2), while La Presse proclaimed on 'Le grand rêve fou des Warriors'- 'The insane dream of the Warriors' (25 Aug. 1990, B2). The goals and credibility of the Warrior society were always cast in a negative light, no doubt to bring the validity of the entire protest into question. Lysiane Gagnon, in an article published in La Presse, suggested that they might have connections to the Mafia. (Aug. 1990, B3) Further, attempts were clearly made to show that the Native protest as a whole suffered from disunity and was divided into many factions. (Gazette 12 July 1990, A1) In this way, their intentions were brought into question:by portraying the Native protesters as fractured and incapable of internal coherence, the legitimacy of their demands could be negated.

More striking than the attempts to associate the Warriors with organized crime or to discredit their goals, were the deliberate attempts to inculcate in the non-Native population a fear of the Warrior Society and of all Native people. Thus, headlines such as 'Defiant Mohawks dig in; Indians threaten to blow up Mercier Bridge if attacked again' (Gazette 12 July 1990, A1) appeared in the Montréal Gazette, and La Presse compared the Warrior Society to the Front de Libération du Québec . (28 Aug. 1990, B3) The immediate threat of violence in Kanehsatà:ke and Kahnawá:ke was drilled into the minds of readers of La Presse, which dramatically announced that the Mayor of Châteauguay, Jean-Bosco Bourcier, had asked for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to intervene in the conflict. (La Presse 16 July 1990, A1) Moreover, the Montréal Gazette pronounced that there was an imminent threat of Native uprising on a national level: 'Oka's agony may be just the start; Militant natives across Canada seem ready to take up arms.' (Gazette 14 July 1990, B1) Sensationalized reporting on the threat of unrest, an implicit call for order, dominated the media coverage of the Oka crisis.

In the *Eighteenth Brumaire* Marx held that during the 1848 revolutions in France 'all classes and parties had united in the Party of Order against the proletarian class as the party of anarchy…. They had given out the watchwords of the old society, "property, family, religion, order," to their army as passwords...' (Marx 1972, 19) Just as the subordinate classes were incited against the proletariat in 1848, in 1990 they were stirred to impose 'order' on the rebelling Natives. The selective reporting of the media played a distinct role in these alarming outbursts of racist violence - by legitimating and even encouraging it. When Mayor Bourcier announced that it would be best to simply let the angry crowd 'vent its anger,' the Montréal Gazette was sure to spread the word that Chateauguay's mayor was endorsing activities reminiscent of those of the KKK: 'Chateauguay Mayor Jean-Bosco Bourcier says it's best to let the rowdies gathering nightly at the Kahnawá:ke barriers carry on with their chanting and effigy-burning' (Gazette 19 July 1990, A5). Irrationality on such a scale brings to mind Hannah Arendt's warning of the grave dangers and the potential fascism of a situation in which rational discourse is not present. (Arendt 2006) Those participating in the burring of Native effigies and other violent, racist acts were certainly not immersed in any sort of rational discourse and the media had a definite role to play in this fact.

Dispiritingly there was no response by organized labour. One would have hoped for a greater sense of class consciousness and an intuition that the same state that unleashed its repressive forces on the

Mohawks would just as easily and quickly turn on labour if it ever dared step out of its place. Blockades by labour, mass and flying pickets, hot-cargoing, which were all common tactics by labour in earlier decades, had now all been gradually legislated away by the state. Here was an opportunity to reassert itself as a militant labour movement, just as they were in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The power of armed resistance, especially against fascism, was demonstrated in the Christie Pits riot in 1933. Through the summer Nazi groups in Toronto had targeted the Jewish community. This came to head on 16 August when, at a baseball game in which one team was largely Jewish, racist chants were raised and a Swastika unfurled. Enraged, the Jewish players attacked and this set off a street brawl that lasted for hours. Interestingly, as more people entered in the battle the Jewish fighters were joined by contingents of Italian and Ukrainian working class youth. Any other antipathy that they might have felt was overwhelmed by the solidarity that comes from a common enemy. The fascist movement (and Anglo-Torontonian chauvinism) took aim at all immigrants, at organized labour and left politics, and the Jewish, Italian, and Ukrainian communities shared these characteristics.

Levitt and Shaffir described the context for the riots in their book The Riot at Christie Pits. 'Not surprisingly, the Depression polarized society into warring camps. A number of unemployed and working-class people joined or passively supported radical movements... In Toronto, anti-communism was thus inextricably intertwined with xenophobia and anti-semitism'. (Levitt and Shaffir 1987, 23) What Levitt and Shaffir point out was the easy identification of targets – linking anti-immigration, anti-semitism and anti-communism – making solidarity between such groups a natural response. 'The anti-communist crusade started a chain reaction that created some of the pre-conditions for the Christie Pits riot five years later. First, it intensified the identification in the minds of many between Communism and Jews. It emphasized the foreignness of the immigrants' (Levitt and Shaffir 1987, 26).

So, while the Québec labour movement may not have sympathized with protecting a pine forest from the expansion of a golf course, they certainly knew about the state repression from the October Crisis, from the gradual erosion of rights and from the threat of prison when militant action was taken.

Why was there little, if any, solidarity between labour and the Aboriginal struggle for justice? This is a complex and many-sided question. In part, it is because labour sees Aboriginal communities as standing in the

way of business. Protected forests mean fewer jobs; Aboriginal fishers mean fewer non-native ones; Aboriginals are portrayed in the media as unemployed, non-tax-paying drains on 'our' tax dollars. However, in part the answer is the construction of Aboriginals as the other, as a competing national identity which threatens and rejects Canadian/Québec national identity. In Québec , in particular, Mohawks were described in grade school texts as anti-French, as English allies in the French-English Wars, as English speaking, as the savage killers of Father Brébeuf. Further, their assertion of Mohawk sovereignty challenged the legal basis of Québec sovereignty, even as it similarly challenged that of Canada.

Part of the explanation, however, rests with the unique history of Québec labour, a story which is revealing of the ease with which even militant unions can be derailed. By the early 1970s, Québec's labour movement was among the most radical ever seen in Canada. The high point was the general strike of May 1972, which resulted in brief prison terms for the leaders of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ) and the teachers union. The elective victory of 1976 by the Parti Québécois (PQ) was significantly premised on a social democratic platform and on the argument that in a more conservative Canadian political climate labour could prosper only through sovereignty. The PQ, however, soon drifted rightward. Interestingly, however, the PQ under Levesque was much more sympathetic to Aboriginal aspirations than the Québec Liberal Party (PLQ).

By this time, though, the labour movement was fully tied to the nationalist project. The resistance to both sovereignty and the language restrictions by the Anglophone and Allophone communities led to a further alienation between the nationalisms of Québec and Canada. Caught up in this were First Nations, who by tradition and treaty identified with the Canadian state as the continuation of the British Crown, and who commonly spoke English and not French. There were also flashpoints such as raids on Restigouche, the Mi'kmaq community on the New Brunswick border, and in Kahnawá:ke itself by the Sûreté du Québec. As a result, layered over the usual anti-aboriginal sentiments that shamefully mark all of Canada, was added the level of competing national identities, as Mohawks asserted their sovereignty and their identity as Mohawk – perhaps even on occasion as Canadian – but certainly not as Québécois.

While the narrative of competing nationalisms was certainly true, the real tragedy of the Oka Crisis and the Kahnawá:ke standoff was that this narrative crowded out all other interpretations in the public mind. The emphasizing of identity politics at the expense of class analysis by

academics and public intellectuals disarms the working class. Of course, academics are often simply following a trend, or they are over-emphasizing one aspect of reality to highlight an ignored element for example, but the consistent re-presentation of tensions between Aboriginal communities and Québec as competing national identities did little to prevent the rise of national chauvinisms and hatreds.[3]

An alternative narrative of the Aboriginal place in non-aboriginal Canadian society can reveal constructive ways forward that help create alliances between groups struggling under the weight of capitalist society and its state. Howard Adams, the noted Métis writer, has perhaps more than most in Canada explored the roots of Aboriginal oppression and exploitation in the bourgeois property form. Historically the left in Canada has not offered nuanced or inclusive analyses of the 'aboriginal question' (Bedford and Irving 2001). Most have begun from the analytical premises of the Marxist approach of the Second International which saw the way forward to socialism only through the complete expansion of capitalist relations and the maximization of societal riches. These premises left little room in the struggle against exploitation for Aboriginals who were not members of the proletariat. Adams' work on the internal governance of Aboriginal communities and the place of Aboriginals in contesting dominant social and political relations provides an important left alternative to the overly mechanistic Marxism and to the national identities reading that have dominated left discourse on this question to date (Adams 1995).

The events of the summer of 1990 reveal to us just how close to the surface fascism is. The bourgeois state can at a moment's notice drop the facade of democratic procedures, human rights and civil liberties.[4] The army, it must not be forgotten, is easily turned from international peacekeeping to preserving the domestic status quo of property rights and state sovereignty. Tear gas, which would not be used on foreign enemies, is turned on women and children without a second thought. There are also latent fascist sympathies within the populace which can easily be brought to the surface. A few weeks of traffic jams and a demagogue like Proulx

[3] Ellen Wood (1983, 241) argued that the de-centring of class in Marxism stemmed from the popular front policies of Euro communism. In Canada the appeal of Canadian nationalism has been a contributing factor (Workman, 139).

[4] We certainly do not mean to argue that there is no real difference between state forms, i.e. that a liberal-democratic and a fascist state are the same. We do argue, however, that fascist methods are easily resorted to, and so we call these actions proto or nascent fascism.

could encourage the most foul behaviour from his listeners. There are plenty of Proulxes and they have no difficulty finding targets and mobs to do their bidding. The summer of 1990 was sobering for all on the left and for anyone who held to the illusions of Canadian gentility and exceptionalism.

In the end what lessons can be learned from the Oka Crisis? The failure of the many attempts that were made to rally support for the Mohawks shows that the fundamental truth of Marxist political praxis still holds. Only the power of organized labour can effectively counter the repressive forces of the state. While the many demonstrations of sympathy that were held did nothing to dissuade Bourassa and Mulroney, the truckers' union could have forced a quick and honourable end if they blocked all of Québec 's roads. Additionally, organized labour's support has a social meaning that occupies a more central place in public discourse and understanding than does the support of an eclectic mix of pro-Native sympathizers who can be dismissed as ideological oddities. However, to do this labour must not be sidetracked by protectionisms, nationalisms, racism and so. They must centre the class question, as only thus can they be the locus for solidarity. While they differ from the Mohawks in many ways they share a common oppression and oppressor. The internationalism that Marx argued for, and that rested at the heart of the early international labour movement, must be re-centred and extended to include all, even within the Canadian and Québec nations.

But how can this return to an earlier consciousness of trans-group solidarity be made? The answer can be found in a critique of the left over the past forty or fifty years. As we have lived through a seemingly endless series of 'Anybody but Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, Bush etc.', we witness a Left which now argues 'ABC – anything but class'. What is needed more than anything is a (re) formed Left in which the principles which can forge an alternative to the bourgeois state are rationally debated. Instead of the fleeting passions of national identity and chauvinism we need a reasoned analysis. As political scientist Thom Workman has written in his recent re-evaluation of the Left:[5]

> Capitalism is troubling, and these emotions can carry us away. An ethos of reflection and contemplation will assuage the welter of emotions experienced by everyone, effectively absorbing our emotional distresses about capitalist life into a patient and reflective standpoint. A properly

[5] See the Govind C. Rao's review of Workman in this issue.

> formed left culture is not unlike a properly formed Platonic soul, the soul where the faculty of reason governs the spiritedness and passion of our being. Passions are a part of life, but in capitalist society they can overtake us and must be massaged by reason, contemplation and sustained reflection. (Workman 2009, 134)

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SPECIAL SECTION
TWENTY YEARS AFTER KANEHSATÀ:KE: REFLECTIONS, RESPONSES, ANALYSES

Kanehsatà:ke
Canadian Colonial *Aporias*

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Six Nations of the Grand River.

Abstract
This paper presents a reflective topical narrative following the research of Irihapeti Ramsden (2003), an Ngai Tahupotiki (Maori) nursing instructor of Aotearoa (New Zealand). It is a reflection on the nature of Indigenous inquiry, or what Irihapeti Ramsden recognized as an often melancholic journey of self-discovery. It has been a continuous struggle for Indigenous scholars to understand how, where, and why the injustices of colonization reduced Indigenous peoples to dependent remnants of the self-reliant and independent nations our stories remember. By connecting ideas like Jacques Derrida's work on Aporias to the intentionality of the Kahswenhtha (Two Row Wampum), my hope is to contextualize one unresolved injustice, the Kanehsatà:ke (Oka) conflict. The symbolism of the Two Row Wampum addresses the possible but also the impossible of a new brotherhood between colonial Canada and its Indigenous peoples. Reconciliation will only be possible when Canada honours Indigenous resistance, resentment and rebellion against European myths of prerogative power. Our ancestors sacrificed a great deal, and we must wipe our tears and open our eyes, listen deeply, clear our throats and raise our voices to bear witness to our ancestors' prayers for enduring hope, liberty and peace.

Steven Koptie is from the Six Nations of the Grand River, and a late comer to academia, returning to graduate school after 35 years of community work in Southern Ontario and the far north. He is dedicated to the idea that Native people have a right to be fully recognized as a distinct peoples, and this means that the question of "Cultural Safety" and recognition of an Indigenous identity guides the community work he does. He has a special place in his heart for children with complex needs, doing battle on their behalf since his early years in the field. He has taken up the cause of implementing "cultural safety" as the only true mechanism for reconciliation and Aboriginal well-being in Canada.

Steven Koptie vient des Six Nations de la Grande Rivière et, arrivé tardivement dans le monde universitaire, suit des études supérieures après 35 ans de travail auprès des communautés dans le sud de l'Ontario et dans le grand nord. Il est dédié à l'idée que les peuples Autochtones ont le droit d'être entièrement reconnu comme des peuples distincts, ce qui veut dire que la question de la « Sécurité Culturelle » et la reconnaissance d'une identité d'Autochtone guident son travail. Il a un place spéciale dans son cœur pour les enfants avec des besoins complexes, luttant pour eux depuis ses premières années sur le terrain. Il a pris la cause de la mise en œuvre de la « Securité culturelle » comme seul vrai mécanisme pour la réconciliation et le bien-être des Autochtones au Canada.

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Résumé
Cette contribution présente un récit réflexif contemporain, dans la lignée des recherches de Irihapeti Ramsden, un formateur Ngai Tahupotiki (Maori) des infirmiers de Aotearoa (la Nouvelle Zélande). C'est une réflexion sur la nature de l'introspection Autochtone ou ce que Irihapeti Ramsden a reconnu comme le voyage, souvent mélancolique, de la découverte de soi. C'est une lutte continue pour les chercheurs Autochtones de comprendre comment, où, et pourquoi les injustices de la colonisation ont réduit les peuples Autochtones à des résidus dépendants des nations autonomes dont nos histoires se souviennent. En faisant le lien entre des travaux comme ceux de Jacques Derrida sur Aporias et l'intentionnalité du Kahswenhtha (Two Row Wampum), mon espoir est de mettre en contexte une injustice non résolue, le conflit de Kanehsatà:ke (Oka). Le symbolisme de Two Row Wampum interroge la possibilité mais aussi l'impossibilité d'une nouvelle fraternité entre le Canada colonial et ses peuples Autochtones. La réconciliation ne serait possible qu'à condition que le Canada rende honneur à la résistance, au ressentiment et à la rébellion des Autochtones contre les mythes européens de l'état d'exception. Nos ancêtres ont fait beaucoup de sacrifices et nous devons essuyer nos larmes et ouvrir nos yeux, écouter profondément, éclaircir et élever nos voix afin de témoigner des prières de nos ancêtres pour l'espoir, la liberté et la paix perpétuelle.

Key Words
• Derrida • Aporias • Kahswenhtha (Two Row Wampum) • Kanesatàke • Indigenous Inquiry

Mots clés
• Derrida • Aporias • Kahswenhtha (Two Row Wampum) • Kanesatàke • introspection Autochtone

The principles reflected in the Kahswenhtha have always guided the Rotinonshonni in the conduct of their relations with other nations, but the Kahswenhtha was especially created to govern the brotherly relations between the Rotinonshonni and the newcomers-a kinship that would provide mutual aid when necessary. The living principles, if respected, are still capable of ensuring just and peaceful relations between our peoples into the future. They will also ensure a respectful coexistence in the river of life for the Rotinonshonni and the newcomers, as was the original intent.

The Kahswenhtha is a belt of two purple rows of wampum. Three white rows of wampum signify peace, friendship and respect between the parties to the agreement. Two rows of purple wampum symbolize a canoe and a sailing ship moving parallel to each other in the river of life, with the understanding that neither nation is to interfere with the other.

This concept of a relationship reflects a deep spiritual commitment to the integrity of all peoples' identity and right of self-determination. The

> *Kahswenhtha instructs that we must not attempt to steer each other's vessel. These ideas continue to be a fundamental principle in the Rotinonshonni's negotiations with the newcomer's nations (Mary Arquette & Maxine Cole 2004).*

The *Kahswenhtha,* or Two Row Wampum, is an iconic achievement of possibility against impossible historical trajectories such as Manifest Destiny, genocide as nation building, and broken Treaties. The late French philosopher Jacques Derrida's work on *aporias* creates an alternative framework for Indigenous scholars to retrace paths of injustice as they seek truth and reconciliation in Canada. Reynolds (2010) noted that Jacques Derrida looked to the concept of *aporias* as a social, political, economic and spiritual conflict space between people over time. In particular, 'Derrida described the paradoxes that afflict notions like giving, hospitality, forgiving and mourning, and argued that the condition of their possibility is also, and at once, the condition of their impossibility' (Reynolds 2010). Therefore, I would like to offer the concept of *aporias* to explore and express an ever expanding impasse of hurt that continues to impede Canada's modern reconciliation of past colonial wrongs. What resonates in Derrida's philosophy is that the colonial impasses Canada faces can be contextualized in the confusion over giving, hospitality, forgiving and mourning between those who settled Canada and Indigenous survivors. Derrida, in his book *Aporias,* wrote about the concept of *aporia* as being stuck on a path of confusion or trajectory of uncertainty in the present yet feeling helpless to comprehend what has happened in the past:

> I gave in to the word *aporias*, in the plural... the old worn-out Greek term *aporia*, this tired word of philosophy and of logic... It concerns the impossible or the impracticable. (*Diaporeo* is Aristotle's term here; it means 'I'm stuck [*dans l'embarras*], I cannot get out, I'm helpless') (Derrida 1993, 12-13).

Derrida, in a 1998 interview on human rights, locates his own lived experience of loss of identity in which many 'Iroquois' scholars may find solace:

> Perhaps one of the many things which made me sensitive to law is that I belonged to a minority in a colonized country. The Jewish community in Algeria was there long before the French colonizers. So on one hand; Algerian Jews belonged to the colonized people, and on the other they assimilated with the French. During the Nazi occupation, there were no German soldiers in Algeria. There was only the French and the Vichy regime, which produced and enforced laws that were terribly repressive. I was expelled from school. My family lost its citizenship, which is a legal event. Even when you're a child, you understand what it means to lose your citizenship. When you're in such a marginal and

> unsafe and shaky situation, you are more attentive to the question of legal authorization. You are a subject whose identity is threatened, as are your rights. (Rosenfeld and Robins 1998, 2)

In the same interview he addressed his trip to South Africa to lecture and learn on the subject of forgiveness and mercy, which was topical with the simultaneous unfolding of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. The fragile negotiations to move a racist state away from revenge and towards amnesty led to a concept called 'healing away', which was a form of political therapy designed to share the work of mourning in order to share a common destiny (Rosenfeld and Robins 1998, 2). Then Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was actively engaged in securing the future release of South African leader Nelson Mandela's after twenty-seven years of political imprisonment. Paradoxically Prime Minister Mulroney was politically absent in his own home and native land during the Kanehsatà:ke crisis. He did subsequently establish the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1991 with a twenty-year implementation agenda. That is an unfinished project as is the resolution of the Oka crisis itself.

Taking responsibility to re-collect lost meta-narratives that can enliven the magnificence of culturally formed expressions of governance, like the Two Row Wampum, is a worthwhile undertaking for Indigenous writers. It will help restore to prominence the rich archives of Indigenous wisdom future generations require for recovering and reclaiming a natural sovereignty. Derrida uses his words to unmask and deconstruct historical mistakes. His writings can encourage Indigenous scholars and writers and legitimize the enduring hope inherent within those timeless narratives. Indigenous writer Lee Maracle (2009) challenges Indigenous writers to re-create representations of 'places we would all want to stand under' as we remember, honour and thank seven generations past and prepare places for seven generations forward. Derrida recognizes the power of connection, and the Two Row Wampum clearly stands the test of time and relevance. He states that writing is a unique language because 'of its ability to function in the absence of the original sender and receiver, and acknowledges that one writes in order to communicate something to those who are absent' (quoted in Blair 2007, 153), thereby leaving a path of discovery.

This author is a mature Indigenous scholar on a 'melancholic journey of self-discovery', a concept borrowed from Dr. Irihapeti Ramsden who belonged to the people of Ngai Tahupotiki and Rangitane, or if

expressed in colonial identity markers, a Maori woman of Aotearoa, New Zealand. It was a journey of renewed hope doing graduate research on her efforts to bring to fruition the concept of 'cultural safety' in her homeland. This is a public narrative long overdue in Canada as well (Koptie, 2009). Irihapeti Ramsden encouraged her nursing students to seek reflective topic autobiographical narratives to revise, retell and help them to recover from colonial misconceptions and misunderstandings. This paper will present reflective topical work around the 1990 Kanehsatà:ke crisis near Montréal as we consider the twentieth anniversary of this impasse.

After a thirty-year career of First Nations community development work, I made my way through graduate school in an attempt to understand the colonial trajectory unleashed on First Nations within our home and native land now known as Canada. My work had taken me into arenas of community development, land claims research, mental health, suicide, child welfare, Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder and addictions research. Success for most Indigenous students mostly precludes the idea of graduate studies and inherent opportunities to expand a critical analysis for developing leadership skills in a modern context. I believe that First Nations peoples, whether fighting the legacy of colonialism or accessing advanced education for personal, familial and community sharing still face barriers to participation in academia.

We are however, called loudly to contribute to twenty-first century demands for collaboration and engagement with our external 'host' world. Paradoxically, we are frozen out of leadership opportunities in our home communities when we lack the traditional knowledge required to assist in restoration of traditional knowledge lost during the colonial siege our ancestors endured. The exclusion of Indigenous scholars at the graduate level also prevents future non-Aboriginal leaders from having an opportunity to engage and know the very people who will sit and negotiate the new relationship demanded of Canada and its Indigenous population. An exploration of how Canadian reserves, which represent bounded artificial communities in contrast to the healthy territories that were surrendered to make way for the settlement of Canada, will be 'privatized' is a current and 'politically hot' example of that tenuous relationship (Flanagan 2010). Aboriginal people however, are not going to conveniently disappear into the Canadian body politic, therefore, Canada and academia must reconcile the damages done by broken Treaties, residential school atrocities, and the mismanagement of Canada's natural wealth (Saul 2009). Kanehsatà:ke, like many other conflicts, was an opportunity for reconciliation. Canada has not been able to confront the

acts of resistance and refusal that tragic events like Kanehsatà:ke represent. However, colonial inertia has managed to stifle traditional resilience and the survival the Two Row Wampum foretold of and the people of the pines at Kanehsatà:ke honoured. Mohawk people still have serious grievances in every one of our territories; conflicts include construction and flooding from the St. Lawrence Seaway in the mid-fifties, and today at Six Nations they are struggling with the ongoing Caledonia crisis in an effort to restore self-determination and the right to survive as distinct peoples.

Kanehsatà:ke in 2010 clearly stands as one of the major sparks that ignited a long overdue Indigenously-informed Shakespearean narrative similar to Hamlet's existential crisis. It began with a common pathos throughout Indigenous communities globally. There is the same sense of 'madness' and being 'out of joint' in their resisting, resenting, and rebelling against the colonial experience. Communities have in essence been frozen in time, and unable to mobilize their collective conscience to properly represent their natural desire for sovereignty.

> Thus conscience does make cowards of us all; and thus the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, and enterprises of great pith and moment with this regard their currents turn awry, and lose the name of action. (Shakespeare 1974, 3.1:91-96)

Works like *Hamlet* remain timeless representations of humanities ability to frame tragic human experience for future contemplation. Derrida's writings offer a precious 'deconstruction' or 'a thinking of mediation, of non-immediacy, and, consequently, of the trust one must have in truth, a trust that always rests on the already there… the "justice to come" from historical dilemmas' (Payne 2002). A melancholic soliloquy from *Hamlet* can offer a wonderful meta-narrative similar to those Derrida examined as *aporias* (1993). He saw the expression of a problematic relationship that tests the 'limits of truth' as an opportunity to explore and express an ever-expanding impasse of hurt. This becomes an excellent place for Indigenous scholars to explore the impasse that has long impeded Canada's modern reconciliation of past colonial wrongs, especially exceptional wrongs like the Kanehsatà:ke crisis. Many literary reviewers seek to understand the suicidal nature of Hamlet's dilemma. The people trapped in the alcohol treatment centre at Kanehsatà:ke became inhabitants of an ironic sanctuary. They also accepted the possibility of death to obtain a tragic justice. Hamlet's struggle to survive the sense of 'being out of joint' in time and place and facing the quandary of confusion, speaks to a common

experience I have witnessed. I, too, am haunted like Hamlet, to do justice to the 'spectres' of youth suicide in Aboriginal communities throughout Canada. Much of my own northern community work revolved around the issue of the suicides of First Nation youth. The definition of this phenomenon as a 'spectre or as a ghostly presence or apparition' makes the unpleasant prospect of being out of joint with the place and time of their existence become a frightful reality. The idea of a threat is a useful descriptive concept when we gaze upon the existence of Indigenous survivors of intergenerational historic trauma (Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009). In *Spectres of Marx,* Jacques Derrida examined the tragic consequences of inherently contradictory principles in the existing political and legal order that often lead to conflict and injustices like the living conditions that in turn can create suicidal human beings (Berg-Sorensen, 2000). Hamlet's painful cry, 'the time is out of joint: Oh cursed sight that I was born to set it right', is one that also paradoxically echoes in the uncomfortable silence on too many Indian reserves throughout Canada. In the angst of the despair of navigating anger and hope for transformative change in myself, my family, my community and my nation I have made that same agonizing plea.

Herein lies the either/or quandary that this generation of Indigenous scholars and cultural interpreters face in engaging two parallel existences as the colonized, but those responsible for defining pathways to de-colonization. The expectations for balancing healing and the alleviation of guilt, shame and confusion of colonization against demands for resistance and rebellion, against the dismissive citizens of colonial states like Canada can be over-whelming (Lear 2006). The complacency that breeds a wilful ignorance allows those who benefitted the most from Canada's tragic history to avoid the truths that actually need to be confronted for collective healing. When Indigenous scholars explore and express the missing truths we are constantly challenged to reduce our ideas to fragments of a world-view we are just re-locating, recovering, and re-enlivening. Finding possible/impossible corresponding philosophies like Derrida's *aporias* may assist in articulating the parallelisms necessary to a collective endorsement of Indigenous world-views. This form of blended research becomes an integral part of generational self-discovery now so vital to determining alternative paths for collective healing that become invitational across the boundaries of race, class and gender. Non-Indigenous scholars must demonstrate patience and tolerance because these new cultural path-finders require a great deal of 'cultural safety' (Koptie, 2009).

Location, Located, Locating

There are many 'inconvenient truths' about Great Lakes regional, historical, political, economic and social realities. The Great Lakes occupants were self-supporting, self-sustaining and vibrant communities long before Europeans came to 'settle' and 'civilize' this land. Kanehsatà:ke was not the first major conflict over territory. Austin *et al* (2008) outlined in their paper, 'The Vital Connection: Reclaiming Great Lakes Economic Leadership in the Bi-National US-Canadian Region', how the exploitation of the Great Lakes bounty, opened by the 'discovery' of the area by European explorers, is a rather simplistic rendering that typifies historical misconceptions and omissions and place Indigenous people in minor roles. The exclusion of meta-narratives such as the Six Nations Great Law and the nation to nation treaty relationship which the Two-Row Wampum treaty maintains are problematic. The exclusion represents the mythology of progress and civilization coming to the rescue of 'savages.' We must remind all citizens of Turtle Island, or North America, that the simmering discontent of Indigenous peoples over colonial wrongs remains strong and mostly unresolved. Missing from ongoing discourse is a realization of lost potential by the exclusion of Indigenous voices in the story; past, present, and future in the Great Lakes region. The region supports the people of Ontario, Quebec, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Each of those jurisdictions remains a home to Indigenous groups who share a common experience of dispossession and marginalization within their home-lands. They have been left with mere remnants of wealth and resources in what has become an ecologically un-sustainability in an area. This region, containing 36 percent of the populations of the United States and Canada, comprises the second-largest economy on the planet, behind the entirety of the Unites States itself (Austin *et al* 2008, 7). How can such exclusions continue to be justified? Where is the sharing of this bounty with Indigenous peoples? Their economies were destroyed under the guise of settlement of this largesse long before market economies insured exclusion and a crushing, and seemingly inescapable poverty.

During the long summer of 1990, while acting as a consultant to the Toronto Board of Education, I was called on to assist teachers in explaining to school children the traumatic images that the media was using to define that uprising. Very little public education was done to provide Canadians with a contextual framework or an Aboriginal perspective on the events unfolding at Kanehsatà:ke. Later, I was employed full-time as a mental

health worker at the Toronto East General Hospital in one of Canada's first programs designed to cope with the high suicide rates amongst Canada's Indigenous peoples. Dr. Harvey Armstrong, one of Canada's heroes in bringing this phenomenon into the public domain, would remind Canadians that during the turmoil that held the country's attention in the summer of 1990, seventy Aboriginal youth chose to end their lives. The quiet despair of their daily lives in other parts of 'Indian Country' had become unbearable (personal communication, September 1990). Canadians could not understand why there was so much fuss over an empty field or forest that could have been developed for a golf course. The public media chose to not illuminate the 280 years of conflict that preceded the stand in the pines by the Haudenosaunee people as they fought to protect and preserve their burial grounds.

Deconstruction of Colonial Lies

The 'Grand Narrative' of *terra nullius*, empty un-owned lands up for imperial settlement and lands up for plunder, has no rationale except in the mind of a colonizer. Yet, this historic reality is upheld through Victorian Age legal dogma and flows through impositions like the 1763 Royal Proclamation, the 1867 British North America Act, and the 1876 Indian Act. These legislative acts have managed Indians and their traditional lands for centuries through mythical prerogative power as conceived by men like John Locke (Arnold 2007).

In 1969, Vine Deloria, Jr wrote what became an Indigenous peoples' activist manifesto, *Custer Died for Your Sins.* Deloria was raised in the National Episcopal Church of America. His father, Vine Deloria, Sr, was an archdeacon and missionary on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in South Dakota. During its July 2009 76th General Convention in Anaheim, California the Church passed a groundbreaking landmark resolution repudiating the validity of the Christian Doctrine of Discovery. The Onondaga First Nation woman Tonya Gonnella Frichner, an attorney and founder of the American Indian Law Alliance and North American Representative to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, submitted a report at the Ninth Session 19-30 April 2010 entitled 'Impact on Indigenous Peoples of the International Legal construct known as the Doctrine of Discovery, which has served as the Foundation of the Violation of their Human Rights'. All Indigenous scholars must join in the remarkable efforts globally being undertaken to demystify the

dehumanization through 'Doctrine' that continues to haunt mankind. Her summary of that important paper begins with:

> This preliminary study establishes that the Doctrine of Discovery has been institutionalized in law and policy, on national and international levels, and lies at the root of the violations of indigenous peoples' human rights, both individual and collective. This has resulted in state claims to and the mass appropriations of the lands, territories, and resources of indigenous peoples. Both the Doctrine of Discovery and a holistic structure that we term the Framework of Dominance have resulted in centuries of virtually unlimited resource extraction from the traditional territories of indigenous peoples. This, in turn, has resulted in the dispossession and impoverishment of indigenous peoples, and the host of problems that they face today on a daily basis (Frichner 2010, 1).

It was this doctrine like this that led to the colonizing dispossession of the lands of Indigenous peoples around the planet. The Episcopal Church of America called on Queen Elizabeth II to 'disavow, and repudiate publicly, the validity of the Christian Doctrine of Discovery':

> Even if these dramatic events never take place, however, the Episcopal Church has taken a valuable and courageous step by focusing Americans and the world on how European Christians used international law to dominate indigenous peoples and to dispossess them of their lands and assets. Will other Christian churches and the international community have the same courage to look at the foundations, histories and laws that helped create European domination of indigenous peoples? (Miller 2009, 3)

Miller has posed through actions like this, a long overdue paradigm shift to re-tell, review and re-negotiate notions of prerogative power myths (Arnold 2007) that permeate so many social structures of race, culture, gender and religion.

Messages of this kind are significant as Canadian Indigenous scholars valiantly search for stories of resilience and strength in the historical records of contemporary Canada. It is a quest to demystify the place of 'Indians' in Canada. They are collectively creating pathways of reflective analysis to deconstruct confrontations like Kanehsatà:ke that still remain unresolved and smouldering beneath Canada's façade of political correctness. For anyone directly impacted by the trauma of Kanehsatà:ke , Derrida's thoughts on *aporias* provide a gift of recognition towards reviewing and revising understandings of the possible-impossible puzzle of loss-gain. It is very much a recovery of identity and human dignity that fosters the restoration of pride and morale. Marie Battiste challenges

Canadian academic institutions to take leadership roles in locating those truths and reconciling the gaps in academic and intellectual inquiry of colonial wrongs. Battiste suggested that instead, we create collaboration across cultural divides to:
support the agenda of Indigenous scholarship, which is to transform Eurocentric theory so that it will not only include and properly value Indigenous knowledge, thought, and heritage in all levels of education, curriculum, and professional practice but also develop a cooperative and dignified strategy that will invigorate and animate Indigenous languages, cultures, knowledge, and vision in academic structure (MacKenzie, 2009, 93).

Other authors have suggested a collaborative process as well. Imagine Canadian educators designing a form of citizenship that disabuses its citizens of their ignorance and arrogance, and illuminates the truths behind places like Lower East Vancouver, North Winnipeg or the hundreds of refugee/reserve communities that are increasingly the jaded face of Canadian colonial identity (Snowball 2009). Rauna Kuokkanen probes the lack of Indigenous perspectives, narratives and context that shield citizens of Canada from knowing the Two Row Wampum or the injustices of the Treaty making in Canada:

> The university remains a contested site where not only knowledge but also middle-class, Eurocentric, patriarchal, and (neo) colonial values are produced and reproduced…the academy is one of the main sites for reproducing hegemony. Not surprisingly, then, the studied silence and wilful indifference surrounding the 'indigenous" continues unabated in most academic circles. In the same way that indigenous peoples (and their episteme [worldview]) remain invisible when the nation- states were shaped, indigenous scholarship remains invisible and un-reflected in most academic discourses, including that of some of the most progressive intellectuals (Kuokkanen 2007, 156).

Or, Indigenous voice is given a corner in which to pontificate outside of the respected and endorsed stream of knowledge dissemination and response. The process of integration and inclusion has not yet occurred, and Native Studies remains an exotic beast in the academic milieu. The value of oral discourse and thought transmission remains a tattered second cousin to the written word as gospel and 'proven' scholarship. The political *aporia* promulgated under the guise of 'process' remains an ungainly spectre of unfinished Treaty relationships and historic grievance.

It is a global aberration that Canada whose international identity is framed around peace-making, peace-building and human rights defenders has become a nation of lonely notoriety by not signing onto the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Assembly of First Nations outline of that declaration includes the United Nations introduction statement;

> On September 13, 2007 the UN general Assembly adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This followed more than twenty years of discussions within the UN system. Indigenous representatives played key roles in the development of this Declaration.
>
> There are over 370 million Indigenous people in Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe and the pacific. They are among the most impoverished, marginalized and frequently victimized people in the world.
>
> The universal human rights instrument is celebrated globally as a symbol of triumph and hope. Effective implementation of the Declaration would result in significant improvements in the global situation of Indigenous peoples. (Assemby of First Nations 2007, 3)

The reluctance to endorse a global concept of human rights for Indigenous peoples by Canada can be measured through an analogy of 'canoes/ships lost in the rivers' at home and abroad. The loss of good will that has resulted from this denial will require a massive investment in Canada's truth and reconciliation process. At last, 300+ million global Indigenous peoples are being recognized as deserving of the restoration of the lands, lives, and languages that colonization swept away. The declaration is meant to protect the planet from further human catastrophes of genocide, piracy and dispossession.

Yet, Canadian media continue to fixate on portrayals of pathology among Indigenous peoples and communities, and regularly point out that Canada's 1.5 million Aboriginal people are a strain and stain on Canadian identity and economy. Is the underlying purpose of this media voice to raise collective contempt, guilt or empathy, or demands for change? Is the portrayal of Indigenous poverty and suffering being used to maintain domination over lands and resources for the Canadian state, the same resources required to create sustainable economies and end poverty in First Nations territories? Canadian educational institutions at all levels, along with general public discourse, rarely address the reality that 32 million other Canadians have had their minds *shielded* from this country's atrocious colonial history (CRE 2009). The citizens of Canada like most colonial states expect the government to 'do something about the

Aboriginal problem' (Morrissey 2006, 347). Morrissey laments the abandonment of real social justice for Indigenous peoples and 'its replacement by a politics of reductionism in which the marginalization of Indigenous people is explained largely in terms of the individual, familial or community pathologies of Indigenous peoples themselves, (348). He questions reconciliation processes that lack specific plans to overcome injustices and merely stand as further management of Indigenous disadvantage. We live in a world where a majority of the planet's six billion people are desperately seeking the kind of good life that Canada affords to its tiny population. It is an inexcusable image for a country to dismiss its responsibility for its history that sanctions injustice, while blaming the victims for their unwillingness to be helped (Morrissey 2006, 352). Canadians cherish their multicultural diversity as a model of good will. North Winnipeg and downtown east Vancouver belies this simplistic facade. Too often the question is what can be done *to* or *for* Indians to fix them? Rarely is long-term real restorative collaboration *with* Indigenous people to alleviate colonial poverty and 'inferiorizied' communities undertaken.

The ratification on 13 September 2007 of the United Nation Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was the highlight of a twenty year restorative and recovery project to give prominence to the inherent rights of 370 million Indigenous peoples. The present struggle to escape the colonial dominance of Indigenous peoples during the eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth and now the twenty-first century represents a return to natural sovereignty (Longboat 2009). The Declaration recognized the rights of all Indigenous peoples to 'maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditions and to pursue their developments in keeping with their own needs and aspirations' (UNPFII 2007). A statement by Indigenous Representatives from the North American Region raised the hope for reconciliation and collective healing:

> The tragic and brutal story of what happened to us, especially at the hands of the governments, is well known…. But today, with the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the United Nations General Assembly, we see the opportunity for a new beginning, for another kind of relationship with the states in North America and indeed throughout the world. (UNPFII 2007)

What resonates in Derrida's philosophy, for this author, is that the colonial impasses Canada faces can be contextualized within existing

confusion over giving, hospitality, forgiving and mourning between those who settled Canada and Indigenous survivors of that history. Derrida wrote about the concept of *aporia* as being stuck on a path of confusion or in a trajectory of uncertainty in the present, yet feeling helpless to comprehend what has happened after nothing happened (Koptie, 2009). Hurst suggests:

for Derrida what is finally at stake in the "plural logic of the aporia" is the experience of what happens when, in trying to determine certain notions as practical concepts, we find ourselves facing a kind of paralysis (for example the double bind, dilemma, the undecidable, or the performative contradiction). (Hurst, 2006:107)

The Two Row Wampum also expressed the complexity of hospitality, promoting peace, friendship and respect as necessary to maintain independence yet provide opportunities for interdependency. It was meant to be a lasting symbolic representation of the duty to honour human social, political, economic and spiritual relations with parallelism to allow peace, friendship and respect to act as intermediates' in natural conflicts. Many Indigenous protocols offered mechanisms to address differences and wrongs requiring diplomacy. The Two Row Wampum reflects the perseverance of historic memory and the protocols necessary to maintaining good will across time.

The Two Row Wampum is unique in its simplicity and remembrance of expressions of good will and of separateness and it remains interdependent only when necessary. Something happened over time to replace peace, friendship and respect between old world and new world canoes to bring greed, suffering, devastation and dispossession to expressions of hospitality between those mutual allies of peace, friendship and respect. I suggest that Indigenous scholars globally look to Treaty making inconsistencies and incongruence's as the historic roots of what happened to the parallelism conceived in the Two Row Wampum. It anticipated the need for the declaration of preserving shared interests through reciprocity and interdependency while preserving independence and self-determination. All human relationships might follow that ideal. All Canadians remain trapped in restrictive Treaty relations that failed to honour the intentionality of all parties who participated to keep the peace and good behaviours of peoples with divergent interests in the settlement of the territory commonly referred to as Canada. Friendships became colonial predatory circuses (Koptie 2009); brotherhood was replaced by competitive, opportunistic conniving for advantage and respect diminished into indifference.

Derrida explored the model for political relationship as friendship. Two separate 'brothers' in parallel journeys, with a respect for oppositional interdependency. Derrida calls for transformative politics,

> away from the brotherhood of men to the stranger, foreigner, immigrant, as figures of the other (but for a generalized other who need not be literally foreign). The exemplary relationship for thinking this new kind of democracy is not friendship but hospitality: flows through the host/guest relationship (Derrida 1997: 155).

This may become a paradoxical reality where the truths about the historical events that led to the crisis at Kanehsatà:ke are re-vised and re-presented for Canadians. Re-education is long overdue in devising a healing journey of truth and reconciliation, establishing new path-ways of unity out of the confusing disunity that resulted from silenced victims of British, French and other European colonial excesses that created the situation at Kanehsatà:ke. Problems are tied to events and from studying Derrida's thoughts on *aporias* one begins a quest to create new narratives to deconstruct difficulties. Even when there is seemingly no way out of a deep sense of helplessness and possibly hopelessness, all part of the despair far too many Indigenous peoples experience through colonial living;

John Ralston Saul requests a paradigm shift in conceptualizing who we are as Canadians and our common destiny:

> What I argued in *A Fair Country* is that most Canadians are confused by what they actually mean when they write or speak. Why? It is because they remain chained to Euro-US meanings, as if Canada were a culture inspired by and derived from Britain, France, and the United States and from European ideas of philosophy, politics, and law in general. There is influence of course, but if this approach does not ease and strengthen in the way we deal with ourselves and with others, then that influence cannot be as profound as we think. It is a more meaningful interpretation to see ourselves as a civilization inspired by Aboriginal world views. The way we act at our best makes sense when traced to Aboriginal language, meaning, and concepts coming out of the shared experiences of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. Again, as Georges Erasmus puts it: 'This is how Canada came to be a 'peaceable kingdom', not one of violence and conquest'. For me, this explains the instinctive, positive reaction I have continually heard when I evoke the concept of inspiration based on Aboriginal world views for the whole civilization, whether from old-stock immigrants or new arrivals. (Saul 2009, 315)

Ward Churchill, in the bluntness he is well known, for highlights the resistance to engage in a collective healing of historic wounds from the colonial experience that each new Oka continues to represent. He wrote an article for the *briarpatch* magazine entitled 'Healing begins when the wounding stops: Residential Schools and the prospects for "truth and reconciliation" in Canada':

> Native people and societies are not 'sick', we're wounded. There is a huge difference between being sick and being wounded. Don't talk to me about 'reconciling' with somebody who's stuck a knife in my guts and is still twisting it. 'Heal?' Forgive and forget? Under those circumstances? Get real. The only way that's going to happen is if you remove your knife from my belly, accept responsibility for the effects of what you've done-or what you've allowed to be done in your name-and start making consequential, meaningful amends (Churchill 2008).

This paper moves towards a conclusion with that quote and invites the reader back to the eternal hope of the *Kahswentha*, the Two Row Wampum, as a model for restoring and preserving peace, friendship and respect, as well as, a path-way through the current Canadian colonial *aporia.* Canada, even with its tragic past, has every possible resource ever required to fulfill opportunities for the greatness we collectively inherited from our ancestors. The good, the bad, and the ugly that events like Kanehsatà:ke tragically re-call are shared conflicts requiring joint mourning. Indigenous Canadians have a fundamental human right to garner what-ever assistance is required to meet the challenges of recovery and survival. As a new Indigenous scholar, I hope to find allies to help build understanding around the valuable lessons yet to be discovered in Jacques Derrida's writings. The fellowship of rigorous academic research is for Indigenous scholars a glorious adaptation of the brotherhood our ancestors longed for and we must succeed in changing the face of Aboriginal Canada by finding a voice that honours our past, present and future. We are seeking self-discovery of who our ancestors hoped would endure to fight another day. It is a good day to be Indigenous and to lift our hearts from the ground. We are engaged in a struggle to restore the reverence of life which governed all Creation. Our ancestors sacrificed a great deal, and we must wipe our tears, open our eyes, listen deeply, clear our throats, and raise our strong voices to bear witness to our ancestors' prayers.

Kanehsatà:ke made us believe that peace, friendship and respect is lost. Let us all hope it can be re-located in Canada, land of the Kahswenhtha.

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SPECIAL SECTION
TWENTY YEARS AFTER KANEHSATÀ:KE: REFLECTIONS, RESPONSES, ANALYSES

BOOK REVIEW

Valaskakis, Gail Guthrie; Madeline Dion Stout and Eric Guimond, eds. 2009. *Restoring the Balance: First Nations Women, Community and Culture*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. ISBN 9780887557095. Paperback: 27.95 CAD. Pages: 379.

Reviewed by Celia Haig-Brown
York University

> The promise of the future lies in restoring the balance, continuing to dismantle barriers to full and equitable participation of women in community life, and creating the conditions where male and female gifts can come together to make powerful medicine and heal individuals, families, communities, and nations.
>
> Marlene Brant Castellano, 231.

This timely text, directed to policy-makers, educators and community members, presents a wide-ranging collection of papers all of which address the task of restoring gender balance in terms of both the representation of and the reality of First Nations[1] women's participation in various social contexts. Importantly it also documents some of the outstanding work women have been doing over the last several decades in this regard. Four sections provide a loose organization for the pieces: Historical Trauma; Intellectual and Social Movements; Health and Healing; and Arts, Culture and Language. The contributors, all First Nations women with connections to Canada, have one or more university degrees and include policy makers, practitioners, university and community-based scholars. In both the content and the authorship of the chapters, the publication of this text takes all of us a long way along the path of understanding what it means to restore balance.

[1] The authors grapple variously with terms for naming people who are descendants of the original occupants of these territories now called Canada. Each makes clear that, unless specifically delineated, terms used are meant to be inclusive rather than divisive. Usage differs according to region. For this review, I will use the term First Nations as all encompassing in keeping with the title of the text.

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In addition to the substantive issues explored through story, demographics, history, personal narrative, philosophy and art, the text presents readers with a sound introduction to a number of the major contributions made by First Nation women over recent decades. The authors, themselves pathmakers in First Nations scholarship, include Emma LaRoque, Marlene Brant Castellano and, of course, the late Gail Guthrie Valaskakis. Within the chapters, we are introduced to scholars such as educationalist Verna Kirkness, linguist Freda Ahenakew, and historian Olive Dickason; to leading literary figures from Pauline Johnson to Jeanette Armstrong; to twelve female chiefs; and to artists such as Susan Point, Jane Ash Poitras, Shirley Cheechoo and Daphne Odjig. I expect to be using this book as a reference work. That being said, the text's major contribution is the many ways it takes up issues of the disruption of, and restoration of, gender equilibrium in colonial and First Nation contexts.

One of the inescapable tensions in this book is that between Western feminism narrowly defined and the possibilities for gender analysis that lie with cultures whose traditions have focused on gender complementarity. As Vivienne Grey comments on the artists whose work and lives she discusses, they 'defy the common notions of Western feminism' (281). While never losing sight of the impact of colonization in disrupting efforts for balance, the authors very self-consciously bring in the importance of keeping men's welfare front and centre in any work specific to women. At the same time, they mince no words in addressing the need for more female representation in decision-making spaces from the treaty table to self-government. As one chief says, 'If the majority of male leaders would get rid of the fear that women leaders will outshine them…they can spend more energy time focusing on what is important, [as] opposed to how to hold back the women leaders' (113).

Another tension negotiated throughout the book is one between essentialized Western and Indigenous worldviews and a more complex relationship between the varied dimensions of each as they manifest, intersect and repel in people's lives and work. For example, in the first section, Wesley-Esquimaux draws on an earlier co-authored paper for the RCAP to move readers from a place of death and destruction wrought by colonization to the contemporary scene based in resilience, decolonization and survival. She concludes by pondering the possibility of reconciling her academic and First Nations 'voices.' Two other papers, one by Cleo Big Eagle and Eric Guimond and the other by Mary Jane Norris move squarely into the positivist social science of demography for a fascinating look at Census Canada data and what it reveals about First Nations women and

their contributions to culture, language maintenance and community. Acknowledging both the strength and the limitations of the facts and figures, the authors use them to consider the future impact of self-identification, the reproductive and sexual health of Aboriginal youth and 'the radical hope' of passing values embedded in languages to a new generation. Clearly there is no one way to approach redressing the imbalance.

If I were to choose a favourite chapter, it would have to be that of Gaye Hanson, a nurse consultant working in communities across Canada. She chooses to focus on a somewhat discredited concept 'cultural competence' in ways that breathe new life into it. Gently insisting on coming to her work as a 'spirit-led scholar' (240), she demonstrates the meaning of such a claim. She asks us to consider with her, 'How do we teach people not to be afraid?' and gives us a response, 'by helping them open up to compassion and mutual understanding' (242). While her work focuses on a palliative care project and other health initiatives, she demonstrates its applicability 'to many fields, including research and policy development' (261). Her genuine respect for the work of others, for the insights that personal experience and oral tradition offer become palpable as one reads. She does indeed walk her talk.

No text can be all things to all people. I have little patience with critics who tell us what a book doesn't do. But, if there is a shortcoming in this rich collection, it lies in the unproblematic rendering of gender into biological categories of female and male, women and men. I looked in vain for any reference to a more complicated rendering of gender to include two-spirited people and those of other less visible genders. I await that collection. In the meantime, I highly recommend this one to scholars in Sociology, Women's Studies, Native Studies and Canadian Studies. Community-based scholars and policy-makers in all levels of governance will also find these works a useful addition to their libraries and their subsequent deliberations.

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SPECIAL SECTION
TWENTY YEARS AFTER KANEHSATÀ:KE: REFLECTIONS, RESPONSES, ANALYSES

BOOK REVIEW

Smith, Paul Chaat. 2009. *Everything You Know About Indians Is Wrong*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. ISBN 9780816656011. Cloth: 21.95 US. Pages: 193.

Reviewed by Norma-Jo Baker
University College of the North

By pulling together 24 brief essays into a single publication with a singularly provocative title, culture/art/politics critic Paul Chaat Smith is inviting engagement: engagement with readers, with cultural workers, with academics and perhaps most vigorously, with our understanding of the history of the Americas. Any reader of this collection who is not engaged, is not thinking.

Smith's work over the past thirty years as an activist, citizen, cultural commentator and museum curator provide a timeline of some of the key moments of injustice and resistance in modern North American history. His 1996 work, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New Press), co-authored with Robert Allen Warrior, provides a study of the modern Indian resistance movement in the US. Smith's own involvement with the Wounded Knee legal defence and later with the international activism of the American Indian Movement traces out the making of contemporary Indian reality. In his current evaluation of the nineteen-month Alcatraz occupation of 1969-1972, Smith notes in 'Meaning of Life' that:

> It is our people at our looniest, bravest, most singular and wonderful best, and moving beyond words even to those of us who resist cheap sentiment and heroic constructions of complicated and flawed movements. Yet there it is, over and over again: Indians who objectively have little or nothing in common choosing to join people they often don't even know who are engaged in projects as bizarre as laying claim to a dead prison on an island that is mostly rock, or picking up a gun to take sides in the byzantine political struggles of the famously argumentative Sioux. (132).

In this series of essays, Smith takes aim at the role and status of myth in our understanding of history. He argues against the simplicity of presuming there were such distinctions as 'Indians' and 'Europeans' in

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1492. These oversimplifications do severe injustice to the past and the present; in fact, 'everything was so fabulously complex and so different from how we're taught to think about it' (74). The powerful constructions of history that present the Native peoples of the America as 'traditional,' i.e., resistant to the dynamic nature of modernity, and who were colonised by Europeans over the centuries because they could not get with the new game have no basis in reality: 'Contrary to what most people (Indian and non-Indian alike) now believe, our true history is one of constant change, technological innovation, and intense curiosity about the world…we only became Indians once the armed struggle was over in 1890. Before then we were Shoshone or Mohawk or Crow…as different from one another as Greeks are from Swedes' (4).

As a result of this homogenisation, the peoples of these First Nations had to learn to be Indians. It is this 'learning' that consolidates the power of art in Smith's discussions. From the movies of John Ford and John Wayne to Kevin Costner and Michael Mann; from the contemporary art of Shelley Niro and Faye HeavyShield, Smith constructs a display of the power of contemporary art that conveys the disservice done by the simplification of the past; this simplification continues on by masking the complexity of the present. We struggle to understand 'Indians,' and the continuing hold of racist structures, with the tools and images we have learned simply by being part of the culture. For example, one of the many elements that leave Smith so fundamentally pissed off about *Dances with Wolves* and movies of that ilk is the oversimplified constructions of then and now, us and them, good and evil. He notes, the struggle against the outcomes of centuries of vicious colonisation 'isn't about the good guys being bad, and the bad guys being good, but about finding new ways of seeing and thinking about the history that is all around us' (75). We can write all white characters bad, 'yet still not challenge the basis premise of a frontier, a wilderness, an inevitable clash of cultures that end in conquest' (50). Even those efforts to present 'Indian' or 'Native' views, while appreciated, fall flat: writing about a visit to Saskatchewan museums which had consulted with Elders and First Nations community leaders in planning the exhibitions, Smith asks 'Why are we in a museum at all? The English and the Ukrainians and the Germans aren't here.' (24).

Smith's questioning of contemporary expressions of Indian identity likewise challenge what he refers to as 'the distinctive type of racism that confronts Indians today: romanticism' (17). Anyone of us who old enough to remember the 1970s television advertisements playing on the perceived inherent environmentalism of First Nations peoples knows this cultural

riff. Smith sees the current 'walking in two worlds' Indigenous/non-Indigenous paradigm as yet one more myth, and he particularly uses the work of artist Erica Lord to illustrate this 'myth of an authentic culture' (36). He writes

> Walking in two worlds is the expression of that myth, and the appeal of that myth is obvious. Walking in two worlds is ideological Vicodin, and because we're the descendants of the greatest holocaust in human history, you can expect most of us to keep getting our prescription refilled for the foreseeable future (36).

Our rethinking of history and contemporary reality, then, requires work and pain. Our models of how we got to this point and where we go from here are founded upon myths: frontiers were conquered with 'better' technology; forms of social organisation 'found' by the colonisers were a unified model of 'traditional' societies; and anyone who has kicked an opiate addiction can testify to the hard work and pain involved in operating outside the comfortable known. Smith is not arguing that rethinking this history will leave us with the authentic past or present. Rather, moving beyond the debates about authenticity could allow us to get past 'the limited thinking in how we see ourselves' (168). For anyone interested in overcoming the injustices in contemporary society, that is an opportunity worth pursuing.

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REVIEW ESSAY

Conditions of Possibility
Jameson, Žižek and the Persistence of the Dialectic

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Fredric Jameson. 2009. *Valences of the Dialectic*. London and New York: Verso. ISBN 978-1-85984-877-7. Cloth: 62.50 CAD. Pages: 625.

Slavoj Žižek. 2009. *First as Tragedy, Then as Farce*. London and New York: Verso. ISBN 978-1-84467-428-2. Paperback: 16.00 CAD. Pages: 157.

Many contemporary cultural and social theorists, like Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, deny the importance of the dialectic for critical theory and socialist studies. The two provocative books reviewed here take the opposite position.

Valences is a collection of previously published articles, with the exception of the new first and last chapters, centring on the topic of the dialectic in cultural and political theory. In the introductory chapter, Jameson argues that dogmatism and empiricism, which he describes as 'ideologies of everyday life' are 'natural enemies' of dialectical thinking, since both emphasize timelessness and filter out contradiction. In contrast, dialectical thinking is interested in how ideas or concepts change and transform, so challenging all conceptions of stasis and certainty. Further, Jameson claims that the contradiction between dialectic and non-dialectical thought is itself dialectical and that, moreover, any attempt to resolve this contradiction bares the influence of non-dialectical thought. Jameson deals with this dilemma by 'deconstructing' each side of the alternative. It is through this breakdown of the problem that he comes to divide the dialectic into three 'forms': 'The Dialectic', 'a dialectic' and 'the dialectical'.

Jameson identifies 'The Dialectic' as a philosophical *system* in Marxism. Dialectical materialism is the philosophical form of Marxism, referred to in the West as orthodox or vulgar Marxism and often misleadingly associated with Stalinism. The various western Marxisms

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distinguished themselves from dialectical materialism (i.e., Stalinism) by a turn to 'historical materialism.' In both cases, however, Marxism is turned into a system.

In contrast to this view of Marxism and of 'The Dialectic' as a *system,* Jameson asserts the importance of *theory*. Theory 'is to be grasped as the perpetual and impossible attempt to dereify the language of thought and to preempt all the systems and ideologies which inevitably result from the establishment of this or that fixed terminology' (9). Like psychoanalysis, Marxism is a unity-of-theory-and-practice, which sets out how systemic closures may be transcended. The concepts developed in the unity-of-theory-and-practice are always specific to the situation and cannot, therefore, 'be completed by philosophy but only by practice' (11). This unity-of-theory-and-practice stays true to the dialectical movement which inscribes temporality into the situation: the way things appear 'now' may appear differently in the movement of practice, which 'resets the coordinates' of the possible. Dialectical thinking allows us to perceive a condition of possibility out of a condition of impossibility, and it is *praxis* which extracts the former from the latter. From a strictly dialectical perspective, we can assess historical inevitability only after the fact – hence, dialectics are the politics of the possible.

Jameson further argues that 'The Dialectic' indicates group affiliation, acting as an equivalent to the term 'Marxism': both function to group people together as 'Marxists', in the same way that avoiding such terms is a way of taking political distance from such affiliations. Using the term may suggest a cult-like religious identification with Marxism. Failing to do so may mean rejecting not 'just' the language but also the political possibilities it represents. Thus, Jameson proposes a third solution: to use a language 'whose inner logic is precisely the suspension of the name and the holding open of the place for possibility' (12). For Jameson, this is the language of Utopia. Dialectical utopian language avoids concepts like 'radical democracy' that have the potential to be appropriated in manipulative ways by the ruling ideology, a danger shared with any non-dialectical concept. At the same time, a dialectical approach to utopian language means considering terms other than Marxism and 'The Dialectic', while remaining conscious of the risk that going beyond such terms will simultaneously mean losing their originality and radical implications.

After this exploration of 'The Dialectic', Jameson considers dialectics as an indefinite article – 'a dialectic' – finding a plurality of 'local' dialectics. In contrast to 'The Dialectic,' local dialectics are better understood as abstract patterns without unity, thus avoiding the

philosophical or ideological presuppositions of dogmatic thinking that colour 'The Dialectic' as a philosophical system. In this section, Jameson makes a significant assertion regarding the traditional understanding of the dialectic as a movement from thesis to anti-thesis to synthesis. He argues that *any* position can be the starting point of a dialectic which then moves by way of an encounter with its negative. However, the final moment is not some unity between the two prior moments – the immature reference to synthesis: it is rather an obliteration of the opposition itself – the moment of *Aufhebung*, or 'sublation,' in Hegel. Class struggle, for example, can only be eliminated by the sublation of 'class' into some new concept. Another example Jameson invokes comes from Lukács, for whom 'realism' is the missing term in the opposition between symbolism and naturalism in literature. In both cases, the 'bad opposites' are identified by way of a shared flaw which is not a 'synthesis' in the popular conception of dialectics, but the invention of a new term that dissolves the negative opposition. The negative terms share nothing until we add the third term. This element of 'mediation' demonstrates the way in which dialectics transforms negativity into positivity or a condition of impossibility into a one of possibility.

In the last version of dialectic – 'dialectical' – Jameson considers the 'dialectical' as a method, via comparison between Adorno and Žižek. In his view, these two are the most brilliant dialecticians in the history of philosophy. Adorno's 'negative dialectics' is not a separate species of dialectics but part of a paradox whose ultimate consequence is that it is no longer be possible to say or do anything at all; in this, 'negative dialectics' and 'deconstruction' resemble each other. Adorno is correctly suspicious of all non-dialectical positive statements, including Englightenment ideals, fearing that any such statements ultimately become fixed, atemporal masking ideologies. For example, 'modernist' art, which sought to free itself from the strictures of the classical artistic tradition, became an equally rigid set of rules that had to be followed. Yet, if Jameson urges us to share Adorno's suspicion of 'positivities', he nonetheless suggests that we must go beyond it -- following Adorno's purely negative dialectic only reinforces the politically defeatist 'cynical reason' of the present moment.

Against the political paralysis a purely negative dialectic implies, Jameson prefers Žižek's dialectic, with its possibilities of the Absolute. Žižek rejects the crude Hegelian tripartite: thesis – anti-thesis – synthesis, but retains a tripartite movement. This is the movement from: 1) stupid first impression; to, 2) ingenious correction in the name of some underlying reality or 'essence'; to, 3) a return to the reality of the

appearance in the first impression. It was the appearance which was true after all, echoing the Hegelian thesis that the 'supersensible is appearance *qua* appearance': what we first assume is an appearance masking some essence (the reality *behind* the illusion), turns out to conceal the essence of appearance itself (the reality *in* illusion). There is no essence behind appearance; it is the appearance itself which makes it seem as though something is being hidden. We come to discover that the truth is in the appearance after all, and not in some non-existent 'essence.' At the end of the process we come back to the same place, but with a new perspective. This is precisely the method that Jameson follows in his thinking on the dialectic. In the end we come back to the stupid first impression of 'The Dialectic' and the tension between system and method. But for Jameson, it is as a unity-of-theory-and-practice that this return to the stupid first impression of the dialectic allows us to continue working within its parameters.

Žižek's new book, *First as Tragedy, Then as Farce* repeats Marx's famous opening remarks in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*: 'Hegel remarks somewhere that all great world-historic facts and personages appear, so to speak, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce.' Žižek uses these lines to comment on the bookends of the first decade of the twenty-first century. The decade, Žižek notes, began with the tragedy of the September 11th, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York City, and ended with the farce of the economic credit crisis. Both, he claims, assert an end to the Fukuyamaist 'happy 90s,' the supposed 'end of history' and the beginning of the new era of capitalist globalization. The first implied an end to the supposed reign of liberal democracy in politics, and the second signalled an end to the flourishing neoliberal economy.

The book begins with typical Žižekian observations on everything from the financial crisis, to contemporary fundamentalist-radicalism, and the politics in the Middle East. Žižek continues a line of argument from his previous book, *In Defense of Lost Causes* (Verso, 2008), wherein he argues not for some kind of objective analysis, but rather, for an engaged, partial, subjective analysis of Truth. In this latest book, he claims that to understand crises it is important to assume an engaged subjective position. In fact, it is in the antagonism between subject positions that we find the kernel of the class struggle, today. For example, regarding the financial crisis, so long as we remain within the capitalist order, there is a degree of truth in the claim that the middle and lower classes will prosper so long as Wall Street remains intact: 'kicking at Wall Street really *will* hit ordinary

workers' (15). A proletarian class position is required to see through this ideological mystification.

The farce of the crises, for Žižek, is not so much that they occurred. The farce has much more to do with the inability of the Left to propose any alternative during the ruling order's time of weakness. Žižek suggests that we reverse Marx's thesis eleven on Feurbach, which in the original formulation reads: 'the philosophers have only thought about the world, the point is to change it'. On the contrary, Žižek argues that the Left's task today is to start thinking about how to effectively change the world rather than continuing to ineffectively act out with a kind of pseudo-activity which, for Žižek, amounts to doing everything so that nothing will really change.

A major contribution of the book is Žižek's return to the idea of communism. Žižek suggests that we ask, not whether or not the communist idea is still pertinent today, or whether or not there is still anything useful in it. Rather, we should ask how our contemporary problems appear from the perspective of the communist idea. With this, Žižek seems to oscillate between 'communism' as a regulative idea – something for which he criticizes Badiou (about which more below) – and as a practical solution to contemporary antagonisms. It might be worth noting that the term 'communism,' for Žižek, seems to have the same function as that of the party for Lenin, or realism for Lukács: it is a positive term which mediates the opposing negativities in the contradiction.

Badiou argues that the 'communist hypothesis' is an eternal ideal, an Idea to be re-invented in each new era (Badiou, 2009). Žižek rejects this approach, warning against the idea of the 'communist hypothesis' as a Kantian 'regulative ideal.' Instead, Žižek emphasizes the importance of understanding the 'communist hypothesis' in real, material terms. 'Communism,' he claims, is not an Ideal, but a movement – a claim that seems to contradict the presuppositions in the opening pages. To this end, he notes four particular antagonisms within the existing capitalist order which are strong enough to prevent the indefinite reproduction of capital: the threat of ecological crisis; the inappropriateness of the notion of private property in the domain of 'intellectual property'; the social and ethical implications in technological and scientific developments, particularly in biogenetics; and, newly emerging forms of apartheid and the erection of walls and slums that divide populations between the 'included' and 'excluded.'

Yet, Žižek notes that there is a qualitative difference between the first three antagonisms and the final antagonism between the included and

excluded. The first three are all examples of dynamics around what Hardt and Negri refer to as the 'commons,' and it is these which, according to Žižek justifies interest in 'communism'. Yet, the enclosures of intellectual property, nature, technology and science, are structured along the lines of inclusion and exclusion, which continues various processes of proletarianization, so that the first three antagonisms explain the fourth, overdetermining factor. But is this notion of the proletarianized excluded the same as the revolutionary subject for Žižek?

For Žižek, this movement still needs organization among the three fractions of the 'working class' to become a truly revolutionary subject. Part of the problem stems from the increasing global division of labour – or, more precisely, among labourers. The labour process is increasingly split and separated (sometimes by entire continents) between intellectual, planning, and managing labour; the labour of material production; and, the provision of material resources (often by way of enclosures, thus creating walls and slums for the excluded). Each of these spheres of production relates to three different fractions of the working class: intellectual labourers, manual labourers (the 'old' working class), and the 'outcasts' (the unemployed, slum dwellers, as well as those living in the 'interstices of public space,' as Žižek puts it).

Each working class fraction has their own ways of life and ideology: the intellectual 'class' participates in an enlightened hedonism and liberal multiculturalism; the traditional working class engages in populist-fundamentalism; and, then there are the extreme lifestyles of the outcasts. The fact that these fractions (not 'classes' in the sociological sense) of the 'working class' never come into contact with each other speaks to the increasing separation between people in 'public space.' Postmodern society is marked by this increasing separation of people from each other in spaces of everyday life, so that the division between these three fractions, separated by negativities and difference, appears to result from different forms of spatial partitioning.

'Identity politics' has come to fill in the gap left by the disintegration of social life and public space. However, identity politics assumes a different meaning in each fraction: multiculturalism for the intellectual 'class'; populist fundamentalism for the 'working class'; and, 'semi-illegal groupings,' such as gangs and religious sects, for the outcasts. Moreover, each fraction 'play(s) off of each other': the intellectual class harbours cultural prejudices against the so-called 'redneck,' often racist and sexist, working class; the working class harbours a populist 'hatred' towards the intellectuals and outcasts; and, the outcasts are 'antagonistic

to society as such.' In these conditions, the need for the proletarians of the world to unite is more pertinent than ever. So much so that, as Žižek contends, their unity is already their victory.

In his analyses of the commons and the contemporary, post-industrial, division of labour, Žižek practices the form of dialectical thinking Jameson proposes, starting from 'the stupid first impression' of the division between the 'classes' and then returning to their unity as the solution to the conflict. The other three antagonisms cannot be solved apart from this working class unity and will only 'wither away' with the resolution of the conflict between the included and the excluded.

As readers, however, we must ask ourselves: is 'communism' still *the* term which proposes the solution? Has the meaning of 'communism' been so transformed by the events of the twentieth century that it can no longer function as the name for the solution to the class struggle? Or, does it still open up a certain space for the transformation of existing conditions of domination and exploitation? Is the language of 'Utopia,' as Jameson suggests, a better alternative? This is *the* question that must occupy the efforts of the Left today: the re-invention of The Dialectic is central to the re-invention of politics.

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BOOK REVIEW

Krotz, Larry. 2008. *The Uncertain Business of Doing Good: Outsiders in Africa.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. ISBN 9780887557071. Paperback 24.95 CAD. Pages: 232.

Reviewed by Richard J.F. Day
Queen's University

This is an easy and enjoyable book stylistically, probably because it was written by a journalist rather than an academic. There's an abundance of humour, metaphor, and of course irony, that indispensable survival tool of the professional expatriate. The content, however, as is apparent from the title, is not at all light, at least in tone and with regard to the fundamental issue being discussed – is it possible for non-Africans to somehow 'save' the continent from itself and its Others? And, perhaps more importantly, is it desirable to even try to do so?

This is where the book got tougher to read, by which I mean, to comprehend as putting forth a particular position with regard to a particular question. Mixed, apparently uncontrolled, messages abound. The reader is provided, right at the outset, with a liberal dose of 'White Man Meets Third World' clichés – the 'chaos,' 'the horrible, heavy, wafting odours of charcoal smoke and rapidly decaying food,' leading to 'revulsion' on the part of the intrepid narrator (24). 'This grand scene had its logic,' writes Krotz, 'but I couldn't find it' (24).

I had a similar struggle with this book. Was this invocation of 'the horror' ironic? Was I in the presence of a nihilistic reporter pushing the pedal to the metal on the 'Africa as victim' train, so that he could show how these emotions were part of his own process of self-overcoming, his realization that this was in fact Step 1 in the process of desiring to do good? I kept turning the pages, waiting for the big reveal, but that moment never came. Or, I should say, that moment came, but then left again, and again and again. I suppose that could be good poetry, but it struck me as a serious flaw in any kind of consistent analysis the book might have to offer. What *does* the author think about the uncertain business of doing good in Africa? He understands that it's people like him who have created and sustained the continent as it is known by the North. He appreciates the complex legacy of colonialism, as well as the ongoing inroads of neoliberalism. But I was left thinking: yes, and so? What do you have to say about all of this? Not that we shouldn't be reminding ourselves, constantly,

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of our complicity in 'the horror,' but perhaps we should also be thinking about how we might disconnect from it, stop perpetuating it.

Here, it seemed to me, the text was silent, and this felt like a bit of a broken promise. What had gone wrong? My best guess is that it was a result of the fact that Krotz never stayed in one place for long, was always passing through as a visitor, a viewer, an externality. I know very well that it's impossible to become other than what one is. However, I also think I know that one can sometimes *try* to break through the veil, that one can succeed more or less in this task, that one can struggle and live and even *write* about it all. I suppose this is the fatal lack, in this text, for me – the author doesn't even try to be anything other than a reporter, he doesn't ever take the risk of being called a do-gooder, or a colonizer, or even perhaps, a friend. He doesn't enter into the fray, so that even though this is supposed to be a 'personal reflection', it suffers from an ongoing, seemingly unconscious distancing that, while it keeps the writer safe, deprives the reader of what s/he is led to expect by the title and introduction to the book.

This is one aspect of what I earlier identified as an apparently uncontrolled multiplicity. Another problem I had was trying to figure out exactly what the book was about. After the introduction, the author relates, in that easy yet conflicted way I've already lamented, his experiences in Angola and Kenya, with no real through line that I could apprehend. But when he moves on to discuss Rwanda, it seems that 'the topic' has finally appeared – a revaluation of the carnage there, through a window looking into the UN war crimes trials held in Arusha, Tanzania. A similar re-reading has been advocated by some academic scholars. So here we have a nice set of connections – between the writer's personal experiences, his professional work as a journalist, what's going on among academics, and the general theme on the doing of good in Africa. These connections are almost made…but not quite, or at least not in a way that left me feeling good about the time I devoted to reading this book.

I was, of course, doing so as a scholar and a theorist, and my guess is that I'm not among its intended audience, even though it was published by a university press. I wasn't really surprised by anything Krotz felt or thought or saw, even though I'm not an Africanist per se. Perhaps a general reader who is unfamiliar with colonialism, development, and neoliberalism, someone who has never seen – or smelled - flayed, fly-ridden goats strung up on a hook, would benefit from reading this book. Sadly, however, as much as I have a soft spot for good-hearted journalists who have been deeply wounded by their calling, there wasn't much here

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for me. Nor, I would wager, would there be much for most readers of *Socialist Studies*.

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BOOK REVIEW

Palmer, Bryan D. 2009. *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. ISBN 9780802096593. Paperback 35.00 CAD. Pages 605.

Reviewed by Patrice LeClerc
St. Lawrence University

Bryan Palmer has taken on the 1960s with a variety of aims, particularly to explore the impact the explosive events of that era had on the Canadian national identity. He maintains that the outcome was a shedding of the old identity, but there was lack of clarity about the new one. In what he terms a work of 'interpretive history,' Palmer examines an intriguing variety of people and events in order to discuss their influence on this changing identity. Some of the choices are obvious: Pierre Trudeau, the Cold War, and New Left radicals; while others are more surprising, such as Gerda Munsinger and the chapter on 'Scandalous Sex' or George Chuvalo's epic 1966 boxing match with Muhammad Ali as a marker of sport reflecting ideas about race, identity and Canada's relationship to the United States.

Palmer also wants to use the concept of irony, not in its postmodernist invocation, but a more Marxist approach that looks at the destabilizations arising out of the logic of capitalist accumulation and relations of class and oppression, as well as the historical contingencies in its interpretation and ideology. To begin this, he reviews the social construction of history and of the pre-1960s unitary ('One Canada') identity based on the north, the frontier, survival and links to Europe, especially the British Empire. He then, in a section called 'Mid-Century Myopias,' notes how this construction served many specific purposes, and was 'always at odds with a mix of defiant realities' (17). For the rest of the book, he examines these realities.

There are three major sections within the book: the antecedents, including money and the Cold War, the politics and culture of the mid-1960s, focusing on destabilizing changes in sexualities, race/identity, and the Philosopher Kings McLuhan and Trudeau. The second section discusses the tumult exhibited by youth hooliganism and class struggles. Finally, he examines radicalism, revolution, and Red Power (the New Left, Quebec nationalism, and 'the Discovery of the Indian').

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The examples chosen are interesting, as noted above; many are the ones most remembered (whether actually experienced or not), others are unexpected. In the first section he highlights money in the context of the transition from dependence on the British influence to dependence on investment from the United States, the devaluation of the Canadian dollar, and the arrival of 'Diefenbucks.' Palmer also sees the Cold war as a time of Canadian struggle for independence from the United States and the conscious creation of Canada as a distinctive 'middle power.' In this light, Palmer directs our attention to the Avro Arrow jet, anti-Communism and its implications for the labour movement, sovereignty in the north, and the building of bomb shelters (Dief reappears with the Deifenbunker). The Munsinger sex scandal reveals exaggerated Cold War fears and the rethinking of women's sexuality.

Again, the need to differentiate Canada from the US is a major part of the discussion of the Chuvalo/Ali boxing fight: when the US was contesting Ali's political opinions as a threatening Black man, Canada welcomed him. At the same time, Chuvalo was considered a hero for standing up and taking it, despite his loss of the heavyweight fight itself. In doing so, Chuvalo also challenged traditional Canadian notions of 'whiteness.'

The mass marketing of celebrity and use of the media are central to the analysis of McLuhan and Trudeau—the latter of whom was 'born to run (in style)' (156). Audacity was central to both, especially as Canadians compared their Trudeau to Nixon of the United States. The combination of Trudeau and Expo '67 produced the 'pyrotechnics of a Canadian identity struggling to be born' (169).

The section on 'Tumult' deals with youth rebelliousness; from the creation of the teenager and the demographics of consumption, through to juvenile delinquency, Victoria Day riots (especially in Montreal) and wildcatting young workers. Particularly with the arrival of the hippies, old identities were discarded without the creation of new ones. Increased commerce brought more working class youth into paid jobs, especially young men, which along with more young people in higher education brought unrest to many venues, whether workplaces, campuses or the streets.

The final section highlights what Palmer considers as revolutions. By far the longest chapter in the book (86 pages) considers the New Left, including the student movements (especially the Student Union for Peace Action), the Waffle, and women. Decolonization, anti-racism, anti-war activities and participatory democracy are addressed alongside the

government cooptation of youth movements into the Company of Young Canadians. The next (and next-longest) chapter considers the explosion in Quebec, from the Quiet Revolution to the FLQ. Class development and upsurge, tension in the universities, the role of the intelligentsia and of organized labour are placed alongside the many social crises in the province. The subsequent chapter on the rise of Red Power somewhat parallels the Quebec discussion with issues of colonialism, new leadership, the rising power of youth, the reinvention and redefinition of the political, and a refusal to be incorporated into the 'Canadian'.

Summing up, and returning directly to national identity, Palmer moves directly from the 'imagined Canada' of Expo to the implosion of Canadian identity as exemplified by the War Measures Act. In doing so, he reasserts that the old identity was discarded without the surety of a new one. Perhaps it is/was not possible, at least in the traditional sense of identity and nation.

Overall, the book is a prestigious example of scholarship, wonderfully documented by 143 pages of notes, and the author's turn of phrase is practically perfect. Despite the 430 pages of text, I could not put it down, finishing it in two days. Any broadly sweeping work like this will always be subject to critique regarding topics that should have been addressed more fully. I would have preferred more coverage of women's issues, particularly women in Quebec, and the conditions of GLBTQ people. However, this book is most highly recommended for students, faculty, and the general interest reader.

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BOOK REVIEW

Laxer, James. 2009. *Beyond the Bubble: Imagining A New Canadian Economy*. Toronto: Between the Lines. ISBN 9781897071557. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages: 264.

Reviewed by Ingo Schmidt
Athabasca University

Here is yet another book on the 2008-09 financial crisis and its fallout. One might wonder why anyone should pick up Laxer's book after Paul Krugman reissued his 1999 *Return of Depression Economics* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), expanded with an update on the recent crisis. Certainly, Laxer is a prolific writer on Canadian political economy, but Krugman is a Noble Prize-winning economist, *New York Times* columnist, and the most referenced author in Laxer's book. Still, the remainder of this review will present reasons to get a copy of *Beyond the Bubble*.

First of all, let's have a look at the topics and ideas that distinguish Laxer's book in a positive way compared to so many others on the financial crisis. One is that it looks beyond financial markets to argue that the financial crisis is a symptom of troubles caused elsewhere in the production and distribution of wealth. With this wider scope on the so-called real economy and financial markets, Laxer arrives at solutions to the crisis beyond financial regulations of some sort or another. A related distinguishing feature of the book is that its historical outlook is not restricted to a comparison of the Great Depression of the 1930s with the Great Recession (to use Krugman's term) of today. Laxer thinks in much longer historical terms. In chapter 3, he takes readers all the way back to 17th century Netherlands and their tulip bubble and the early 18th century's 'South Sea Bubble' in Britain.

More systematically, though, he tells two stories: the first one traces the current crisis back to the rise of neoliberal capitalism and its alleged twin, the decline of the American empire. In fact, Laxer begins his book with the stark thesis that 'the age that ended in the autumn of 2008 was the American-centred age of globalization' (2). After surveying the redistribution of income that a US-led world capitalism engineered over the last thirty years from poor to rich people within individual countries and from poor to rich countries more generally, he concludes that 'we will live in a multipolar world with a global economy dominated by a number of leading powers' (124).

This multipolar world sets the stage for Laxer's second story. That story will be familiar to readers of some of his previous books. Under the influence

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of the British and then the American empires, this story reiterates that Canada became an exporter of precious staples (such as wheat, nickel and oil), but was never fully industrialized. Under the primacy of staples exports, Canada became home to branch-plant industries whose development was decided elsewhere, mostly in the US. To prove his point, Laxer briefly surveys the history of auto, railway and aircraft industries in Canada. With the American empire fading, he concludes that Canada can develop its economy more independently in the future than at any time in the past. It remains unclear, though, where this development should go. On the one hand, the book reads as if (after all those years under foreign dominance), national auto, railway, and aircraft industries should be established. On the other hand, Laxer points to the ecological limits of current models of industrial production. Laxer doesn't show convincingly how the Canadian industries he is advocating for would be more earth-friendly than the same kind of industries headquartered in other countries.

Like many progressives in North America, Laxer seeks inspiration from Sweden whose 'creative technological achievement' (143) he presents as some kind of role model for Canada's future. Even if one disregards the current, potentially lethal, crisis of Swedish automakers Saab and Volvo, such a plea is not convincing. Earlier in the book, Laxer correctly mentions that Swedish corporations, in an attempt to bypass organized labour, 'have shifted an ever growing proportion of their investments outside Sweden to avail themselves of cheaper labour' (61).

Unclear as the goals Laxer advocates, is his suggested strategy. On the one hand, he criticizes the Liberals for missing the chance to form a coalition government with the Bloc Québécois and the NDP in the spring of 2009. On the other hand, he aptly presents Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff as an advocate of American empire and the NDP, equally aptly, as a party without economic vision beyond balanced budgets. In terms of agency, Laxer suggests some kind of, to use old-school language, popular front, praising 'Canadians (as) a well-educated, productive people' (216). However, he also advances workers as the key agent by insisting, 'it is labour in all its forms that creates capital' (208).

Luckily, the last chapter of *Beyond the Bubble* transcends the national independence vs. united-front-of-labour framework of left strategizing. Linking Canada back to the rest of the world, he warns that if progressive strategy fails to rally 'the world on the road towards equality' (233), the crisis of neoliberal capitalism may lead to the re-emergence of fascism. In order to avoid this, Laxer calls for a 'democratic political coalition of both rich and poor countries' (235). This still leaves the question unanswered as to whether Laxer sees a Bloc-Liberal-NDP-coalition as a desirable Canadian contribution to a progressive global polity. Stressing the latter, though, is certainly more

imaginative than hoping for the return of regulated national economies that many critics of neoliberal capitalism suggest these days. Laxer isn't more precise in this field than anyone else; shifting debates from the states vs. markets dichotomy that the current crisis just reinforced is a bold step, though. Moving from the imagination that the subtitle of *Beyond the Bubble* stresses toward a plan for global action has to be a collective effort and can't be expected from one single book anyway.

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BOOK REVIEW

Rockel, Stephen J. and Rick Halpern, eds. 2009. *Inventing Collateral Damage: Civilian Casualties, War, and Empire*. Toronto: Between the Lines. ISBN 9781897071120. Paperback: 39.95 CAN. Pages: 372.

Reviewed by Sima Aprahamian
Concordia University

Inventing Collateral Damage: Civilian Casualties, War, and Empire, is an edited volume that grew out of a Spring 2004 conference entitled 'Collateral Damage: Civilian Casualties from Antiquity through the Gulf Wars,' held at the Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto. The editors, Stephen J. Rockel and Rick Halpern had already been engaged in the study of post-colonial conflict, and the issues of race, labour, slavery, and empire in Africa and North America. Yet, the idea of the conference and the resulting volume emerged more immediately from events such as the 11 September 2001 attacks and various assaults on civilians in Afghanistan. The volume is as much about the present as it is about history, and calls for the historization of the term collateral damage as it traces its use. The approach followed throughout the volume is that one needs to adhere to a critical stance towards violence and the language used to justify its use in 'just' and 'unjust' wars and outside of the context of war.

In the book's introduction, Rockel engages in a comparative historical study of 'collateral damage,' a euphemism for civilian casualty that became part of everyday language in the nuclear age and particularly since the Vietnam War. Rockel's extensive and detailed introduction makes the reader aware of this euphemism's use to legitimize the illegitimate. He also provides a historical survey of civilian casualties (prior to the use of the term) during Antiquity, the Enlightenment phase of European history, in colonial and post-colonial conflicts, through the world wars of the 20th century and to the present day. Rockel also examines philosophical changes concerning war. Ultimately, he emphasizes the 'importance of working internationally to reduce civilian suffering' (76) in the light of contemporary events such as US air strikes in Afghanistan wiping out a wedding party in July 2008. Rockel's introduction stands as a highlight of the book.

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The book is divided into five parts. The first part focuses on France and the USA. Brian Sandberg examines the atrocities and civilian casualties during the French wars of religion. Through a study of official correspondence, literary and art work, Sandberg notes the use of the rhetoric of rebellion to justify coercion and violence against civilians and that these wars were waged without consideration of the laws of war. The second article in this first part is on the American South in 1863-65. Scott Reynolds Nelson reinterprets the American Civil War as the 'inauguration of a series of wars of incarceration' (123). The strategy used by the Northern forces was repeated in the Plains Wars of the 1870s, the Anglo-Boer war, and in the colonial/imperial wars in the Philippines, Vietnam and beyond.

The second part of the book brings together articles dealing with planned attacks against noncombatants during the partition of Africa in the context of colonial domination with a study of the conquest of the Zulu kingdom (Jeff Guy), the South African war (Chris Madsen), and German East Africa 1885-1903 (Michael Pesek). The third section is devoted to empires and imperialism, and calls for an examination of collateral damage beyond the boundaries of military engagement. The section begins with Robert Gregg's examination of various historical theorizations within anthropology and economics; including Henry George's call for a progressive colonialism; Basil Thomson's presentation of the British empire as a 'modernization' regime, and Sir Roger Casement's emphasis on the victims of colonial oppression. Gregg considers the execution of the latter as speaking to the issue of collateral damage (185). This part also focuses on Japan's 1937 invasion of China (Timothy Brook), and presents an examination of how wars were covered in late 19th century Metropolitan illustrated magazines (Tom Gretton). Smita Tewari Jassal, studying narratives of lower caste (Mallah caste) heroes and resistance during colonial-era India, argues for a broadening of 'collateral damage' beyond civilian casualties to include 'collective punishment meted out to an entire social group,' making us think of our own contemporary racial profiling in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks that has been affecting entire populations that even remotely resemble the stereotyped Middle Easterner. Marlene Epp's article, which is the only article in the next section on sexual violence and war, highlights the rape of German Mennonite refugee women by Soviet forces during the Second World War. This is the thinnest and thus weakest section in the volume and does not incorporate recent studies on the subject.

The last section of the book focuses on civilian casualties from the Second World War onward. Sven Lindqvist's translated article starts with a reference to the British rhetoric of justification in the destruction of German cities. Lindqvist critically examines Mark Connelly's *Reaching for the Stars: A New History of Bomber Command in World War II* (I.B. Tauris, 2002) and Robin Neillands' *The Bomber War: Arthur Harris and the Allied Bomber Offensive 1939-1945* (John Murray Publishers, 2001) and finds these works to be based on revisionist history. Marc W. Herold examines the 1991 Gulf War, the NATO air attacks on Yugoslavia, and the early strikes in the Afghan war as the basis to construct an index of civilian casualties. He points out that '[t]he greater the share of precision weapons employed, the higher the rate of civilian casualties' (303).

The volume concludes with Natalie Zemon Davis's review of the volume and ends with a hope that 'the stories we tell will help to change norms for behaviour in many settings' (338).

Marilyn B. Young, as quoted on the cover of book, aptly recognizes the value of the volume and stresses that rarely has 'the violence of empire and civil war been so succinctly and powerfully summarized.' However, in spite its impressive depth, the volume lacks examples from the early phase of history. Civilians have always been victims of war. They were subject to raids in the absence of formal governments. Women and children were under siege as a hostage population starting with the early State societies. The volume's weakness is that it was based on a conference and hence includes a limited number of case studies. In particular, as noted above, the section on violence against women unfortunately contains only one chapter.

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BOOK REVIEW

Chan, Adrienne and Donald Fisher, eds. 2008. *The Exchange University: Corporatization of Academic Culture.* Vancouver: UBC Press. ISBN 9780774815703. Paperback: 34.95 CAD. Pages: 224.

Reviewed by Jamie Brownlee
Carleton University

In 2003, the Centre for Policy Studies in Higher Education and Training organized a symposium on the restructuring of higher education in Canada. In *The Exchange University*, Adrienne Chan and Donald Fisher bring the symposium presentations together in an edited collection of nine papers. The volume showcases the work of some of Canada's most prolific scholars in the field and uses a series of informative case studies to provide a rich combination of historical context, theoretical background, and empirical evidence within which to locate the current transformation of universities in Canada. These analyses are situated within the structural trends that have impacted Canadian universities in recent years. These include 'globalization, commodification of knowledge and the knowledge economy, science policy, and federal funding and linkages across the boundaries separating the academy, industry, and the state' (2). The book focuses primarily on the changing nature of academic culture inside Canadian universities and the implications for university research.

Drawing on their highly influential studies of academic capitalism, Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades open by outlining the extent to which market forces have become ingrained in universities. They describe an ascendant 'academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime' (19), exemplified by shifting boundaries between public and private space, institutional and professorial efforts to secure outside dollars for market-oriented research, the marketing of educational services, and new organizational structures connecting universities with the corporate world. In contrast to much of the literature in the field, Slaughter and Rhoades point to the active, sometimes leading role that university administrators and faculty play in transforming higher education, an observation taken up in many of the subsequent chapters. The collection also includes discussions of the influence of big business on higher education and the role of governments in encouraging market-based reforms. For instance, in his historical analysis of postsecondary education in Ontario, Paul Axelrod

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argues that linkages between higher education and provincial and national policy agendas are not new, but the increasing emphasis on the *economic* function of universities has led governments to assert control in more direct ways.

Several chapters in the volume document the movement toward an outcome-oriented, performance-based research culture. In a case study of the University of Ottawa, Adrienne Chan and Donald Fisher describe how the University's decision to become a research intensive institution meant faculty were under heightened pressure to secure outside funding and contribute to (commercialized) knowledge production. These new performance requirements – particularly internalized by young scholars – had detrimental effects, such as reduced collegiality and solidarity, and the commodification of time and space. Turning from a focus on faculty to the next generation of researchers, Brigitte Gemme and Yves Gingras explore how graduate programs in Quebec have been influenced by an initiative to facilitate collaboration between university and non-university researchers. These authors acknowledge the tensions experienced by students in negotiating the expectations of academic and non-academic settings, at the same time as noting the potential advantages of this kind of research collaboration.

Another theme in the collection is gender equity. Focusing on the discipline of teacher education, Jo-Anne Dillabough and Sandra Acker illustrate 'the processes through which women are repositioned and reconfigured as gendered workers in a globalizing/marketizing academy' (148). They argue that the regulatory logic of fiscal restraint and emphasis on research productivity has unduly affected women, and that these challenges may be especially acute in disciplines with a history of institutionalizing female labour. How fiscal restraints impact women in the academy is also explored in Linda Muzzin's chapter on contingent faculty. She demonstrates that the increasing use of contract and part-time workers in Canadian universities has undermined efforts to address issues of gender and racial equity, as contract employees are disproportionally women and persons from ethnoracial minority groups.

Muzzin's analysis of contingent labour also considers the differential impact of university restructuring across disciplines. Contrasting sociology and anthropology departments with those of law, she shows how law has been relatively insulated from the effects of flexible employment (through its reliance on 'classic' part-time teachers, or community practice-based specialists) whereas the effects have been severe for the social sciences and humanities. Similarly, Theresa Shanahan

looks at legal scholarship at the University of British Columbia and how law's professional status and its connections to a wealthy profession have protected it from commercializing pressures. Analyses of the unique considerations in the legal arena in both chapters provide a worthy contribution to the Canadian higher education literature in their own right, as this issue has received little attention.

The collection also includes important discussions around strategies of resistance and alternatives to the market model, most notably in Janice Newson and Claire Polster's work on academic autonomy and the final chapter by Jennifer Sumner on the academic commons. Newson and Polster posit that individual and collective responses have been grounded in a limited conception of professional autonomy, thereby exacerbating the impact of infringements on academic freedom. For this reason, the authors call for a more robust conception of academic freedom that is firmly rooted in concern for the public interest. Likewise, Sumner outlines how public-private partnerships and the commodification of knowledge have eroded the academic commons, particularly the public university's ability to engage in knowledge production that is freely shared and conducted for public benefit. She sees faculty as playing a key role in the revitalization of the academic commons.

While the book makes a solid contribution to understanding the relationship between universities, capital and the state, it neglects to engage with or theorize 'the exchange university.' In the introduction, the editors make reference to the litany of concepts used to explain the restructuring process, such as commercialization, marketization and the 'enterprise' university. However, aside from this mention and a brief note that knowledge and education are increasingly prized for their 'exchange value' rather than their 'use value,' there is little discussion of its meaning or implications. This omission was somewhat disappointing given the title of the book and the fact that the same framework has been successfully applied in other areas, such as women's work outside the formal economy and the modern environmental movement. In this way, then, the collection missed an opportunity to connect discussions about exchange value in university research, teaching and governance to broader concerns around our increasingly commodified culture. Nevertheless, this unique and comprehensive collection will surely be of interest to faculty, researchers and students who share growing concerns about the restructuring of higher education.

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BOOK REVIEW

Das Gupta, Tania. 2009. *'Real' Nurses and 'Others': Racism in Nursing*. Halifax: Fernwood. ISBN 9781552662984. Paperback: 15.95 CAD. Pages: 127.

Reviewed by Sheila Wilmot
OISE/University of Toronto

Racism is intensifying for nurses of colour in the decreasingly universal Canadian health care system, subjected as it has been to creeping privatization and corporatization since the late 1970s. Even with official recognition by the Ontario Human Rights Commission that systemic racism comes in complex and subtle forms, along with a few grievances being won, and anti-racist policies and practices being put in place in some institutions; a majority of nurses of colour continue to labour in toxic, debilitating work conditions for multi-layered reasons.

Das Gupta's book is an important study of how multiple forms of racism play out, in an often mutually exacerbating way, in the working lives of nurses in Ontario. She summarizes these as 'everyday racism based in individual behaviour, systemic racism, common-sensical beliefs and racist/colonialist discourses' (114). These forms of racism and whiteness are often complexly deployed through heteronormative gender, class and ability relations in the deeply hierarchical world of health care professions and their accompanying institutions. The inhumanity of racism in nursing comes in often-disguised forms. Insidious processes of micromanagement are implicitly institutionally sanctioned and carried out by largely white managers and co-workers as a profoundly harassing form of systemic racism. The material effects on people of colour are equally profound, including a range of mental health problems, chronic disease, as well as lost jobs and other opportunities.

The study's purpose was to both expose the 'common experiences, patterns, features and surface manifestations of systemic racism in Ontario' and 'to develop a theoretical framework for understanding systemic racism' (11). What racism looks like, how it is experienced and how it evolves over time, varying with class situation and how other social relations, is often institutionally specific. Yet, Das Gupta presents a sickening historical continuity in anti-Black racism from slavery to the contemporary health care context. One Black nurse reported racism

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deployed by patients and their families who would tell her not to touch them, 'with [her] Black hands' often asking instead for the 'nurse in charge' (72). The meaning of 'common-sense' comes through in such vile experiences as

> Blackness in a person is associated… with roles that are servile, 'lower than' and inferior compared to whiteness. Thus, a Black nurse in charge is confusing for a person who is steeped in racial ways of thinking. Moreover, her Blackness also marks her as 'dirty', 'polluted' and thus unfit or dangerous to touch (72).

The research is presented following both a theoretical chapter on the historical relationship of race, gender and class relations, and an applied analysis of the political economy of healthcare in contemporary Ontario. In her review of various conceptual orientations, Das Gupta starts by looking at the historical specificity of the process of racialization. As the chapter develops, she explores racism under topic headings of racist ideology, attitudinal, everyday and behavioural racism, and everyday racism as racist behaviour, amongst others. The conceptual overlap amongst the sections is somewhat confusing even for a reader familiar with the subject. We never get a clear sense of either the distinction or overlap between everyday and systemic racism nor what the exact difference is between a category called 'attitudes' and one called 'ideologies.' It is unclear how the relational processes of consciousness and activity would make these apparently distinct. Perhaps the source of the separation points to the complex nature of individual/institutional relationships. It may also be that the presentation of the theory is a manifestation of the cyclical mode in which she says racist praxis operates. More clarity on all this would certainly have been helpful.

Das Gupta offers an enlightening discussion of nurses as paid workers in the healthcare system, grounding contemporary profit-driven, cost-cutting attacks in an already gendered and classed organization of the work, a system that has become yet another social environment where the customer is always right (73). That women do such paid work is buttressed by an ideology of naturalness, as such work is seen merely an extension of women's unpaid domestic private and community duties. In the neoliberal era such an essentialist grounding has been further used against women seen as having 'been abusing the system by taking state-funded universal healthcare for granted and not being responsible for it' (42).

By exploring the reality of the increasingly stratified and hierarchical organization of the nursing profession, Das Gupta complicates

the common notion of nurses as middle-class professionals. This opens the door to her unpacking of the ongoing relationship between Victorian ideas of (white) womanliness, associated layered ideas of women of colour as multiply threatening (to nation and whiteness), the various forms of racist dehumanization levelled against, for example, Filipina or Black nurses, and a fundamentally racialized organization of this gender and class stratification. The result in day-to-day workplace life is a pattern of racist treatment that includes: targeting, scapegoating, excessive monitoring, marginalization, dispersion, infantilization, blaming the victim, bias in work allocation, underemployment and denial of promotions, lack of accommodation, segregation, co-optation and selective alliance, and tokenism (53-4). Relations that are generally written off as 'regular manager-staff interactions' (52) focusing on 'individual incompetence or individual pathology' (68), or 'personality' differences among co-workers, are exposed by Das Gupta as having a very different and selective character.

Das Gupta carries well her orientation to intersecting social relations into the study and data analysis, vividly conveying race, gender, disability and class not as abstract concepts but as complexly lived social relations by real people. Research participants of colour reported a range of racist treatment from doctors, managers, and patients. Often the perpetrator was white but not always, as male doctors are so powerful in relation to nurses, regardless of race. However, the most frequent perpetrators of 'put downs' were white co-workers, often in collusion with managers. In one case, Shirley was fired for supposed 'unprofessional behaviour' after a number of white patients, colleagues and her supervisor complained, the latter saying she 'felt physically and verbally threatened' by Shirley, who herself reported feeling under racially-based attack in a poisoned environment. She was given more night shifts, had no choice in holiday time, docked pay for lateness and was subjected to racist slurs. Such toxic 'differential management practices' are hallmarks of racial discrimination, not uncommonly experienced 'particularly by strong, outspoken Black nurses who are assertive in their resistance to racism' (76). The study points to a need for similar research to be carried out in other types of workplaces. Of even greater concern is for unions to make serious political and financial commitments to anti-racist organizational change, including actively holding white workers accountable for their racism.

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BOOK REVIEW

Yates, Michael D. 2009. *In and Out of the Working Class*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring. ISBN 9781894037358. Paperback: 19.95 CAD. Pages: 170.

Reviewed by Dennis Pilon
University of Victoria

In and Out of the Working Class weaves Yates' own personal story as a working class kid and college professor into a larger critical examination of working class life in the United States, the failures of its conventional education system, and the still pressing need to link class analysis to the practical knowledge of its working people. The book amounts to 'a life' very examined – and what a story it tells. He writes of his grandparents and parents growing up in desperately poor working class communities. He chronicles his own upbringing in industrial America. He goes into detail about how he was changed by his college education and later transformed into a radical by trying to reconcile his own working class background with teaching undergraduates about an economics that seemed irrelevant to 1960s America. And he recounts his growing disillusionment with academe in the 1980s and his desire to reconnect with the working people who desperately want to learn. Yet these stories are not merely biography because Yates never loses sight of the larger sociological class reality that they are embedded within. There is much here of value to those who want to understand working class communities and find a way to link them back to radical politics.

First, Yates is a talented writer who constructs moving accounts of working class life. He manages to capture the vulnerability of working people in the United States, without romanticizing them or neglecting the twin blights of racism and patriotism. His narrative-styled accounts of his parents, written as if from their perspective, captures the excitement of their initial adult life choices while highlighting the narrowness of the social contexts shaping their choices. For instance, in 'Bud: My Father' his dad is excited to take up a job at the glass factory after WWII, determined after his war experience not be pushed around. But his sense of hope and opportunity quickly fades. For Yates, America's working class struggles to make choices in the spaces that define their immediate existence, usually unaware that a broader set of choices may exist at all. Indeed, Yates'

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portrait of working class communities is one typically marked by ignorance, fear and silences – ignorance of the larger world and other classes, fear of retribution by one's social betters (bosses, teachers, authority figures in general), and silence about whatever social problems one's family may be having.

Second, Yates takes up his exploration in a number of distinct forms. Many pieces are vignettes: episodes that illustrate some point about racism, or class power, or teaching. Others are sweeping and demonstrate Yates' skill in synthesizing complex and difficult ideas. In 'Class: A Personal Story' Yates crafts an amazing one chapter summary of the strengths of and challenges to working class consciousness, given its often contradictory roots and paths. Starting from the company town where he was born, the larger industrial town he grew up in, to his own eventual conversion to the professional middle class as a professor, Yates describes how living classed lives creates the space for a kind of working class solidarity, but also how it can weaken working people through personal doubt and self loathing. He notes how stratification can offer individual solutions as some move up the class ladder, and race, gender and jingoism weaken possible class alliances. And even when workers do move forward, as in the aftermath of WWII, he notes how the state can respond with policies like suburban mortgage loans to channel aspirations back into acceptable channels. Even what working people do for their children to help them get ahead ends up breaking the bonds of working class solidarity as they move into the middle class and can no longer communicate or identity with their parents. This is a sympathetic yet not uncritical portrait of the working class and the deep, difficult challenges they face in creating a class response to their condition.

The book is divided into five sections that mirror Yates own experience and development. Sections I and II, 'Growing Up Working Class' and 'The Seeds of Consciousness,' reflect on his working class roots, upbringing, and the experiences that moved him to ask questions about just why the world seemed ordered as it was. Sections III and IV, 'The Workaday World' and 'Alienation and Redemption,' offer biting analysis of the failure of higher education, and education in general, to foster critical thinking, both from the perspective of a student and a teacher. These pieces also touch on the value of work, and how unsatisfying work is so soul destroying. The two themes came together for the author, a longtime lecturer in economics at a state college, when he realized that redemption, for him, would only come with giving up on higher education in favour of teaching workers directly through labour education programs and offering

classes in political economy to convicts in prison. Finally, Section V, 'Pessimism of the Intellect, Optimism of the Will,' wraps up the book with a penetrating essay, 'Removing the Veil,' that clearly sets out the basics of where power is in capitalism and what kind of power a worker has in relation to the boss.

In style, the contributions here take a number of forms: fiction, non-fiction, and fictionalized accounts of real events. The fictional pieces (e.g. 'The Year of the Strike,' 'The Demonstration') try to capture the complexity of political choices, but these often pale in comparison to the non-fiction accounts that they are clearly modelled on. This may be less a comment on the quality of Yates' attempts at fiction than simply a recognition of the more direct power of his non-fiction efforts. A strong exception is his 'creative non-fiction' account of working with Cesar Chavez, where in story form he skilfully underlines the contradictions often inherent in poor people's movements, namely, that powerful external enemies and situations can require strong leaders, but these same leaders can weaken the democratic elements needed to keep the movement dynamic.

In and Out of the Working Class joins a growing field of what might be dubbed 'working class studies,' an academic subgenre that explicitly privileges studying class as an experience rather than a position in a class structure or set of class relations. But it doesn't quite fit in because Yates refuses to accept such a dichotomy. Any number of contributions from this book would make a great addition to a class reading list, or just good reading for the general public or activist interested in the working class.

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BOOK REVIEW

Workman, Thom. 2009. *If You're in My Way, I'm Walking: The Assault on Working People Since 1970*. Halifax: Fernwood. ISBN 9781552663264. Paperback: 22.95 CAD. Pages 176.

Reviewed by Govind C. Rao
McMaster University

Jean Chrétien explained his throttling of protester Bill Clennett on 'Flag Day' in 1996 with the simple statement: 'I had to go, so if you're in my way, I'm walking.' Not only is the incident one politician's knee-jerk reaction when faced with popular resistance to neoliberal policies, it is an apt description of the steamrolling central logic of neoliberalism. Workman draws on vivid examples and copious facts and figures to document the assault on working people. This violent assault is often disguised as the 'natural' outcome of the market, but its impact is as real as a 'Shawinigan handshake.' The reader will be forgiven if, having read Workman's description of current wages and working conditions, she feels like Chrétien himself has got his hands around her neck.

At the centre of Workman's book is an examination of the downward wage logic of neoliberalism in Canada. This logic which aims to re-establish profit levels has resulted in a violent assault on working people through liberalized trading regimes, scaled-back social programs and restrictive labour laws and policies. Each of the six chapters which make up *If You're in My Way* contributes to Workman's analysis of the downward wage logic. Chapter one develops a systemic understanding of capitalism and the failure of past attempts to fix the system through the fordist compromise. Chapter two looks at changes in labour law and their effects on the balance of power between workers and capital. Chapters three and four examine the declining rate of unionization, falling incidence of strikes, the stagnation in real wages, and the low-wage sphere. Chapter five explores how restructured state programs have advanced the downward wage logic, and shifted the state away from its limited legitimating activities to its current aggressive emphasis on coercing workers into an ever-deteriorating labour market. In the final chapter Workman presents his thoughts on what it would take to restore the Canadian Left.

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One of the most thought-provoking sections of the book is Workman's conceptual and strategic discussion of minimum wage policy in chapter four. He argues that the function of minimum wage policy under neoliberalism 'has gone from being a device to ratify low-wage spheres in the economy to being a legislative instrument in the assault on all wage earners' (83). Workman argues that historically the minimum wage never functioned to generate upward pressures on wages. Instead, upward wage pressures came from the workplace conflict of organized labour against capital. The workplace is the natural locus of wage struggle, says Workman, rather than sympathetic campaigns in the political sphere.

Workman argues that the labour movement undermines the real basis of its strength when it accepts government regulation as the method to set wage rates: 'sustained gravitation away from this anticipated locus of the wage struggle [the workplace] reflects the degradation of organized labour within neoliberal society' (85). A further problem with the focus on the minimum wage is that, even if the minimum wage were to be doubled it would hardly be a living wage. Workman argues cogently that the left needs to shift its attention to the entire low-wage sphere. The minimum wage is part and parcel of the broader pattern of stagnating real wages for all workers, which has resulted from the ongoing profitability crisis of capitalism. When the left focuses its low-wage strategy on raising the minimum wage, Workman argues, it weakens rather than strengthens solidarity among all low-wage workers. Low-wage workers (roughly everyone earning under the median wage) do not directly benefit from an increase in the minimum wage. This causes conflict between minimum-wage and low-wage workers and transforms the minimum wage into a 'wage anchor' to which all low-wage work is compared, and contributes to wage restraint and mitigation of labour militancy (i.e. 'I earn three dollars over the minimum wage, therefore I should count myself lucky').

Workman's style is impassioned, entertaining, and a welcome change from the measured tone of most academic writing. He begins each chapter with concrete examples of the problems workers face, from which he moves to a more complex discussion of the underlying issues. While the book is not for the novice reader, upper-level undergraduates should have minimal difficulty following his argument. I used the book in two fourth-year seminars in Canadian Political Economy, and students found it to be a real eye-opener.

Workman's book deserves to be read as widely as possible. No other book provides such a detailed account of the contemporary state of working people in Canada. His final chapter is a call for the left to reject

efforts to turn 'bad' capitalism into 'good' capitalism. The book convincingly makes the case that even under the most golden conditions of Keynesianism, poverty, coercion and poor labour market outcomes were the defining features of capitalism. Workman argues in his final chapter that the left will need to restore and deepen left culture. We need to rebuild unions and put our energies into study-sessions, free schools, and pamphlets rather than electoral politics to build a meaningful left politics. *If You're in My Way* offers much thought-provoking material that deserves serious discussion on the socialist left.

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BOOK REVIEW

Razack, Sherene. 2008. *Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. ISBN 9780802094971. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 250.

Reviewed by Sedef Arat-Koç
Ryerson University

Even though the discourse of security in the 'war on terror' has come to naturalize otherwise unacceptable violations, for a segment of people, of even the most basic civil rights in law, policy and political practice, the speed and political ease with which liberal democracies have been able to introduce, accept and live with these violations should trouble anyone who would want to prevent future holocausts. Sherene Razack's *Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics* is a book on the treatment of Muslims in/by Western societies in the post-September 11, 2001 world.

Looking at how, not just 'terrorists' or armed opponents, but also civilians, immigrants and refugees are categorically treated differently on the basis of their Muslim identity, *Casting Out* interrogates the ways in which race thinking has played a central role in enabling and justifying the treatment Muslims as 'bare life' stripped of legal/political status, in law, policy and politics. Race thinking helps depict Muslims as a different type of humanity, deserving a different legal regime. Using Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben's work, Razack argues that post-9/11 the treatment of Muslims constitutes a case of the 'camp,' a state of exception whereby the law itself has (paradoxically) been used to suspend the rule of law, to place people in a state of indeterminacy regarding their protection under the law, and to cast certain bodies outside the rules of the political community.

Operating in anti-terrorism legislation, immigration law or in the conditions of detention and imprisonment of Muslims, the 'camp' is enabled by the racialization of Muslims, through 'culture talk' about Islam working as 'race talk.' Organized in two sections, *Casting Out* focuses on the gendered racialization of Muslim men and women in the figures of the 'dangerous Muslim men' and the 'imperilled Muslim women,' both juxtaposed against the implicit figure of the 'civilized European.'

The first chapter focuses on the cases of the five Muslim men charged under the security certificate program in Canada. Razack argues that rather than building solid evidence on the actions of the charged, the

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cases have been based on drawing general parallels between the belief systems of the charged and the worldview of known terrorists in other cases. The chapter demonstrates how the characteristics of the security certificate program, such as the denial of due process, questionable standards of jurisprudence and indefinite detention, are naturalized when Muslim men are depicted as irredeemably irrational, fanatic and violent, representing a different kind of humanity altogether.

Chapter 2 discusses the case of sexualized torture of Iraqis by US Army personnel in the Abu Ghraib prison. Razack rejects some of the common interpretations of the case in the media and by some academics. Drawing parallels between the case of the 'Somalia affair' involving the torture and murder of Somalian civilians by Canadian soldiers working as 'peacekeepers' in the 1990s, which she analyzed in her previous book *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism* (University of Toronto Press, 2004), and the case in Abu-Ghraib, Razack argues that the abuse represents neither the moral corruption of a few 'bad apples' nor an outcome of stressful conditions for soldiers. Razack offers an interlocking approach which integrates analyses of race, gender and sexuality. Interrogating the complexity of the ways race thinking operates by looking into 'desire in fantasies of race, and of race in fantasies of desire' (Robert Young, cited in Razack, 73), this approach interrogates the deep psychic structures of violence.

The second section of the book on 'imperilled' Muslim women analyzes the co-optation of feminist ideas and some feminists in the 'war on terror.' Chapter 3 analyzes three recent books by Oriana Fallaci, Phyllis Chesler and Irshad Manji. Razack shows how all three texts ascribe to the logic of culture clash in how they treat gender as a central site demonstrating cultural flaws of Islam and the superiority of the West. Drawing attention to how well all three books have sold and been positively reviewed, Razack interrogates 'the popularity of racist arguments that claim the ground of gender equality' (87). Even though many feminists have expressed their opposition to the 'war on terror' and these books may not be taken to represent opinions of most Western feminists, Razack's cautionary remarks about the significance of these texts are well placed. In addition to these and similar texts being widely read and receiving additional exposure in the media, what has been worrisome has been the inability of feminist opponents of the war to have their opinions heard in public space. With critical feminist voices silenced, marginalized, or even demonized, authors such as Fallaci, Chesler and

Manji have indeed come to represent the public face of feminism in the 'war on terror.'

The last two chapters highlight how culturalist approaches to Islam and Muslims may lead public discourses and policies in directions which may not necessarily benefit Muslim women. Chapter 4 on Norway shows how feminist organizations and academics have contributed to both the societal discourse and the policy and legal initiatives on forced marriages. Razack critiques the culturalism in the work of these scholars and activists who blame abstract, static and insular notions of 'Muslim culture' for social problems. For a better understanding and more effective strategies for activism and policy, Razack argues for historically specific and contextualized analyses, which would reveal the material structures shaping lives of immigrants both before they leave their homelands and after they arrive in Europe.

The final chapter in the book focuses on the 'Sharia debate' in Ontario. The debate took place in 2004 and 2005 when Canadian feminists from both Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds expressed alarm and opposition to considerations by the government to extend the sections of the Arbitration Act of Ontario (which already allowed for private arbitration) to Muslims who would want to apply Sharia law to the settlement of family disputes. Razack's critical discussion focuses on the framing of the debate. Razack argues that through both the East/West binary it has evoked and the rather unquestioned faith expressed in secularism and the state, the debate has gone in the wrong direction. She argues that strategies need to reflect on the multiple forms and locations of patriarchy, and of the implications of different forms of governmentality both nationally and transnationally.

Casting Out is passionate in its language, as it is rigorous in its theoretical engagement and analysis. It is a book written with a sense of urgency, but also with the patience involved in rigorous and detailed academic work. It is rich in theory as well as empirical detail. It is eloquently written. It reads easily, almost deceptively so, given the richness of its analysis.

Casting Out convincingly demonstrates that race thinking, rather than being limited to racist bigots, is common in liberal and feminist circles and enjoys a hegemonic position in mainstream political and legal institutions. It is a good example of how academic work can be used to bear intellectual witness and provide a moral mirror to prevent the kind of slide in public discourse, law and politics that may lead to the wrong kind of policies or even future holocausts.

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BOOK REVIEW

Kolko, Gabriel. 2009. *World in Crisis: The End of the American Century*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring. ISBN 1894037391. Paperback: 21.95 CAD. Pages: 182.

Reviewed by Jean Philippe Sapinski
University of Victoria

Gabriel Kolko's *World in Crisis: The End of the American Century* collects essays published in political magazines and websites, such as ZNet, Antiwar.com and Counterpunch, between March 2004 and October 2007 that focus on the decline of American hegemony in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

In this book, Kolko considers the economic, political, and military reasons why American hegemony is coming to an end. On the international economic scene, he argues that globalization, although partly beneficial to American power, has also been detrimental to it. On the one hand, free trade led to the relocation of production as well as the export of capital and investments. Consequently, the American external debt grew beyond measure as the trade deficit kept increasing, and the US dollar fell relative to the Euro (15-16). On the other hand, the deregulation of the financial sector in the past decades encouraged excessive risk taking, which led to the financial crisis of 2008 (18). Moreover, the traditional economic regulation mechanisms, primarily national in scope, proved incapable of regulating globalized capital (19, 26). Similarly, the Bretton Woods institutions on which rested the US financial hegemony have been losing income and leverage since the 1990s as indebted Middle-Eastern and Asian countries repayed their loans (21, 23). Thus, American economic and financial power decreased steadily under globalized capitalism.

In the rest of the book, the author discusses the many problems and irrationalities of American foreign policy. He insists that foreign policy is not the product of a process of rational assessment, but rather depends on economic factors that restrict policy options, on the power structure that determines the relative influence of interested parties and on personal ambitions that filter political decision-making and ties it to individual career-building (40-41). In addition, the author discusses at length the gap between foreign policy and the reality described by the intelligence services. There, he argues that the people in power selectively use,

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reinterpret and modify the information intelligence provides them with to support their own personal agendas rather than to rationally assess policy options (135).

In the same way, American war operations, and the US military apparatus itself, did not follow the transformation in warfare since the fall of communism. The author argues that the US military is poorly adapted to the now widespread tactic of guerrilla warfare; this chronic lack of adaptation following from many factors, including the work of the arms industry lobby, the potential for job creation in the arms industry, and an irrational belief in high tech weaponry as a guarantor of military supremacy. The disconnection between military and CIA strategists, who don't support increasing arms spending, and government, where lobbyists and personal ambition play a major role, only deepens this contradiction (56). Besides its lack of adaptation to contemporary war tactics, the US military was further weakened by decisions to invest in technological equipment instead of manpower, again because of the belief by certain high ranking politicians in the superiority of high tech equipment (159). Finally, the economic crisis also reduced the capacity of the United States to wage war (123). Thus, Kolko argues, the US is not in a position to protect, and much less reinforce, its fading hegemony by recourse to military force.

This collection of essays provides an introduction to recent American foreign policy in the context of its declining hegemony and, as such, should be useful to the informed public and to college and undergraduate students. Kolko provides a well documented description of how US foreign policy, at least under president George W. Bush, was entirely misadapted to where the world is at today, and how it served to further the political career of certain individuals instead of serving US national interests. The warmongering tactics of the Bush era only helped reveal even more blatantly the lack of preparedness of the American military apparatus itself in the face of guerilla warfare. This theme of American decline carries over to the economic realm, where the institutions that historically served to support American hegemony cannot play this same role today. This line of argumentation goes beyond a simple assessment of how the United States is now weaker economically and militarily than it has been in the past to emphasize the structural reasons of its irremediable decline.

Nonetheless, Kolko's argument remains controversial and incomplete. First, readers will certainly question his bold assertions about the lack of power of the US military. Indeed, only looking at the second war in Iraq, it seems hard to argue that occupying a country and replacing its government indicates a military defeat, notwithstanding armed resistance

by the occupied people. Second, the book lacks a deeper analysis and explanation of the origins of American decline, and of the circumstances and developments, besides the 'fall of communism,' that engendered the lack of adaptation of its institutions in the first place. This is due to the disproportionate emphasis the book puts on military and war issues relative to economic issues (six chapters versus only one). Given that American hegemony was built on a whole regime of capital accumulation and not only on its military supremacy, one would have expected an analysis, or at least an account of how the emergence of globalized capitalism has impacted the US position in the world economy since the end of the 1970s. Finally, all along the book, the author inserts editorial comments about how powerful people's political ambition, careerism, and simple greed, make US foreign policy utterly irrational and unpredictable. This reduction of policy-making to such individual propensities contradicts the description of the different and sometimes conflicting institutional logics that play out in American foreign policy and that cannot be reduced to individual ambition and greed. As Kolko convincingly demonstrates throughout the book, it is the eroding capacity of the United States to regulate the now globalized capitalist system, their structurally flawed and chronically maladapted foreign policy, and their long-standing inability to win the wars they engage in, that are bringing their hegemony to an end, and not only the individual action of politicians and powerful people.

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BOOK REVIEW

Foster, John Bellamy and Fred Magdoff. 2009. *The Great Financial Crisis: Causes and Consequences.* New York: Monthly Review Press. ISBN 9781583671849. Paperback: 14.95 CAD. Pages: 160.

Reviewed by John Simoulidis
York University

Readers familiar with the Monthly Review School will acknowledge that the tradition of Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff has passed into very capable hands. Foster and Magdoff have published a collection of articles written as the housing market crisis unfolded (during the years 2006-2008) on the financialization of capitalism in the US. Drawing on the theory of monopoly capital developed by Baran and Sweezy, and modified by the subsequent self-criticisms of Sweezy and Harry Magdoff to acknowledge the growing importance of debt, they argue that since the 1980s we have witnessed the emergence of a 'hybrid' stage of capitalism—monopoly-finance capital (see ch. 3). The 'stagnation-financialization' perspective developed in these articles combines a Marxian analysis of capitalist production and accumulation (stagnation) with a heterodox approach to theorizing financialization in assessing the limits of the US state intervention within the world economy (for example, in its 'dollar hegemony' and lender of last resort function) and the future of capitalism.

According to Foster and Magdoff, the financialization of capitalism, which has been gradually unfolding since the 1970s, is a process that has modified 'the laws of motion of monopoly capitalism' (63-73). The tendency towards 'financialization' (crudely speaking, the expansion of debt and financial speculation) became increasingly apparent, and 'took on a life of its own,' in the 1980s. However, recent financial bubbles, such as the 'new economy' bubble of the early 2000s and the housing bubble that spectacularly burst in 2007, should not, they argue, be viewed as confined to the sphere of finance, but as necessarily connected to the tendency of 'mature capitalism' towards stagnation. Due to stagnation and over-capacity in the productive economy, capitalist accumulation has become doubly dependent on the growth of finance—to absorb the excess capital and to find 'profitable investment outlets' for this otherwise idle capital in new kinds of financial instruments. Given the various limits on profitability

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and growth within the underlying productive economy, capitalism has become 'addicted to debt' and speculative finance.

The causes of the 'great financial crisis' are thus ultimately traced to what they theorize as the stagnationist tendencies of (mature) capitalist economies. In their theoretical orientation, they clearly identify themselves as Marxists, though there are relatively few statements on some of the core issues around recent attempts to utilize Marx's political economy (e.g. on value theory or the 'laws of motion of capital') in analyzing the current world economic crisis. Foster and Magdoff appear to implicitly accept the view that Marx did not make much of a contribution to theories of money and finance. They see themselves as contributing to the development of a tradition of stagnation theory associated with Keynes, Kalecki, Hansen, Robinson and Minsky (among others). They in fact draw regularly on Keynes' theory of money and finance and rely quite heavily on Minsky's 'financial instability hypothesis' in explaining financial crises, particularly the home mortgage market bubble at the heart of the great financial crisis (93-99).

Since 'stagnation' is defined not as the absence of economic growth, but as the difference between 'actual' and 'potential' output, the overaccumulation of capital is understood to result from the lack of profitable investment outlets. Given the current over-capacity in the productive economy, new investments here would only return lower profits. Since state economic policies aimed at stimulating such investments fail to recognize that lower interest rates won't spur fixed capital investment in an environment where existing fixed capital isn't being fully utilized, stagnation results. In these circumstances, the overaccumulation of capital takes flight, instead, into the 'giant casino' of currency speculation, derivatives trading and hedge funds where '[i]t seeks to leverage debt and embrace bubble-like expansions aimed at high, speculative profits through financial instruments' (61).

At the heart of the theory of monopoly capital is the view that capitalist accumulation makes possible a growing economic surplus (the 'tendency of the surplus to rise') which, in the absence of 'counteracting tendencies', the capitalist economic structure is increasingly unable to absorb. They argue that 'stagnation' (as indicated by an average capacity utilization ratio of 81% in the 30 years since 1970) has been the normal condition, and this tendency has gotten worse (a decline to an annual average of 77% from 2000-2005). As with any tendency, there are countertendencies: stagnation can be muted by a number of countervailing forces (for example, the export of capital and military spending, but

especially, the expansion of debt). They argue that *the effect* of each of these countertendencies (despite the size of these expenditures) has weakened since the 1960s and especially throughout the 1980s and 90s, the limits of these countertendencies were reached and capitalist accumulation has become increasingly dependent on the expansion of debt and the creation of financial bubbles to capture the excess capital.

Yet over the past 30 years or so, the relationship between debt and accumulation has weakened; the correlation between debt and GDP growth has declined considerably. As an index of stagnation, they point to the fact that every dollar of debt in the 1970s saw a sixty cent increase in GDP, but this declined to about twenty cents in the 2000s (49). Household consumer debt has reached unsustainable limits; the 'paradox' of simultaneously declining real wages and expanding consumption is explained by the accelerated growth in household debt (currently standing at 133% of household disposable income). In the absence of new profitable investment outlets—whether epoch making innovations or new kinds of speculative bubbles—what they predict is an extended period of intensified stagnation and the growth of bigger and bigger bubbles, an image, ultimately, of a very sick capitalism weakened by 'credit crunches' and haunted by the 'spectres' of debt-deflation and a global financial meltdown.

The book itself is somewhat misleadingly divided into two parts, with the first four chapters devoted to an analysis of the causes of the great financial crisis, and the last two ostensibly to what they call the consequences of the crisis. They offer a critique of some left-analyses of the crisis, rejecting the view that re-regulating finance will help protect workers by stabilizing capitalism. They also argue that further stagnation combined with a continued expansion of debt to fuel financialization will likely challenge the capacity of the US Federal Reserve to act as lender of last resort and threatens its ability to stave off a debt-deflation crisis like the one experience in Japan in the 1990s. The book contains a wealth of charts, graphs and statistical data that help to reveal the trend towards 'financialization'.

Written in the accessible style the Monthly Review School is known for, the authors have something to offer readers both old and new. For the old, what might appear novel is how the authors situate the Monthly Review perspective within the heterodox economics tradition, specifically with respect to their theorization of the current stage of capitalist development, financialization and its inherent crisis tendencies. But this text can also be seen as an attempt to introduce a new generation of

readers and activists, hungry for an explanation of current economic crises and the decline of US hegemony, to the Monthly Review approach. Needless to say, both kinds of readers will be rewarded.

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BOOK REVIEW

Graeber, David. 2009. *Direct Action: An Ethnography*. Edinburgh: AK Press. ISBN 9781904859796. Paperback: 25.95 CAD. Pages: 568.

Reviewed by Alex Khasnabish
Mount Saint Vincent University

Ever since the alter-globalization movement exploded into public consciousness through spectacular summit protests in the late 1990s, a veritable ocean of ink has been spilt by journalists, activists, academics, and others seeking to describe, debunk, define, and defame the contours of this 'movement of movements.' In light of this, David Graeber's *Direct Action* may seem to some to have come rather late to the party, particularly since Graber's ethnography takes the period from 2000-2003 as its temporal point of focus. So what is left to be said? A casual observer might be provoked to ask this question particularly in light of the claim so often repeated in mainstream sources that the alter-globalization movement declined rapidly in the aftermath of 9/11 and is now largely a social movement fossil relegated to some sedimentary layer of social change history. And yet this is precisely why Graeber's long-awaited ethnography is such an important work. By immersing himself in the socio-political universe of diverse radical struggles constituting the living fabric of the alter-globalization 'movement of movements' in the northeast of North America, Graeber makes two significant contributions: first, his work stands as a testament to the political and analytical utility of ethnography as a form of communication for readers within and beyond the academy; and second, through his ambitious and expansive work he successfully teases out the deep, enduring significance of the direct action ethic and its radical imagination.

While Graeber makes a number of important theoretical points about the larger political relevance of direct action as a radical social change ethos, as he himself insists, theorization is subordinated to the core ethnographic task of describing a particular socio-cultural and political context. At its most basic level ethnography is simply 'culture writing,' a thick description of a given socio-cultural space explored by the ethnographer. As Graeber notes in his preface, this kind of writing is increasingly rare as academic knowledge production is evermore directed toward the advancement of arguments, analytical paradigms, and theoretical points which are then supported through selectively chosen

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descriptive moments. Social movement theory has often operated this way with analysts expounding analytical paradigms with specific movement moments then used as the analytical material to prove or disprove these explanatory paradigms concerning contentious action. The end result of so much of this work is elaborate typologies of contentious action bereft of a serious and critical consideration of its significance. Too much academic knowledge about social movements and social change takes the form of an ideological contest between competing theoretical paradigms. Opposed to this ideological warfare is the exploration that Graeber takes up of the living reality of struggle and its social significance.

Direct Action is divided roughly into two sections. The first is a description of the events leading up to and following the Free Trade Area of the Americas protest in Québec City in 2001. The second section is more analytical, taking up a series of issues and elements relating to the contemporary dynamics and significance of direct action as a radical praxis of social transformation. Drawing heavily upon detailed excerpts from fieldnotes taken at organizing meetings, actions, and social encounters, Graeber's ethnography not only sheds tremendous light upon the internal dynamics and living realities of direct action and consensus-based decision making but does so in a narrative style that is impressively jargon-free and readable. Often narrating key moments, events, and processes through the use of direct dialogues between a diverse cast of participants, Graeber's text possesses an urgency and immediacy that allows us to appreciate these movements as social experiments in living otherwise. The success of the second, analytical part of the book is that Graeber teases out the complex significance of a diversity of phenomena orbiting in and around the direct action alter-globalization movement from the black bloc to consensus-based decision making to the symbolic importance of police and puppets. Eschewing grand theorizing in favour of an approach that attends closely to the complex and often ambivalent significance of living realities, Graeber critically illuminates the importance of the attempts at radical social transformation emerging from the direct action constellation within the anti-capitalist alter-globalization movement. While this kind of exploration has been made theoretically before, the contribution of Graeber's work is that it advances this analysis by focusing on social realities themselves as they were constituted in the context of this movement. In this way, the theory becomes immanent to the text and really succeeds in capturing the radical possibility of social transformation made by anti-capitalist, direct democracy, direct action elements of the alter-globalization movement in the north.

Graeber's text is a tremendously significant contribution to critical social research that is accessible to a broad audience beyond the university. As an anthropologist, I would add that it also stands as a testament to the power of a well-crafted ethnography to open windows onto other social possibilities. The only moment I found myself vaguely dissatisfied with the text is at the end confronted by its intentionally absent conclusion. Graeber disavows the notion that ethnographies should have conclusions. As he writes in the first paragraph of the book's final chapter, 'If the aim of an ethnographic description is to try to give the reader the means to imaginatively pass inside a moral and social universe, then it seems exploitative, insulting almost, to suggest that other people live their lives or pursue their projects in order to allow some scholar to score a point in some arcane theoretical debate' (509). I take his point and concede that perhaps this is more about a reader's more conventional expectations than an author's choices. Even were it to stand, *Direct Action* is undiminished as an example of radical knowledge production that contributes to rather than commodifies radical struggles for a more democratic and dignified world.

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BOOK REVIEW

Bailey, David J. 2009. *The Political Economy of European Social Democracy: A Critical Realist Approach*. London and New York: Routledge. ISBN 0415462134. Cloth: 115.00 CAD. Pages: 196.

Reviewed by Ivanka Knezevic
University of Toronto

The goal of this book is to provide a critical-realist, agential explanation of a paradox: why have 'new' social-democratic parties in Europe declared the political forms and mechanisms of the European Union suitable for accomplishment of the 'traditional' social-democratic goal of the limited decommodification of labour, despite ample evidence, not only of unsuitability of these forms and processes for the purpose, but of the clearly neoliberal direction of the EU policy-output? Bailey explains the paradox away: the *Realpolitik* of social democracy, with its twin dependence on an identifiably proletarian electorate and on integration into the capitalist economy, which the parties have agreed to manage rather than undermine, makes this approach perfectly consistent. Tensions between party elites and the electorate escalate as the elites try to find programmes that would mark them as viable parties of government, appeal to middle-class or identity-based constituencies and still persuade their traditional working-class constituency that its interests are adequately represented.

The idea that struggle for electoral success explains social democratic ideology is not new. European Marxists and anarchists made this their main rhetorical weapon against social democracy, which they (correctly, as Bailey shows) regarded as not socialist at all. This book, however, develops this idea into an explanation of the development of modern social democratic parties. The underlying cause of changes is the effort of the party leadership to regulate and control demands for decommodification of labour, made by its largely working-class constituency, so that these demands can be represented within the limits of the representative-democratic nation state and be compatible with a successful capitalist economy.

Early 'traditional' social democratic parties have sometimes achieved capitalist reproduction during crises of overaccumulation through Keynesian reflationary policies, but the 'new' social democracy has

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opted since the 1990s exclusively for recommodification of labour: liberalisation of wages, expansion of part-time and temporary work, flexibilization of minimum wages, and overall increased role of labour market in determining conditions of life of the population. Thus, the 'new' social democratic parties suppress demands for decommodification, rather than trying to manage and control them.

One of core strategies of the 'new' social democracy is to persuade its electorate that decommodification policies are unfeasible in the 'current state of the economy,' and that recommodification is either inevitable or favourable in the long run (since it will strengthen the economy and create resources for future decommodification initiatives). The elusive promise of the EU Social Charter (presented by these parties under the slogan of 'Social Europe') becomes an answer to a thorny question: how to keep the electoral support of a largely working-class constituency, while telling it that its core demand within national politics must be abolished? Party programmes now include the commitment to decommodification of labour at a European level, where economies of scale are expected to accomplish what national economies cannot and where coordinated action by national parties (united in the Party of European Socialists - PES) can create strength in numbers for negotiations with the EU administration. This rhetoric hides two problems. First, PES demands to the EU are usually very similar to their very modest national policies. Second, any such demands clash against institutional and historical obstacles within the EU. Bailey notes the following as the most important: the small size of the EU budget which prevents the implementation of any large-scale decommodifying measures, the EU's market-building tradition (an institution that begun as the European Steel and Coal Community could hardly be otherwise), its increasing tendency to opt for 'soft,' non-binding decision making (the European Employment Strategy was, significantly, one of the first policies to incorporate this principle), and its undemocratic nature. European social-democratic parties have been aware of these obstacles to their stated policy ambitions, but they chose to ignore them. The inability to realize their stated policy goals became an ideal means to explain and legitimate their limited ambitions and success in pursuing decommodifying policies to their constituencies.

Thus, the central change in the transformation from 'traditional' to 'new' social democracy becomes the degree of constraint that party elite exercises over the traditional decommodifying demands of its constituents. Given this fact, Bailey is right not to expect an international mobilisation of the European working class to pursue more substantive decommodifying

policies; party elites have no incentive to pursue this option, which would problematize their efforts to reproduce party relations that maintain their power.

As mentioned, Bailey uses a critical-realist theoretical framework to analyse the transformation of social democracy in five EU countries. Over the last fifteen years, this approach has become increasingly popular in diverse areas of the social sciences. It pushes the critical stance of the social-constructionist approach further, in a reaction against both positivism and post-modernist interpretivism. Bailey's somewhat caricatured presentation of positivism and the 'ideational approach' (social-constructionist explanations to the rest of us) does not detract from the merits of this approach.

Critical realism's explicit re-introduction of researchers' values as legitimate criteria of theoretical assessment bears a striking resemblance to original Marxist epistemology sketched out in the 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts' and the 'Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.' Some of Bailey's crucial analytical assumptions: that causation of social reality is stratified and that internal contradictions are crucial for explaining change, again remind a reader of the original Marxist requirement for radical analysis.

Bailey's approach also owes much to contingency theory, as the use of methodological concepts of 'analytical narrative,' 'non-deterministic and therefore post-hoc explanations,' and 'causal processes' testifies. Still, the study is more nomothetic than path-dependent explanations usually are. 'Analytical narratives' (case studies of the five countries) are marked by the tension between richness of historical detail, necessary to contingent and agential approach of critical realism, and a nomothetical exposition, which it also demands. Even such unique factors as long social democratic rule in Sweden, or the importance of left-wing terrorism and identity- and single-issue politics for the success of Italian Euro-Communism, lose their vivacity.

Overall, this is a broadly undertaken and systematic look at real-political underpinnings of the seemingly inexplicable ideology of the 'new' social democracy. It goes a step further than previous critiques of the recommodification of labour, which were content with pointing out its unreality and internal contradictions, forgetting that mere logic seldom persuades political actors. Bailey's theoretical innovation is in explaining how the structure of social relations that enable the formation and maintenance of 'new' social democracy explains party leaders' decision that these inconvenient inconsistencies were best forgotten. The only

significant weakness in the explanation is its relative neglect of some external influences on the structure of party relations. While repeated crises of overaccumulation are taken into consideration, the global connectedness and mobility of capital and the rise of neoliberalism since the 1970s are merely mentioned.

An overview like this should be a required reading not only for West European social democrats, but also for East European scholars, whose timidity before a foreign scholarly tradition and a political necessity of struggling for the EU membership sometimes prevents them from seeing numerous paradoxes, impossibilities and trickle-down assumptions of 'Social Europe.' A natural extension of this research project would be a similar look at socialist ('post-communist' in the organisational sense) parties in Eastern Europe.

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BOOK REVIEW

Preece, Daniel V. 2009. *Dismantling Social Europe: The Political Economy of Social Policy in the European Union*. Boulder: First Forum Press. ISBN 9781935049104. Cloth: 55.00 US. Pages: 187.

Reviewed by John Peters
Laurentian University

How does the European Union work? It is not especially large or institutionally powerful. The EU budget is little more than 1 percent of the union's GDP, and it lacks the tax revenues and fiscal powers to set and enforce policy. The EU also does not have much in the way of legislative mandates to reform social and labour market policy. Instead, nation-states and powerful European leaders regularly direct or block EU directives. On top of this, time and again, citizens have turned down the latest EU initiatives in referendums.

Yet the EU marches on, with Europe ever more economically integrated, and business – apart from banks – ever more prosperous. Many Europeans are indifferent to all this. Others outraged. But apart from the wealthy few, most appear to be paying the price of their indifference with poorer jobs and worsening social conditions. Why? How?

Daniel Preece takes up some of these puzzling conundrums in *Dismantling Social Europe*, and he provides a refreshingly large number of answers in examining recent developments in the EU and what they have meant for labour policy, as well as for what the EU has meant to Germany and Ireland.

Some of his explanations are more convincing than others, and one might wish for an easier, jargon-free read. But what makes the book interesting is the scathing picture it paints of the European Union. Preece highlights how much the EU project has been about improving the bottom lines for capital. What he also underscores is how little the EU's 'social' model has actually meant in the way of social inclusion, and how much it has been an underhanded way to promote economic competitiveness and labour flexibility.

In making this provocative argument, Preece follows a number of other critical scholars such as Robert Cox and Stephen Gill in paying careful attention to how the never-ending series of treaties, chapters, pacts, regulations, and court rulings have all reinforced neoliberalism in Europe.

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He also emphasizes how EU institutions have done a good deal over the past two decades to foster cooperation among governments, which allows them to uphold the primacy of multi-national interests in face of demands of citizens for something different.

In this critical view, the European Court of Justice has done much to expand the applicability of EU regulations. Likewise, governments have instituted the European Employment Strategy as the new 'best practice' for labour market policy, helping put in place new measures that undermine unemployment benefits and employment standards in order to boost employment.

Treaties – like those of Maastricht and Lisbon – have opened the door to trade liberalization and financial deregulation as governments have set about incrementally adopting their proposals. Policy networks and debates have framed political problems as 'technical' and 'economic' issues, and subsequently patterned solutions along the same 'business-first' lines.

As Preece then goes on to show, the long-term impacts of such discourses, institutions, and policies on national parliaments have been largely negative. In Ireland, the EU has dumped complex legislation on governments, and politicians looking for ways to keep the IBMs of the world happy (while boosting employment for young professionals and contractors) have readily adopted 'life-long' learning and retraining. But this has come at the cost of developing more adequate social programs, or putting in place a more effective economic strategy other than Ireland continuing to serve as an American export platform into Europe.

In Germany, the Kohl and Schroeder administrations have often used EU policymaking and the European Central Bank to push a more integrated market with lower rates of inflation that would best serve German manufacturing interests. They also used EU reasoning to push for a single market that would better serve German industry and finance. Both administrations also quickly realized the political benefits of blaming the EU as the external, unstoppable force when introducing unpopular welfare and pension cutbacks that were supposed to restore German 'competitiveness.'

In making such arguments, Preece shows an historian's eye for process, and a social scientist's ken for the big-picture. Based on interviews and a good deal of synthesis, he provides a number of telling snapshots of how EU policymaking has been intimately entwined with a business agenda. He also does a good job summarizing how recent economic and social policy reforms in Ireland – a country too often left out of

comparative analyses – have been connected to a wider EU/neoliberal agenda.

For a political economy of the EU and social policy, however, a few things are missing. One is the lack of any discussion of the European Central Bank and the European Economic and Monetary Union and their role in financial liberalization and corporate restructuring. With the passage of new legislation in the 1990s, capital markets across Europe were opened as never before, and corporations took to 'activist' shareholder systems as fast as they could sign the legal documents. This – much more than the recent European Employment Strategy – surely opened the door to firms pushing for greater labour market flexibility and the growing divide between workers with good jobs and those facing ever poorer employment prospects.

Also missing is an analysis of the European Stability and Growth Pact which consistently made governments introduce new policies of economic austerity over the course of the 1990s and 2000s in order to meet economic or EU-entry criteria. So too is comment wanting on the conservative monetarist policy of the European Central Bank and how this pressured governments (such as those in France and Italy) toward low inflation and smaller budget deficits in the context of financial openness. In any discussion of how European governments reworked social policy to enhance competitiveness and efficiency, some scrutiny of how EU policies were tied to recent retrenchments and social policy reforms is clearly warranted.

Finally, what is oddly absent is the impact of the EU on political parties and policy making. Preece underscores how multi-national enterprises have been able to take advantage behind the often closed doors of the many EU committees. But it is plain that the only reason business has been left to its own devices is because current Social Democratic and Centre-Right parties no longer put up much resistance to their demands. Rather, as part of 'Third Way' policies that promote business and the market (while catering to the wealthy and pushing labour to become more flexible and the unemployed more 'active'), governments routinely defer to business demands with the feeble expectation that what is good for business is good for everyone else.

Of course, this is far from true. But without a closer analysis of the actual domestic political dynamics of EU policymaking, Preece's account too often portrays a ghostly capital directing the show from Brussels, which leaves out how governments and capital regularly interact to boost profitability and seek new ways to lower wage and social costs.

Thus in depicting today's EU as a right-wing project for business, Preece has left his book somewhat short. But like the EU itself, so too in its critical analysis, there is always room to grow and a healthy expectation that more is to come. If this book is any indicator, we are certain to see an even more comprehensive work on the deleterious nature of EU policymaking.

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BOOK REVIEW

Folbre, Nancy. 2009. *Greed, Lust & Gender: A History of Economic Ideas*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 9780199238422. Cloth: 34.95 US. Pages: 379.

Reviewed by Marjorie Griffin Cohen
Simon Fraser University

This book has a slightly racy title (at least for an economics book) and my initial reaction was that the 'lust' focus was a bit forced. Greed and gender are associated easily with economic ideas, but lust? Nor was I assuaged by the assertion in the introduction that 'lust is to feminist theory what greed is to economic theory – a marker of contested moral boundaries' (xx), an assertion that seemed too convenient and probably not true. Isn't it usually religious ideologues that set moral boundaries with lust?

But after reading Folbre's book, I'm convinced by her reasons for linking greed and lust to her major theme. The theme is that assumptions about gender, throughout the long build up to the current incarnations of market capitalism, shaped assumptions about *self-interest*. This is where ideas about greed and lust get reinforced through economics. Gender is neither an aside nor an afterthought to the development of economic ideas, but is deeply embedded in their configurations all along the way. It does not mean these human motives have been considered equally significant over time, however; greed clearly outstrips lust in the pantheon of crucial desires beginning with the rapid growth of markets.

Like most feminists who began writing during the second wave of feminism, Folbre is interested in both the economic and sexual freedom gap between males and females and how this is imbued in economic and political thought. What is special about this interpretation is not that men have assumed for themselves more freedom to pursue their economic and sexual self-interests, an analysis that is consistent with most feminists' understanding of western political thought. Rather, it is Folbre's focus on the inter-relationship between greed and lust as it relates to the idea of self-interest that is innovative, mainly because of the monumental position self-interest has assumed as a factor in capitalist economic life.

In twenty short chapters, Folbre takes us through a long period of history. I was fascinated by the preoccupation of thinkers like St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas with female lust and their support for the role of prostitution in saving society from it. The marketization of lust clearly was

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a not-too-latent notion of a solution to a vexing problem. But the main focus of the book is on ideas associated with the rise of capitalism beginning from the 18th century in Britain, France and the US (colonies like Canada do not figure). Here the relationship between ideas like wealth and value are interwoven with a cognisance of the connection between population growth and economic activity. As key actors in any population discussion, women and their relative economic and sexual freedom assumed significance for economists.

Self-interest, as the focus for market based decision making, sets greed and lust as its logical culmination. Folbre neatly contrasts a relatively benign approach to self-interest, such as Adam Smith's, to self-interest in the extreme, such as that of the Marquis de Sade. Smith relies heavily on the moral innate goodness of humans, something that by itself would curb the ultimate logic of self-interest through greed. De Sade, in contrast, removes all moral limits on self-interest and shows how intolerable individualism in the extreme can be. In his self-interest, the 'strong has every right to dominate the weak' (95) and the sick should be left to die, women raped, friends betrayed and family responsibilities ignored. The parallels with might makes right in today's political economy easily can be drawn, as can the consequences of unregulated individualism's potential for disaster.

Throughout the book, the voices of feminists and socialists are not silent. Through most of this period under review both had distinct views that were prominently expressed during the debates about morality, the market and women's place in society. Some of this is downright fun: Charles Fourier, the French utopian socialist, for example, envisions a utopia that explicitly espouses the 'sexual minimum,' a kind of social safety net somewhat like the minimum wage (183). No one, no matter how old, ugly or disgusting should be denied sexual satisfaction, something that would be met by altruists who aspire (apparently) to sexual sainthood. Attention in greater detail is given to more familiar feminist analyses – by Mill, Marx, Engels and Bebel, but also to female writers like Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Martineau, Harriet Taylor, Alice Clark and Margaret Sanger.

Over time women's association with lust gets inverted and women become the paragons of virtue, with all the need for social regulation that this burden entails. Ultimately self-interest becomes couched in the language of individual choice that is so magically sorted out through the market mechanism. But all along the way, economists' distinctions between market and non-market activity served as a convenient divide to

champion the double standard in relation to what was rightly seen as men's self-interest and women's duty to care for others.

This is a book that gets stronger as it progresses, so stay with it. Folbre has a sweeping knowledge of economic thought and focuses her feminist critical eye, not on the easy targets (the misogynous bent of too many male thinkers), but on the reasoning behind the bifurcated gendered approach of our dominant economic analyses. It helps explain why our ideas of a healthy economy can so easily champion the bad and the dirty, while ignoring all it takes to meet real human needs. I wish I were teaching a course on economic thinking. This would be a splendid text to read alongside Locke, Smith, Malthus, Rousseau, Ricardo, Bentham, Mill, Marx, Marshall, Keynes and Friedman. It would also work in a course with any analysis of the economic mess we're in and what might lead to a more rational economic system.

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BOOK REVIEW

Mahon, Rianne and Stephen McBride, eds. 2009. *The OECD and Transnational Governance.* Vancouver: UBC Press. ISBN 9780774815550. Paperback: 32.95 CAD. Pages: 324.

Reviewed by Michael Skinner
York University

Critical scholars have focussed attention on many of the powerful formal institutions of transnational governance, such as the UN, WTO, IMF, World Bank, NAFTA, EU, and NATO, but the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) tended to slip through the cracks of critical analysis. Mahon and McBride help fill this gap in the critical literature. The contributors, hailing from various disciplines, apply diverse perspectives and methodologies to provide a multi-faceted examination of how the OECD exercises power in the emerging global system of transnational governance. The authors' range of postmodern and Marxist critiques, tied together by an underlying neo-Gramscian framework, overcome perceptions of interdisciplinary/inter-perspective incommensurability to provide a much fuller picture of the OECD than any one perspective alone could provide. The cryptic title hardly indicates how well the authors unveil the inner workings of the OECD and explain its role as a key nodal site within the expanding power matrix of transnational governance that is responsible for neoliberal globalization. Furthermore, several contributors also point to an emerging alternative paradigm, described as 'inclusive liberalism.'

The book is of obvious interest to scholars of International Relations, International Political Economy and Policy and Administration Studies. Nonetheless, the chapter by McBride, McNutt and Williams analysing how the OECD develops labour policy and transmits these ideas to member states and Grinvald's case study of this process at work in Denmark should be of particular interest to scholars of Labour Studies. Scholars of Women's and Gender Studies as well as Labour Studies will find Mahon's analysis of the OECD's *Babies and Bosses* policy of interest. Of further specific interest to scholars of various disciplines are chapters analysing OECD policy-making regarding: the licensing of genetic inventions by Drouillard and Gold, social and health policy by Deacon and Kaasch, and education by Rubenson.

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A reading of this reasonably jargon-free, accessible book would also be useful for social activists. Whether one wants to ensure that the ebbing tide of neoliberalism continues to recede, or wants to strategize how to confront the ascendance of an equally problematic 'inclusive liberalism,' social activists need to understand where the multiple nodes of transnational power reside and recognise how the OECD, as one of these nodes, operates within the matrix of globalization. The OECD stands out as a key nodal point of power where some of the people who facilitated the post-war liberalization of trade and investment and the consolidation of the North Atlantic states as the centre of the globalizing capitalist economy continue to reside and exercise power.

As a political science and labour studies educator in both university and popular education settings, a frustrating challenge I constantly meet is how to move undergraduate students and popular education participants beyond their perception that mysterious entities called 'globalization,' 'neoliberalism,' and 'capitalism' in and of themselves possess agency. The common shorthand claiming globalization causes this, or neoliberalism causes that, or capitalism is the root cause of so many problems, tends to imply that these words used as paradigm descriptors have agency; the shorthand fails to illuminate the human agency and complex social relationships actually at work. The chapters in this book are useful teaching tools to demonstrate how a paradigm forms by real people creating ideational concepts that they and others formulate into policies which the many people in various government, corporate, and NGO agencies then implement in myriad ways, which in turn causes those people affected to generate resistance and feedback. This paradigm creating process then progresses onward through constant iterations. The authors of this volume open the black-box of OECD policy formulation to shine a light on some of the previously mysterious human agents of paradigmatic change at the transnational level and the processes by which they affect change in the emerging global system.

Several of the authors also highlight the fractures within the OECD, most notably along the rift between the dominant Anglo-Saxon state members, that have most forcefully pushed the neoliberal agenda, and the rest, which have to various degrees and at different times followed less ideologically defined paths toward globalizing liberalism. Wolfe, in his chapter recounting the history of the OECD and its predecessor the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), notes 'liberal idealism is still the rock on which the OECD rests' (25). Whether Keynesian or neoliberal variants of liberalism, or the neo-Keynesian idea of 'inclusive

liberalism' that may be emerging from the OECD among other transnational institutions, the liberalization of trade and investment remains the core function of the OECD. Several of the case studies indicate that resistance to the implementation of neoliberal policies has affected decision-makers within the OECD. There may be a trend emerging within the OECD toward designing policy to mitigate some of the worst excesses of the neoliberal era. Nonetheless, the goal of policymakers is to strengthen capitalist institutions and expand these globally rather than limit them; OECD policymakers certainly have no intention of substantially reforming let alone eliminating capitalist institutions.

Unlike some institutions of transnational governance, which possess coercive powers – various economically coercive powers in the case of economic institutions like the World Bank, IMF, and NAFTA, or the blunt force coercion of NATO – the OECD possesses only the power of suasion. Porter and Webb's social constructivist analysis identifies two processes that make the OECD powerful. First, the formation of the identity of the member states and states aspiring to be members of the OECD is a process by which the OECD representatives of these states engage in 'mutual recognition of the superiority of the social and economic policies that are central to their [state] identities' (56). Secondly, the OECD derives and exercises power from the 'incremental reinforcement of particular practices through the OECD's ability to confer authority on them by portraying those practices as unproblematic, apolitical, and relatively routine ways of doing things that are known to be best due to the appearance of consensus that the OECD creates' (57). Pal explores further how these processes facilitate a world 'where rules of every type, at every level, seem to be multiplying into resilient meshes of control' as the 'soft law' embedded in OECD 'standards, norms, guidelines, and frameworks' is internalized as a global order by state policymakers (74). These social constructivist analyses are complimented by the neo-Gramscian analyses by Woodward and Ruckert. The Gramscian conception of hegemony, which recognizes power must ultimately rest in consensus and cannot be sustained by economic coercion and brute force alone, demonstrates the suasive power of the OECD in its ability to construct consensus and as Woodward demonstrates, 'pass off the particular interests' of transnational social forces and capital 'as the general interest of the majority of the poor in developing countries' (112). It is the capacity of the OECD to build consensus as a 'creator, purveyor, and legitimator of ideas' (Mahon & McBride, 15), which ultimately makes the OECD at least as powerful, perhaps via its creation of consensual legitimacy even more powerful, than

the coercive economic and military powers of some transnational governance organizations.

The OECD and Transnational Governance is a worthwhile read for critical scholars who want to understand more deeply how and why the OECD exercises the power it does in an emerging global system and for social activists who need to think about how best to strategically resist and co-opt this power.

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BOOK REVIEW

Li, Minqi. 2008. *The Rise of China and the Demise of the Capitalist World Economy*. New York: Monthly Review Press. ISBN 9781583671825. Paperback: 16.95 CAD. Pages: 208.

Reviewed by Paul Kellogg
Athabasca University

It is difficult to ignore the centrality of China as we enter the second decade of the 21st century. The biggest industrial revolution in history is underway in the world's most populous country. This fact is forcing many to rethink old orthodoxies. This book is an important contribution to this project. Minqi Li is very successful at posing the big questions, no small achievement in itself. But his analysis is premised on a questionable political economy and an overly 'rosy' view of the Mao period. The answers provided are not always convincing, and sometimes schematic in a way which detracts from the overall effect of the book itself. These weaknesses notwithstanding, this is a book with which any who are interested in the current dilemmas of world capitalism, and the prospects for building an alternative, should be familiar.

The first dozen or so pages are the first reason to read this book. Li sketches out in spare, but gripping prose, the horrendous history of China's (and India's) encounter with European 'civilization.' With an analysis rooted in World-Systems theories, Li shows clearly the key role that both of these countries played in the rise to dominance of European capitalism. 'The tributes from India played a crucial role in the British rise to world financial and commercial supremacy' (6). But through a systematic outline of the wars waged by Europe and Japan on China in the 19th and 20th centuries, and the punishing tribute extracted from the country, Li shows that China was at least as important in this process.

The second reason to read Li's book is his notion that the enormous pool of cheap labour, created in this process of imperialist depredation, has become one of two important 'strategic reserves' for world capitalism. 'China's deeper incorporation into the capitalist world-economy helps to lower the global wage cost and restore the global profit rate' (16). This is an indispensable insight toward explaining the long expansion of the 1990s and the intense economic boom experienced by the world economy just before the so-called 'Great Recession.' Theorists who have attempted

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to understand the dynamics of the world economy without this appreciation for the role of China have been forced either to deny the fact of economic expansion over this fifteen year period, or to see this expansion as proof that neoliberalism had gone some distance to overcoming capitalism's internal contradictions. Properly theorizing the role of China allows Li to escape both traps.

But there are some matters that need further discussion. First, his political economy rests on an assumption that capitalism cannot survive industrial and economic development in the 'semi-periphery.' In an interesting discussion of the potential trajectories of the periphery and semi-periphery, he suggests that if Chinese wage rates 'converge upwards towards the semi-peripheral levels' – an important possibility to discuss, given the upward pressure on wages in China's urban areas – 'this will greatly reduce the share of the surplus value available for the rest of the world' (111). This neglects the fact that with an increasing organic composition of capital, wage rates and overall surplus can (and in fact do) both increase. It is not a zero-sum game. China's impact on world capitalism, then, cannot just be seen in terms of its impact on wage rates. It has also become an enormous market for commodities to feed its industrial revolution. It is also China's emerging home market which is transforming the world economy. Li is aware of the central role of organic composition to Marx's theory of capitalism, he mentions it, but does not integrate into his own political economy.

Second – his relationship to the Mao era is problematic. He makes the very interesting observation that 'it took the entire Maoist era to develop the necessary industrial and technological infrastructure before China could become a major player in the global capitalist economy' (13). This is an important insight, and it opens the door to understanding the Maoist era as one of the assertion of sovereignty, allowing for national economic reconstruction and repairing the damage done by imperialism. But that is not the entirety of Li's view. He calls the Mao era 'Chinese socialism' and in clinging to an understanding of that era as being socialist, he is driven to either minimize its problems, or worse. He has a completely positive view of the Cultural Revolution, arguing that university students 'were required to return to work in their home areas after graduation, so that university education would not become a path for careerist students seeking to join the elite class' (38). There are other analyses which suggest that once Mao's section of the bureaucracy had emerged victorious, radical students were exiled to the countryside, where they could not coalesce as a threat to the reconsolidated Maoist leadership. Li also has an unnecessary

section (39-42) where he challenges statistics which call the Great Leap Forward the catalyst for one of the largest famines in human history. His statistics don't challenge the fact that something happened in that period leading to a great increase in 'excess deaths.' Surely the point should not be to argue definitions as to whether this constituted a famine or not, but to address the fact that something calamitous happened in that period, and that this calamity needs to be explained.

In addition, World-Systems theory, which is such a strength in an understanding of the past of capitalist development, becomes a barrier when trying to peer into the future. Li approvingly quotes Wallerstein's assertion that 'after 2050 or 2075...we shall no longer be living in a capitalist world-economy' (174). However, it is as important in this century, as it was in the past, to insist that there is a difference between seeing the contradictions of capitalism, and predicting its collapse. We can with confidence predict recurring capitalist crises, but its collapse and replacement by a new system requires political action and organizing, and the success of that action and organizing is not inevitable.

Furthermore, his image of a post-capitalist future is not comforting. He builds his case on the interesting insight that the second of the reserves on which capitalism is calling is in the sphere of the ecology, 'the remaining resources, and the remaining space for pollution' (13). This is a very valid observation. But Li asserts that even with a socialist transformation, it is too late to stop catastrophic climate change. With echoes of Malthus, Li asserts that a socialist world will have to oversee, 'an orderly, long-term decline of the world population so that eventually it falls back to a level consistent with the earth's sustainable ecological carrying capacity' (188). Even in a socialist world, 'there will be re-ruralization and a large portion of the world's labor force will need to return to agriculture' (187). Our choices, he says, are to do this in an orderly fashion through a socialism 'which might share important similarities with the historical socialist states,' or in a catastrophic fashion through 'a neo-feudalist outcome (which might resemble today's North Korea)' (181). While 'some form of socialism would be preferred' he argues, 'even feudalism is better than capitalism' (187). If our alternatives are East Germany or North Korea – then the future is grim indeed.

Li has begun a conversation. His insights into China's role in the reshaping of modern world capitalism are important. Coming from a theorist who spent two years in jail for his role in the Tiananmen Square rebellion of 1989, this should give many pause. Too many on the left in the west dismissed that rebellion as being 'anti-socialist.' That this rebellion

has generated such an important Marxist theorist means that such attitudes will need to be reconsidered.

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BOOK REVIEW

Lovell, Jarret S. 2009. *Crimes of Dissent: Civil Disobedience, Criminal Justice and the Politics of Conscience*. New York: New York University Press. ISBN 9780814752272. Paperback: 23.00 US. Pages: 272.

Reviewed by Jonathan Greene
Trent University

Crimes of Dissent is a highly engaging examination of contemporary forms and meanings of political activism in the United States. Written from the perspective of the scholar activist, the book is one part promotion of law violating forms of political action – 'crimes of dissent' – and one part handbook on civil disobedience. Despite the effectiveness of criminal dissent, 'it is still common for well-intentioned individuals to "recoil from the very concept of disobedience," even in the presence of gross injustice, and even when the disobedience in question is passive and nonviolent' (10). Yet crimes of dissent are a notable part of America's revolutionary past: today's Battle in Seattle was yesterday's Boston Tea Party. It is this past that Lovell seeks to reclaim and the book is a clarion call for Americans to return to their revolutionary roots.

In making the democratic and moral case for criminal acts of dissent, Lovell touches upon a number of traditional leftist themes: the stratifying effects of corporate globalization, enhanced class and racial inequality in America, the influence of money in politics, and the role of the corporate media in setting the political agenda. All of these elements upset democratic processes and enhance social injustice. Far from calling for a socialist revolution, however, this is an anarchist treatise against the authority of the State and the stultifying effects of majoritarian representative democracy on justice, autonomy, and freedom. In this sense, the book fits well within the anti-statist, dissident tradition of American political thought that Lovell seeks to rekindle.

Lovell argues that the US political system has degenerated into a 'tyranny of the majority' and a form of governance that is more often a government 'for the people' than 'by the people.' Thus he asks: 'What happens when an individual no longer finds his or her values or morals adequately represented by the social contract? Does the state still maintain its legitimacy? Why should the state, not the individual, be the supreme

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source of authority?' (40). In the face of tensions between personal morality and collective responsibility, autonomy and authority, individuals must stay true to their personal conscience in the struggle for justice. Criminal forms of dissent are therefore a legitimate, indeed a noble, form of political action. Insofar as they are public, largely non-violent, criminal challenges launched as a means to expose injustices, Lowell describes them as 'pure crimes.' They are also individual acts of anarchy.

The empirical heart of the book is the evidence and insights that Lovell shares from both his personal experiences and the experiences of 21 activists he interviewed. Collectively, Lovell estimates that these individuals have committed over 450 acts of criminal dissent. Most of these acts can be described as forms of 'civil disobedience,' defined broadly as 'the deliberate violation of a law carried out as a form of protest' (73). Its practice is non-violent and it is performed with the intent to educate or persuade a political majority of a perceived injustice. The sample of activists is drawn from across the political spectrum, and thus includes a surprising array of movement politics, including anti-abortion, peace, anti-poverty, anti-globalization, and tax resistance.

Through Lovell's recounting of the activists' experiences we learn about the practical components of non-violent, dissident activism. We also gain insight into the meaning of dissident strategies and choices for the people involved, and why they have engaged in dissident acts in the first place. In one chapter, for instance, Lovell takes us through the process that dissidents negotiate in the criminal justice system. We learn about the 'jail experience' and about when and how to engage in strategies of solidarity and non-cooperation, strategies that can yield significant advantages for protesters. Trials, too, can be addressed in a strategic political fashion by using 'affirmative defences' and by representing oneself in court. Court proceedings provide activists with an opportunity to air their grievances and to challenge the morality, legality, and constitutionality of State policy or practice. Ultimately, Lovell finds that working one's way through the criminal justice system is little more than a game, 'one in which the rich and white are at a strategic advantage, while the indigent and non-white play with a handicap if they play at all' (172). Jails are sites of control and humiliation yet, like the dissident acts themselves, the experience can be both personally and politically transformative and can sustain an individual's activism.

But are these crimes of dissent effective? There is no easy answer to this question, says Lovell. Activism never takes place in a historical vacuum and there are many ways to measure success. Many of the activists he

interviewed did not deceive themselves into believing that their campaigns would bring immediate change. 'They were acutely aware of the lengthy process that is ahead of them' (192). For some success was less important than being true to the cause. 'God requires my faithfulness, not my success,' said one activist (192). For the housing activist, 'success is measured one blocked eviction at a time,' for the anti-abortion activist, 'one procedure prevented at a time' (194). Success, in other words, is an elastic concept, one that is defined by the activists themselves.

While Lovell's anarchist case for dissent is heartfelt and compelling, it is also unsettling. For Lovell, it is individual morality – personal conscience – that legitimizes acts of dissent; justice is in the eye of the beholder. In this sense, Lovell's argument tends toward relativism. The decision of anti-abortion activists to block entry into abortion clinics is as valuable politically as the determination of anti-poverty activists to block the police from evicting poor people from their homes. While this makes his anarchist justification for criminal acts of dissent consistent, it also suggests that Lovell privileges the importance of individual conscience over any fundamental principles of social justice. To be sure, Lovell argues that anarchism is not about individualism and he is critical of 'lifestyle' anarchism. Instead, he argues for 'mutual aid' and recommends that activists move beyond an emphasis on autonomy and toward a concern for freedom and cooperative dissent. However, it is not at all clear how, under present conditions, activists should negotiate the terms of individual freedom against collective needs. In other words, Lovell avoids the thorny and difficult questions of the relationship between the good of the collective versus the rights of the individual and, in the process, avoids difficult questions concerning how we might define social justice. In its place, we are left with individual conscience as our guide for our activism.

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BOOK REVIEW

Anderson, Perry. 2009. *The New Old World*. London and New York: Verso. ISBN 18446373124. Cloth: 50.00 CAD. Pages: 592.

Reviewed by Jordy Cummings
York University

Long associated with *New Left Review*, Perry Anderson has built a resplendent career as one of the world's foremost Marxist essayists. Beginning with his famous essays on England's 'present crisis' with Tom Nairn in the early sixties and continuing with his work on the multilinear transitions from antiquity onwards, the red thread running through his output has been the combined and uneven development of Europe as a polity, an economic entity and a set of ideas. Going beyond a simplistic analysis of the European Union as merely an executive body for the capitalist class, the EU 'may be regarded as the last great world-historical achievement of the bourgeoisie' (78) involved in a war of manoeuvre that would indeed show that reaction could make manifest what was impossible to achieve by revolution.

The New Old World collects essays[1] written since the collapse of the Soviet bloc, both on the totality and form of the 'Europe question' as well as the content of various polities and ideologies. Combining the literary panache that is the hallmark of the Anglophone Marxist tradition and a penchant for humorous quips, these essays are necessary reading for anyone seeking a critical understanding of the EU. With 'no' votes in referenda to harmonize Europe-wide neoliberalism, the uprising of the 'Banlieue' in France, the election of a Communist government in Cyprus, militant uprisings in Greece, and the recent rebuke to the European Union's rich countries and banks by the government of Iceland, socialist inquiry ignores Europe at its peril.

While readers of the *London Review of Books* and *New Left Review* may find these essays familiar, if fleshed out, the architecture of this book is quite novel, forming a narrative from general to particular and back to a more fully informed generality. The first essay, written against the backdrop of the origin of the EU, gives a synoptic prediction of its subsequent development. The second essay, in which the former's predictions have largely been borne out, was written in 2007 and updated

[1] Mostly from the *London Review of Books* as well as *New Left Review* and *The Nation*.

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for the book. Anderson draws upon Alexandre Kojève's early Cold War prediction that either capital or labour would transcend the nation state. This quasi-deterministic approach implies an inexorable law of history, determined by the development of the productive forces, which seems to go against the far more nuanced historiography found in Anderson's work on antiquity and absolutism.

In fact, this is Anderson's central framework with which to understand Europe, the once-accepted, now-controversial 'bourgeois paradigm' of rising and declining classes in a unilinear trajectory, in which England had been held back from completing a 'Bourgeois Revolution' by an entrenched aristocracy.[2] Whatever methodological flaws this conception of history may contain, it is notable that Anderson tries to show readers that the EU is not merely reducible to capitalist social relations, and as a political project is a zone of contestation, inspired as much by sincere Leftists and Cosmopolitans as by Europe's elites. Going even farther back, he cites the genesis of the idea of a United Europe in the continental bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth century, and the utopian (non-Marxist) socialism and cosmopolitanism of the nineteenth century.

Inter-imperial, inter-ruling class struggles form the basis of Anderson's analysis of 'great power politics' within Europe and the re-emergence of Germany as a regional power. Also notable is Anderson's portrayal of the reduction of Eastern Europe, subsequent to its incorporation in the Union, to an equivalent of the American South, a low-wage zone within a continent of high union-density. The overall concentration on horizontal class struggle is also in keeping with Anderson's project of half a century. As he points out in his magnum opus, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (Verso, 1974), modes of production must be understood as much in regards to relations between ruling elements as between ruler and ruled.

Indeed, to Anderson, the classical Marxist historiographical approach in which 'the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles' is applied, quite properly, to horizontal as well as vertical class struggle. This being said, what runs through the totality of Anderson's output (and *The New Old World* is no exception) is the incompleteness of an 'ideal type' of capitalist development, such development being blocked by the privileges of old landed aristocracies

[2] For a critique of the Anderson/Nairn thesis and the 'bourgeois paradigm,' see Wood, Ellen Meiksins. 1991. *The Pristine Culture of Capitalism*. London/New York: Verso.

and inter-ruling class competition. While some may be critical of this concentration, a sort of Historical Materialist *realpolitik,* it is not dissimilar to the spirit of the great works on 19th century Europe by Marx and Engels, notably the latter's sorely under-utilized *Role of Force in History.* Anderson's understanding of force, as opposed to hegemony, informs his exemplary approach to the social history of European political thought, which, in a passage of a few pages, moves from Montesquieu's early pan-Europeanism to competing modern leftist approaches to Europe.

If one critique could be made, the question of 'what is to be done' is lacking. Yet to a certain extent this is a blessing. Indeed, in Anderson's logic, another Europe is possible, embodied in the pan-European rejection of top-down neoliberalism. This would seem to suggest a growth of unity between social movements, labour and the intelligentsias of Europe to continue to play what would seem to be a historic role in developing a social Europe. Yet, hearkening back to the possibility of reaction playing a revolutionary role (and drawing on the work of Van Der Pijl and the Amsterdam theorists of the 'transnational capitalist class'), Anderson suggests that the possibility of another Europe is being heightened by its unity.

As of the current conjuncture, however, the prospects for such a refoundation seem bleak. Anderson approvingly cites neoconservative theorists such as Robert Kagan and Christopher Caldwell in criticizing officially sanctioned 'multiculturalism' and contrasting the apparent success of the United States in integrating immigrant communities with Europe's (apparent) failure on this front. This is a telling point, in regards to Anderson's current perspective, which seems to dismiss the potential of these migrant communities to contribute to, or perhaps even help lead, a project for another Europe.

A focus on issues such as uneven patterns of migration and inter-bourgeois skulduggery are in keeping with Anderson's overall model of what can be seen as permanent bourgeois revolution, something that must be completed on a global scale, seemingly, before any truly international socialist alternative can occur. The flaws of this conception are numerous, but it has the virtue of internal coherence. In the final analysis then, this, like all of Anderson's work, is of great seriousness and analytical virtue, if characterized by a sort of pessimism. Contra Anderson and the bourgeois paradigm, history, as Benno Teschke among others points out, is only retroactively intelligible, while current situations, in particular the risings in Greece and the rebellion of Iceland, may add a touch of optimism of the will to the prospect of another Europe.

Socialist Studies / Études socialistes
The Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies / Revue de la société d'études socialistes

Organizing for Austerity: The Neoliberal State, Regulating Labour, and Working Class Resistance

Spring 2011 Special Section
Guest Editors: Bryan Evans and Ian Hussey

Call for Papers

In the fall of 2008 we witnessed and experienced the financial meltdown; unprecedented bankruptcies and bailouts made the headlines in local, national, and international news. Throughout the last thirty-plus years of neoliberal political and economic policies, we have seen waves of austerity, the retrenchment of social rights and welfare state regimes, the individuation of poverty, discrimination of various forms, a deepening of social and economic polarization unheard of since the 1920s, and attacks on and the regulation of unionized and non-unionized labour alike. We have also participated in and at the same time studied community and working class resistance. In the spring of 2011 we will be in the thick of these struggles. This special journal issue is a space to critically reflect on working class and community experiences of austerity policy in the neoliberal era of global capitalism. It is also a space to strategize about and critically analyze examples of people organizing dissent.

Socialist Studies invites reflections on, and scholarly considerations of, the impact and legacy of neoliberalism, austerity policies, and the regulation of labour and labour resistance, and community and working class struggles against these repressive policy regimes and prejudices, for inclusion in a special issue of the journal to be released on 31 May 2011. The issue has already generated serious interest from noted scholars and activists including Gregory Albo, Marjorie Cohen, Andrew Jackson, Norene Pupo, and Stephanie Ross. For more information on *Socialist Studies: the Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies* and our submissions policy, please visit http://www.socialiststudies.com. Those interested in contributing to the Spring 2011 special issue should contact Bryan Evans at b1evans@politics.ryerson.ca. The deadline for scholarly articles (to be sent out for peer review) is 01 January 2011.

Instructions to Authors

Socialist Studies: the Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies is an interdisciplinary journal with a focus on describing and analyzing social, economic or political injustice, and practices of struggle, transformation, and liberation across the world. The Journal seeks to make a major contribution to scholarly and political debates among the progressive left in academic, policy and movement circles by publishing original research of high standards.

The Journal's scope is intentionally wide-ranging, inviting submissions from varied disciplinary perspectives. The Journal includes core theoretical and empirical research papers, with occasional special issues principally devoted to particular themes. In addition, the Journal publishes shorter notes and comments, as well as book reviews.

The aim of the Journal is to publish original research and contributions. Manuscripts will be considered only if they have not already been published, and are not currently under consideration for publications, elsewhere.

Manuscripts should not contain substantial elements of material published or accepted for publication elsewhere. If an article has an ISBN or ISSN number it is considered to have been published, regardless of where it has been published.

If considered suitable by the editors, the manuscript will be refereed by two anonymous referees. The review process is 'blind': authors and referees do not know the identities of the others. In the event of disagreement amongst referees, the manuscript will be sent to a third referee. As a result of the peer review process, the editors may recommend revisions.

Authors will be notified that a submission is being sent out for review within two weeks of receipt. Normally, the first round of review will take one month. In exceptional cases, this process may take longer if there are difficulties identifying potential reviewers. Reviewers are recruited by the editorial board based upon their familiarity with the topic at hand.

The Journal rigorously enforces a word limit of 8000 words for peer-reviewed articles.

Complete instructions for submissions can be found at the journal site, www.socialiststudies.com under the 'Submissions' tab.

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Revue de la Société d’études socialistes

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As such, *Socialist Studies: The Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies* is a peer-reviewed journal dedicated to publishing articles on as broad an array of topics as possible from all fields of study. Typically, articles will adopt a critical perspective, which will shed light on, and offer remedies for, any form of social, economic or political injustice. *Socialist Studies* is published in the spring and fall.

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